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# THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE  
FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS  
OF JAPAN

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WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER



## PREFACE

THE world has often heard in a general way that Japan has had a prolonged experience of feudal life, but has been given little opportunity to study it in an intelligible manner. How did the feudal system originate in that country? Is its origin at all comparable with that of its counterpart in European history? How, after their maturity, did the Japanese feudal institutions operate together in real life, and how did they change in course of time, and then decay? What are the lasting effects that the feudal experiences of the nation have left upon its life under the new régime? Would the study of this system yield any useful data for the consideration of the general questions, which would seem to call for an ultimate answer, as to what are the necessary conditions for the rise and the growth of a feudal system in human society, and whether in the normal development of social life a feudal period forms a necessary or a desirable stage? Put in such form, it is obvious that these queries are not merely a matter of curiosity, but of broad scientific interest for the student of the social evolution of mankind.

It is unlikely, however, that the trained student of the West would be wholly satisfied with attempts which native authorities might make to answer questions of this character. He would hardly be able to evaluate any answers coming from these scholars before he was informed at least as to what was the nature of the sources of their knowledge, how they had used them, and, a still more important point, whether they were sufficiently versed in European feudalism to be able, from a comparative standpoint, to detect and appraise significant features in the feudal history of their own country. For, if a comparative science, so called, of any variety is open to criticism, the student's own comparative knowledge is often of inestimable value in his investigations, and, especially in a study of political and social institutions, is a supremely decisive factor; without a background of knowledge gained in another field of a similar nature, the most profound scholar whose erudition is confined to a single society is strangely blind to many of its important aspects which stare him in the face; the purer and the more extensive one's comparative knowledge, the truer and the more searching and original his vision of each of his subjects of research.

For these reasons, the Western student rather would, were that possible, take up a typical Japanese source-material, and from it extract for himself what he could of the institutional evolution of the Oriental feudal system. The result, if more restricted in scope, should be more intimate and vital in knowledge, and more direct in approach to the real institutional life of the system and the



problems it presents, than what might be obtained from the reading of any general treatise or conventional exposition made by a native authority.

It is my sympathy with this desire for original inquiry expressed by many a friend that has prompted me to prepare this volume of feudal documents. It is, indeed, the first attempt ever made to supply the student of European institutional history with original sources, in translation, of the feudal development of the Japanese nation. And I have made no effort to conceal all the evidence of the crudity of a pioneer's enterprise which this work betrays. I have merely tried to select such a body of documents as would enable the student to obtain with relative ease and profit a representative view, not so much of the origin, as of the growth, the active operation, and the changes, of Japanese feudal institutions,—for, as a matter of fact, few family archives in Japan comprise material for the study of both the origin and the maturity of the system; to translate each selection faithfully; and to supplement it, in the Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, with such verbal, geographical, genealogical, and historical data as would be needed for an intelligent understanding of the text. I venture to hope that if, to the equipment that I have supplied, the student added a copy of Papinot's *Dictionary* and of Hara's *Introduction*,—both mentioned in the Bibliography,—he would find his outfit for an intensive study of the documents to be reasonably complete. If, however, he should feel, as he well might at first contact, that the explanation given was not sufficiently full to enable him to pursue an independent study of the material, he might perhaps be reminded that, except as regards his want of familiarity with the original language and with the geography of Japan as a whole, he was more amply guided in this volume, even on points of national history and local geography, than would be the lot of many a native student who might chance to examine the same material. Indeed, I have presumed to furnish the reader with more direction than was absolutely necessary on pages 37-81, where I have given a summary sketch of some of the institutional topics which might be elaborated through an intensive examination of the texts. Beyond these helps, the Western student is challenged to rely on his own power of analysis, in order to demonstrate his superiority to native scholars.

I wish to offer my cordial thanks to Mr. Shigemitsu Iriki-in for the privilege he has given me to study, and to edit in a foreign land, his precious heirloom. I am also grateful to those gentlemen of Iriki who accorded me their refined courtesy during my sojourn among them in the summer of 1919. I am under a deep obligation to the authorities of the Imperial Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, who, from 1917 to 1919, granted me free access to the invaluable collections of original historical materials which are in their possession. I must thank Mr. Toshitake Okubo, of Tokyo, for having enabled me to include in

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K. A.

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## INTRODUCTION

THE greater part of the documents which form the text of this volume covers the entire career of a single line of lords who in succession ruled over a small portion of southwestern Kyū-shū throughout the feudal ages. While limited as regards territory and personality, on the one hand, this body of sources is, on the other, coeval with the whole of the feudal history of the nation. What is more fortunate, the evolution of local institutions revealed by this material is fairly typical of the development of feudal Japan as a whole. Through these documents, therefore, the student may with comparative ease trace the affairs of an illustrious family in its own sphere of activity, and at the same time gain an intimate insight into the general institutional history of the Japanese nation at large.

The following survey of local history is intended to serve as an introduction to the documents. A fuller and more systematic study of the institutions of the general region is reserved for the editor's forthcoming work on the feudal régime of the whole of South Kyū-shū.

### SOUTHERN KYŪ-SHŪ

THE island of Kyū-shū, situated as it was nearer to the southern seas and to the continent of Asia than to the seat of the central government of Japan, was always susceptible to foreign influences and tended to develop a spirit of local independence. It was, in fact, here that many a movement of national import either originated or had an early start: the introduction of the continental culture and Buddhism, the fusion of the latter with the native Shintō cult, relations, political and commercial, with Korea and China, the growth of the private warrior, the development of autonomous feudal states, the contact with the Roman Catholic nations of southern Europe, and finally the upheaval which culminated in the overthrow of the feudal government of Japan and the installation of her new régime. It was natural, therefore, that Kyū-shū should, as it did, always constitute a problem of great concern to the successive rulers of all Japan. Particularly, southern Kyū-shū, comprising the three *kuni*, or, as the term is usually translated, provinces, of Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga,—successively, as the original abode of the imperial house, as the habitat of the turbulent tribes of the Kuma-So race, and as the home of perhaps the largest fief held for the longest period in feudal Japan by a line of puissant barons,—formed a region of special importance throughout the ages. Iriki,<sup>1</sup> the subject of this volume, was an integral part of this region and played a distinguished rôle in its long and varied career.

We shall not stop to narrate how the imperial house lived in south Kyū-shū, accord-

<sup>1</sup> The topography of the general region of Iriki is described on pp. 24 f. More specifically, Iriki formed an *in*, an administrative unit of territory within the *kuni* of Satsuma (see p. 19, n. 90, and preface to No. 9). The branch of the Shibuya family which settled here in 1247 (pp. 12 ff., 24 ff.) assumed later (No. 136, n. 3) the name of the *in* as its family name. The names of these three—that is, the general region, the *in*, and the feudal family—are, in this volume, written, respectively, as Iriki, Iriki *in*, and the Iriki-*in*.

ing to legend, for three generations before its eastward migration to Yamato; and how subsequently the government gradually pacified the local tribes through conquest, settlement, and amalgamation. Sporadic revolts are recorded even as late as 720.<sup>2</sup>

By that time the government at Yamato had instituted a great series of radical political reforms, which changed the polity of Japan from a semi-patriarchal rule to an artificially centralized bureaucracy.<sup>3</sup> The foundation of the new state was laid upon a system of equal allotment, among all the free and some of the unfree subjects, of such rice-land (*ta*) as was recorded in the official register. When the system had been put into force in other parts of Japan, it was found that, in southern Kyū-shū, people would not willingly give up the free and unequal individual possession of rice-land to which they had been accustomed.<sup>4</sup> It was not till 801 that they generally accepted the innovation.<sup>5</sup> It might be surmised that the old Kuma-So had then been largely assimilated or else outnumbered by the Japanese settlers.<sup>6</sup> We should imagine that this remote region was in reality a sort of new colony for the Japanese; they partly subjugated and partly mixed with the indigenous folk, and in their interracial contacts developed a vigorous independent spirit. Out of this stock grew up the later local warriors who, under the leadership of still newer chiefs who descended from the east, cultivated and practised their martial qualities, and prided themselves upon them.

The system of equal allotment of rice-land (*ta*) that had been adopted in the greater part of Japan in the seventh century and applied to south Kyū-shū during the eighth, quickly became impracticable everywhere. This was partly due to the inherent defects of the system, but chiefly because extensive tracts of waste land were being continually opened to rice culture, in which the individual possession of the cultivated plots by their holders was sanctioned. A general tendency soon developed for the newly opened *ta* and its adjacent land to pass more and more under the patronage of certain high personages and religious institutions, for the latter enjoyed a fiscal immunity either of person or of landed property, and their exemption would extend more or less to their new lands. Such private domains came to be popularly known by the term *shō*, and their patrons were called their *hon-ke* ("principal houses") and *ryō-ke* ("possessing houses");<sup>7</sup> these terms are represented in this volume by the words domanial lord.<sup>8</sup> The domanial lords derived revenues from the *shō*, but usually

<sup>2</sup> *Shoku Ni-hon gi*, viii, Yō-rō 4 (Yō-rō is the year-period, for which see No. 1, n. 14. The abbreviations "y," "m," and "d," stand, respectively, for the year in the given year-period, lunar month, and day in that month).

<sup>3</sup> See Murdoch, I, chap. v; Brinkley, chap. xv; Hara, chap. v; and the editor's *Early institutional life of Japan*.

<sup>4</sup> *Shoku Ni-hon gi*, x, Ten-pyō 2 y. 3 m. 7 d.

<sup>5</sup> *Rui-zhū koku-shi*, clix (ed. 1916, p. 945), En-ryaku 19 y. 12 m. 7 d.

<sup>6</sup> A settlement of more than 900 outlaws in Ōsumi is recorded in the *Shoku Ni-hon gi*, xix, Ten-pyō Shō-hō 7 y. 5 m. (June 755).

<sup>7</sup> There is a technical difference between *hon-ke* and *ryō-ke*, but, owing to the flexibility that characterized the use of the second term, it would be difficult to attempt a brief explanation of the difference between the two words. The reader is referred to No. 3, n. 8; No. 6, n. 14; and No. 17.

<sup>8</sup> This phrase is employed for lack of a better term: "seignior" would carry the political associations of the *seigneur* of medieval France; "patron" would seem to emphasize the personal side of patronage somewhat at the expense of the predial aspects of a domain; and "lord" would be suggestive of feudal relations. "Domanial lord," as used in this work, means the civil or religious lord

were absent lords, and were represented on the ground by their agents. The land of the *shō* continued to be exploited by the original cultivators, their descendants or assigns, or any other persons into whose hands had passed the real use of the land; these rendered private dues and services to the domanial lords and their agents which were smaller in sum than the public taxes and tributes that they would have had to pay to the government if they had remained the legal holders of the *ta*. By accepting the nominal rôle of clients, these persons had become fiscally freer. This right of exploitation by the tenants, as well as the right of management exercised by an official of the *shō*, and all other rights—whether in the *shō* or in the districts which still remained under the control of public officials and which steadily tended to be absorbed into *shō*,—rights which accompanied the enjoyment of incomes from the land and were capable of being vested in individual persons, were habitually designated as *shiki*, a term which properly meant offices, but had acquired this special signification; thus there were, for example, landholder *shiki*, cultivator *shiki*, custodian *shiki*, and, in later years, *ryō-ke shiki*, *ji-tō* (military steward, after 1186) *shiki*, and the like. *Shiki* were freely divided and transferred, and tended steadily to increase in number and in circulation. When some of them eventually passed into the hands of the private warrior—another independent and partly illegal product of the age—feudal developments became at length possible. Such is the briefest possible outline of the *shō* and the *shiki*, the veritable warp and woof of the institutional fabric of medieval Japan.<sup>9</sup> A firm grasp of at least the chief points as given above will be found to be the first prerequisite for any study of the subject of this volume.

### SHIMADZU *SHŌ*

Of all the *shō* which in the pre-feudal period sprang up in increasing numbers in all parts of Japan, we are concerned only with the one that comprised Iriki.<sup>1</sup> That was the great *shō* of Shimadzu, which at its fullest growth included the greater part of the three *kuni* of south Kyū-shū.<sup>10</sup> The *shō* originated in the early eleventh century on the sedimentary soil of the valley of the upper Ōyodo. This river, flowing further north, joins its tributary Iwase, and runs generally east to the sea past the present city of Miyazaki on the eastern coast of Hiuga. The two rivers, the upper Ōyodo and the Iwase, are separated at a right angle by the volcanic range of Kirishima Mountains; the cradle of Shimadzu *shō* lay to the southeast of these lofty peaks, on the broad plain irrigated by several rivers that all flow into the main stream. This general region had from ancient times formed one of the chief habitats in south Kyū-shū of the Kuma-So and the Japanese. After the Reforms of the seventh century, we find that here converged the two principal roads of Hiuga, the one coming from the north-eastern coast and the other running along the northern tributary of the Ōyodo and

dating from the pre-feudal ages, whose relation with the tenants on the domain was more economic than personal.

<sup>9</sup> For a more adequate understanding of this important subject than is possible from this brief account, the editor ventures to refer readers to his "Origin," "A monastic *shō*," "Some aspects," "Agriculture," and "The early *shō*," mentioned in the Bibliography, and to his work on the feudal régime of South Kyū-shū which is in preparation.

<sup>10</sup> See the preface to No. 6.



leading to Higo; and the road again branched off, the one southward to the southern port of Kuni (now Shibushi), and the other westward to the provincial capital of Ōsumi and beyond.<sup>11</sup> It was near the juncture of these routes that, a little before 1030,<sup>12</sup> one Taira *no* Suémoto,<sup>13</sup> an official of the government-general of Kyū-shū at Hakata, is said to have come, opened to cultivation an unoccupied tract of land,<sup>14</sup> and, reserving to himself the *shiki* of its management, commended the tract to the patronage of the Regent in the imperial government at Kyōto, Fujiwara *no* Yorimichi (991-1074).<sup>14</sup> The place was then constituted a *shō*<sup>14</sup> and, as a hereditary domain of the Konoé branch of the Fujiwara, was made completely immune from public burdens.<sup>14</sup> This was the birth of Shimadzu<sup>14</sup> *shō*, so called after the name of the locality, which, through the political influence of its domanial lord and the ability of his agents, was destined within two hundred years from its origin to absorb, in varied status and tenure, most of the local magnates and warriors and their landed possessions in south Kyū-shū.

The chief agents of the Shimadzu *shō* were of the two families Tomo and Toyama, both powerful houses of warriors throughout the feudal ages. (1) The Tomo claimed their descent from the emperor Ten-chi (627-671) and his ill-fated son, Prince Ōtomo (d. 672).<sup>15</sup> According to the genealogies of the Kimotsuki, Tomo *no* Kaneyuki came down to Satsuma about 970 as a provincial official, and lived north of the present Kagoshima.<sup>15</sup> His grandson, Kanesada, is said to have married the daughter of Taira *no* Suémoto, the founder and manager of Shimadzu *shō*, and, since the latter had no male issue, succeeded to his position. Kanesada's children held *shiki*, not only at Shimadzu and other points in Hiuga, but also at Kimotsuki, in southern Ōsumi, and at Idzumi, in northwestern Satsuma;<sup>15</sup> and ramified into a number of families which called themselves after the names of the places of their respective *shiki*, the Kimotsuki being the main and strongest line.<sup>15</sup> There is little doubt that the expansion of the *shō* was largely owing to the influence and effort of the Tomo families. (2) The Fujiwara domanial lord, probably feeling the need of an intimate supervision of the management of the *shō*, sent down to Shimadzu an official of his household as the representative of his interest, who was also of a Fujiwara descent and belonged to a branch called Toyama.<sup>16</sup> In 1185, his descendant, Toyama Yoshinaga, is found in the feudal annals as a local warrior of prominence who had become a direct vassal of the new suzerain, Minamoto *no* Yoritomo.<sup>17</sup> The Toyama continued as hereditary agents of the domanial lord probably till the close of his patronage in 1352, and otherwise as military chieftains for at least three and a half centuries after their settlement at Shimadzu.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Inferences from the post-horse stations in the *kuni* contained in the *En-gi shiki*, xxviii.

<sup>12</sup> These points are obtained from copies (in SK, VII, and *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, lviii, 42) of a petition by officials of Shimadzu *shō* which are all found in a mutilated condition. The document is undated, but its approximate date is ascertainable as about 1288. The *shō* is claimed to have been fiscally immune for more than 260 years since its foundation.

<sup>13</sup> The data about Suémoto are based upon records of later ages, but are generally accepted.

<sup>14</sup> See n. 12 above.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 13 above.

<sup>16</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, lviii, 43.

<sup>17</sup> *Adzuma-kagami*, iv, Bun-ji 1 y<sup>e</sup> 7 m. 22 d.

<sup>18</sup> Documents concerning the Toyama exist at least till 1375, and records which contain references to them, till 1433 (Ibusuki docs.; Toyama docs.; *Shimadzu koku-shi*, viii, 4; ix, 3; x, 3).



We may tarry awhile to examine the organization of the vast *shō* at its maturity, say about 1185.<sup>19</sup> (1) By that date, an almost solidly contiguous territory about the modern Miyako-no-zhō in the upper Ōyodo (known also as Shōnai) valley, aggregating nearly 5,950 acres of arable land, had been consolidated to form the core—the *hon*(original)-*shō*<sup>20</sup>—of Shimadzu. This part was wholly immune from public taxes, and was for that reason designated *ichi-yen* (“complete”) *shō*, the adjective referring to the complete character of its immunity.<sup>21</sup> The 735 acres, more or less, which were incorporated about 1135<sup>22</sup> in the adjoining districts Takarabe and Fukagawa to the southwest, in Ōsumi, and the nearly 1,470 acres in the island Tane-ga-shima, were also totally (*ichi-yen*) immune, and constituted the new (*shin-ryū*) *shō*. More than a thousand acres in the remote *kōri* of Idzumo, in northwest Satsuma, were also *ichi-yen*. The immune sections thus totalled some 9,200 acres in the three provinces. (2) Besides these *ichi-yen* tracts, there were more than 13,900 acres scattered over the three *kuni* which were called *yose-gōri* (*yose*, “added” or “contributed”; *kōri*, districts). These were half immune, that is, the taxes from them were divided, usually in halves, between the government of the *kuni* and the office of the *shō*.<sup>23</sup> It may be presumed that the *yose-gōri* had mostly been parts of the cultivated land under public control which had in one way or another been gradually granted to the *shō*, and partly domains confiscated from followers of the warrior-clan Taira which had just fallen and given its place of ascendancy to its rivals the Minamoto. There are few records from which one might infer how these partly immune areas had been created out of taxable districts, but we can point to at least one document which converted one of the former into a totally immune part of the *shō*. In 1187 the hereditary magistrate (*gun-zhī*) of the *yose-gōri* in Isaku and Hioki, on the west coast of Satsuma, presented the district to the domanial lord of the *shō* to be made over into an *ichi-yen*, reserving to the donor and his descendants the chief *shiki* of its management;<sup>24</sup> through this act the completely free area in Satsuma of Shimadzu *shō* was increased by some 800 acres. (3) A third class of arable lands which constituted the great *shō*, called *shi-ryō*, “private possessions,”<sup>25</sup> was loosely connected with Shimadzu; they were held by individual proprietors who had commended their lands to the domanial lord of the *shō*, so that under his influence they might be free from interference by provincial officials, presumably owing him but slight dues. Neither the exact tenure nor the extent of these *shi-ryō* in the *shō* is known. At any rate, their attachment to the domanial lord of the

<sup>19</sup> The statistical data of this paragraph are based upon the cadasters of 1197 referred to below in the text, with the necessary revision concerning the change of tenure made, as will presently be seen, in 1187.

<sup>20</sup> The term *hon-shō* occurs, among other documents, in the petition of *shō* officials about 1288 found in *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, lviii, 42. There it does not seem to include all the *ichi-yen*, but the immune area only in Hiuga.

<sup>21</sup> The complete immunity of the *shō* proper is evident in several documents, and is given an unequivocal expression in the petition referred to in the preceding note.

<sup>22</sup> According to the cadaster of Ōsumi of 1197. <sup>23</sup> See Nos. 17, 18, 52, 53, 56, 72.

<sup>24</sup> The letter of commendation by Taira no Shigezumi, Bun-ji 3 y. 3 m., in SK, I.

<sup>25</sup> See the order of the *shō-gun*'s government regarding Tadayoshi vs. Hisatsune, Kō-an 7 y. 7 m. 1 d. (13 August 1284), in SK, VI.

*shō* could not have been aught but nominal; indeed, they are seldom considered as its integral parts.

Even from this brief description it may be imagined how varied must have been the conditions of the lands of which the vast *shō* consisted, and how many occasions of quarrel and dispute must have arisen among the multiple interests which were comprised within its fold. For it should always be borne in mind that each component part, besides having its distinct status as a whole, included within it *shiki* of great and increasing variety distributed in the hands of persons of all grades and stations. Of them, some were agents and officials of the *shō*, representing either its domanial lord's or the inhabitants' interests, and either holding actual plots of land or merely receiving stipends out of the dues from the soil; others were original possessors of land or their descendants, or other holders whose *shiki* had been created by several modes of conveyance; while the remainder formed groups of the real tillers of the soil and the bearers of *shiki* originally derived from their tenure. Nor was the social position of a person in any part of the *shō* always indicative of the quality of the *shiki* that he held, for he might, as he usually did, as a result of the great divisibility and mobility that characterized the general disposition of *shiki*, combine in himself real rights and interests of major and minor importance in different parts of this and other *shō*; in other words, the social station of persons was one thing, the network of *shiki* was another, and the two had between them much diversified and ever changing points of contact. Finally, it should not be forgotten that, great as was Shimadzu *shō* and widely scattered over the three *kuni* as were its parts, there existed also in south Kyū-shū a number of *shō* and other domains, some of considerable importance, that belonged to other domanial lords or to Buddhist and Shintō institutions.<sup>26</sup>

Some phases of the complexity of the condition of land, as also the extent of the larger divisions of the various districts and domains, in Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga, may be studied in the cadastral reports, fortunately preserved, that were made in 1197 by the governments of these *kuni*.<sup>27</sup> We have space here only to summarize from these valuable records the relative extent of the total areas of arable land in the *kuni* and those of the *ichi-yen* and the *yose-gōri* parts of Shimadzu *shō*, as follows:

		Shimadzu <i>shō</i>		
		a. <i>ichi-yen</i>	b. <i>yose-gōri</i>	c. total
		acres	acres	acres
Hiuga . . . . .	about 23,700	about 5,940	about 5,340	about 11,280
Ōsumi . . . . .	about 8,880	about 2,200	about 2,110	about 4,310
Satsuma . . . . .	about 11,800	about 1,870	about 6,400 <sup>28</sup>	about 8,270 <sup>28</sup>
	about 44,380	about 10,010	about 13,850 <sup>28</sup>	about 23,860 <sup>28</sup>

Thus did Shimadzu *shō*, exclusive of its *shi-ryō*, comprise nearly fifty-four per cent of the total arable area of the three *kuni* in 1197. There is reason to suppose that by

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the reports of 1107 referred to below, and the list of domains of Ki-ta in, Usa, which seems to be of the early thirteenth century, in *Iwashimidzu mon-zho*, II, 146-147.

<sup>27</sup> See No. 9.

<sup>28</sup> These figures are the least certain in the table, as they are based upon data found in the existing copies of the report of 1197 on Satsuma, which are, in some respects, imperfect; see No. 9.

that date the *shō* as such had nearly attained its largest growth.<sup>29</sup> Thereafter, the contraction or expansion of the domain might be regarded as the ebb and flow of the political power of the family of the military stewards which was, as will be seen below, imposed upon the domain by the feudal overlord of all Japan, rather than as the fluctuation of fortune of the *shō* as an institution.

The important fact is that by 1197 the feudal forces of Japan had succeeded in gaining a partial control of the government of the nation. In all parts of the country, not excepting Shimadzu, a large part of the *shiki* relating to arable land had been either vested in or seized by private warriors, who had everywhere come to assume a dominant place in the local society;<sup>30</sup> and, what was more, these warriors had allied themselves by ties of vassalage with the followers of the great military family, first of the Taira, latterly of the Minamoto. At the downfall of the Taira, in 1185, Yoritomo, the chief of the Minamoto, who was destined to become the first real *shō-gun* (feudal suzerain) of Japan, had already begun to invite the allegiance to himself of the former supporters of the passing family. He gave to many of them new writs of investiture or confirmation, and made them his *go ke-nin* ("men of the lord's household"), that is, immediate vassals.<sup>31</sup> He had already been lord and suzerain of the domains which he personally controlled; now he made his personal vassals a considerable number of warriors residing and holding *shiki* in domains belonging to domanial lords or in public districts still under the power of civil governors,—i.e., domains and districts over which he could exercise no direct rule. Then, early in 1186, he wrested from the imperial government a reluctant sanction to appoint his *go ke-nin* as *ji-tō*, stewards, over public districts and private domains,<sup>32</sup> and as *shu-go*, "protectors" or constables, over the *kuni* of all Japan. The *ji-tō* was to collect the taxes of the district or domain and to forward the proceeds to the civil government of the *kuni* or the domanial lord of the *shō*, as the case might be, and was provided with a revenue at the expense of his charge; the *shu-go* performed police and military duties in the *kuni*, and exercised a general supervision of the suzerain's direct vassals resident in his sphere of office.<sup>33</sup> It was in this manner that, for the first time in Japan's history, a feudal suzerain placed the greater part of the country under a partial but effective control of his personal followers, without at the same time replacing the public officials of the *kuni* and the private domanial lords of the *shō*. An entering wedge was struck with a sure hand into the body politic of Japan; and her feudal régime which was to hold sway for centuries virtually began, it may be said, with the year 1186.

<sup>29</sup> Compare, for example, the extent of the *ichi-yen* and the *yose-gōri* in Ōsumi which is given in the report of 1197 with that in a Dzusho document of 1276 (in *Ta bumi*, II), a Dai-myō *shi* document of 1285, and a record dated 1336 (the last two found as notes in the extant copies of the report of 1197), and note what little difference there is between them.

<sup>30</sup> See the editor's "Origin," "A monastic *shō*," and "Some aspects."

<sup>31</sup> *Adzuma-kagami*, iii, Gen-ryaku 1 y. 9 m. 10 d. and 11 m. 12 d.; iv, Bun-ji 1 y. 1 m. 6 d. and 7 m. 22 d.; *Shin-pen tsui-ka*, No. 246, an executive order of Kamakura dated Ten-puku 1 y. 5 m. 1 d. (10 June 1233); etc.

<sup>32</sup> Not in all districts and domains. See preface to No. 6 below.

<sup>33</sup> See the general histories by Hara, by Murdoch, by Brinkley, etc. Professor Hara's definition of the *ji-tō*'s duties seems incomplete in an essential respect. The editor would also question the precision of Mr. Hara's use of the term "manor" as equivalent to *shō*. Otherwise his treatment is admirable, and excels any general treatise that has been published in English.

## THE SHIMADZU FAMILY

To return to south Kyū-shū. Yoritomo's vassal who received from him a double appointment as *ji-tō* and *shu-go* in this region—as the *ji-tō* over the greater part<sup>34</sup> of Shimadzu *shō*, and as the *shu-go* of all the three *kuni*, Hiuga, Ōsumi, and Satsuma, which comprised the *shō*—was Shimadzu Tadahisa. The story of his birth and of his appointment will be found elsewhere.<sup>35</sup> Arriving about 1196, he sojourned awhile at Iwayoshi, more than a mile northeast of the present Miyako-no-zhō, and at Hori-no-uchi further south, and finally settled at Ki-mure, Idzumi, in northwest Satsuma, which remained the headquarters of his successors for four generations, till they occupied Kagoshima in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Tadahisa was the progenitor of the illustrious family of barons who, under the changing dynasties of *shō-gun*, abode in this strategic territory throughout the feudal ages, gradually assuming its control and finally holding it in firm grasp. During Tadahisa's lifetime, however, the powers of the Shimadzu were still very limited. Though in theory he was, as the *shu-go* over the entire three provinces, empowered in his sphere to arrest felonious criminals and suppress disorders,<sup>36</sup> to order the resident *go ke-nin* to discharge their duties as grand guardsmen at the imperial capital,<sup>37</sup> and, also, even to compel local warriors to render some personal services toward him,<sup>38</sup> his authority was, as a matter of fact, frequently resisted by many of the stronger warrior-families in the *kuni*;<sup>39</sup> some of these had long been entrenched here when he descended from the east, and viewed his appointment over their heads with unconcealed disapproval. Apart from his late advent, Tadahisa's chief weakness probably lay in the fact that, even within Shimadzu *shō*, he was active *ji-tō* of the major part, but not of all, of its divisions,<sup>40</sup> and accordingly his control over the land and the holders of its *shiki* beyond the limits of his stewardship was at best impersonal and indirect. Within these limits, also, the cadasters of 1197 reveal the presence of numerous chieftains holding *shiki* of varied denominations, such as the *gun-zhi*, *gō-shi*, or *in-shi* (district magistrates), *ben-zai shi* (commissioners of accounts),<sup>41</sup> *myō-shu* (heads of *myō-den*),<sup>42</sup> and the like;

<sup>34</sup> 78 per cent of the *ichi-yen*, nearly 72 per cent of the *yose-gōri*, and 73.4 per cent of the total *shō*, in the three *kuni*. Though he was *ji-tō* over all of the *ichi-yen* in Hiuga and Satsuma, and of 85 and 87 per cent, respectively, of the *yose-gōri* in the two provinces, his stewardship was totally excluded from those parts of the *shō* that were situated in Ōsumi.

<sup>35</sup> See No. 6.

<sup>36</sup> See the order of the *shō-gun* to Tadahisa dated Ken-kyū 8 y. 12 m. 3 d. (11 January 1198), in *SK*, I. Cf. *Jō-ei shiki-moku*, c. 3, and Professor H. Miura's article on the institution of the *shu-go*, in *Shi-gaku zasshi* for October 1919, and his *Zoku hō-sei* etc., pp. 1137 ff.

<sup>37</sup> See No. 8, III; No. 13, n. 17; No. 80.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the order of the *shō-gun*'s government to Shimadzu Tadayoshi dated Bun-ei 2 y. 5 m. 7 d. (21 June 1265), in the Hishizhima docs., IV.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Yoritomo's order to Shimadzu *shō* Bun-ji 2 y. 4 m. 3 d. (23 April 1186), in *SK*, I; and to a Sō, (no year) 7 m. 10 d., *ibid.* Also see No. 6, n. 26.

<sup>40</sup> See n. 34.

<sup>41</sup> Actual appointments of *ben-zai shi* are found in 1176 (document dated An-gen 2 y. 7 m., August 1176, quoted in *Un-yū zakki*, I) and 1189 (Bun-ji 5 y. 11 m., December 1189, referred to in *Miyazaki ken-shi*, IV, i, chap. 1).

<sup>42</sup> For *myō-den*, or *ta* bearing *myō* (names), see No. 7, and Index under *myō*.



many of these were indeed the suzerain's direct vassals,<sup>43</sup> and, in that respect, peers of Tadahisa, upon whose coöperation the latter had perforce to depend for the due performance of his own duties as *ji-tō*. Strictly speaking, Tadahisa's personal lordship was confined to his feudal relation with his own vassals, and his direct rule over land was coextensive only with his own demesnes granted him as sources of his income;<sup>44</sup> and these lands were intermingled with the holdings of other warriors in various parts of the *shō*, causing mutual friction and recrimination.<sup>45</sup> How narrowly restricted his powers in all these respects were, and how much he desired a greater scope, may be imagined from the fact that he was reprimanded by the *shō-gun* for having committed acts of aggression upon others' domains within the very *shō* over which he was a *ji-tō*.<sup>46</sup> It was the *shiki* of *shu-go* and *ji-tō* so circumscribed in power that Tadahisa transmitted to his heirs.<sup>47</sup> And he had been dead hardly more than twenty years when an event occurred which was singularly inauspicious for the interest of his house. In 1247, the office of *ji-tō* over five important parts of the *shō* in central Satsuma comprising 1,080 acres of tilled land passed into the hands of the powerful Shibuya brothers just arrived from Kamakura.

Before we turn to this ominous event, let us interrupt for a moment the sequence of our narrative, in order to take a broad survey of the progressive control that the Shimadzu assumed in south Kyū-shū during the four centuries following Tadahisa's death. Throughout the Kamakura period (1186-1333), the successive heads of the Konoé branch of the Fujiwara family continued as domanial lords of Shimadzu *shō*, the Toyama as their agents, the Kimotsuki and others as its hereditary *shiki*-holders, and the Shimadzu lords as its chief *ji-tō*. The *shu-go shiki* which the latter held at the same time does not seem to have contributed materially to their political power as military lords. They rose momentarily to a more commanding position during the Mongol war in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, when they had the *shō-gun*'s mandate<sup>48</sup> to supervise the conduct of the special military services that were imposed

<sup>43</sup> For lists of *go ke-nin* of this period, see No. 8, and report by officials of Ōsumi *kuni* dated Ken-kyū 9 y. 3 m. 13 d. (20 April 1108), in *Ta bumi*, II, and *Shi-seki shū-ran*, revised, XXVII, 62.

<sup>44</sup> The *shō-gun*'s orders dated Ken-kyū 9 y. 2 m. 22 d. (31 March 1108) and Kō-an 8 y. 10 m. 25 d. (23 November 1285) granted to the Shimadzu lord *myō-den* in seven *yose-gōri* in the three *kuni* (SK, I and IV; Hishizhima docs., IV). Whether these were the same as the demesnes of 100 *chō*, or 294 acres (30 *chō* each in Satsuma and Ōsumi and 40 in Hiuga), that were granted to Tadahisa by an order of 1204, cannot be determined, for this order has not been preserved; it is referred to in *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, lix, 8. At the same time, a surtax of one *to* per *tan* in the *hon-shō* and a half *to* per *tan* in the *yose-gōri* was assigned as a special revenue for the *ji-tō*. That Tadahisa's successor Tadayoshi cultivated waste land and agreed to pay a reduced rate of tax to the domanial lord for the tilled area, is seen in an order dated Ten-puku 1 y. 9 m. 12 d. (16 October 1233), in Hishizhima docs., IV.

<sup>45</sup> Cf., e.g., the *shō-gun*'s order dated Ka-roku 2 y. 12 m. 8 d. (28 December 1226), in Hishizhima docs., IV, and SK, II, recognizing a compromise that had been made between the deputy *ji-tō* and a bolder in Yamato *in*, Satsuma.

<sup>46</sup> An order of Ken-nin 3 y. 11 m. 10 d. (14 December 1203) concerning *yose-gōri* in Ōsumi, in SK, II. All the Ōsumi part of the *shō* had a Hōjō as its *ji-tō*, and its dues seem to have been administered by a Toyama.

<sup>47</sup> See, e.g., the Shimadzu's letter of devise of 1227 and 1265, in SK, II and IV.

<sup>48</sup> See the numerous orders of the *shō-gun* and of the Shimadzu lords between 1276 and 1294 relating to the Mongol war, in SK, V-VIII, and Hishizhima docs., I-IV.



upon his *go ke-nin* in the three *kuni*, and personally to lead them in war.<sup>49</sup> It is, however, difficult to say with what abiding increment of authority as a feudal lord the Shimadzu *shu-go* emerged from this short span of added power. The fact that he was stationed during a large part of the time at Hakata, on the north coast of Kyū-shū, may possibly have prevented him from enhancing his prestige at home as much as he might otherwise have been enabled to do. A more favorable opportunity came when the suzerain's government at Kamakura fell, in 1333, and the revolt and the usurpation of power by the Ashikaga lords followed three years later. The last event caused members of the imperial house and the feudal classes of Japan to be divided into two opposing parties which, in south Kyū-shū as in other regions, were at once thrown into a state of promiscuous warfare. Ashikaga Takauji raised a prince of blood to the throne at the historic capital, Kyōto, and became the *shō-gun* of feudal Japan, while the legitimate emperor, Go-Daigo, fled south to Mount Yoshino, in Yamato, and commanded loyal warriors everywhere to wage war against the adherents of the Northern (Kyōto) Court. In this civil war Shimadzu Sadahisa, in Satsuma, espoused the cause of the *shō-gun*, and was authorized by him to lead, as *shu-go*, the *kuni* warriors who were ranged on the same side. Here was a chance at last, both for the old rivals of the baron's family to try to force a decision by arms, and for the latter to seek to subdue them to his authority. Battle followed battle, as will be seen in our text, under continually changing circumstances. Fortune favored neither party with exclusive success: Sadahisa gained through repeated service on the field a deepened loyalty of his own vassals, and won over some of the historic rivals and vanquished others; those of the contestants of his power who survived the impact were fewer than before but more hardened and determined and more dangerous for him as foes.

It was during this period of the war between the two imperial courts (1336-1392) that the Fujiwara domanial lordship of Shimadzu came to an end. Early in this age, the *shō-gun* seized for his household those parts of the *shō* in Hiuga that lay directly to the east and north of its original portion. Even of the latter the greater part was, in 1339, lost to its noble domanial lord, his agents here having at last been compelled, some to flee, and others to surrender to Hatakeyama Nao-aki, the active deputy in Hiuga of the *shō-gun*. In 1352 about 850 acres of this land were granted by the *shō-gun* Takauji to Shimadzu Suketada. Previously, Konoé Tsunetada, the thirteenth in the illustrious line of the domanial lords of the *shō*, had allied himself with the Court of Yoshino, so that his distant domain had fallen a natural prey to the enemy; and, with his death in September 1352, the domanial lordship quietly passed out of existence, after a lapse of more than three hundred years since its foundation. It is true

<sup>49</sup> See the well-known pictorial narrative by Takezaki Suénaga of the war in 1274 and 1281. Shimadzu lords led the contingents of south Kyū-shū, and actively participated in battles. Even a counter attack upon the enemy's land, in which the Shimadzu and men of south Kyū-shū were to play a chief rôle, was planned (and partially carried out). This is shown by orders of summons, among other pieces of evidence that exist, issued by Shimadzu Hisatoki to vassals, dated Ken-chi 2 y. intercalary 3 m. 5 d. (20 April 1276), in *SK*, V. The editor discovered in the summer of 1918 among documents at the Buddhist church Tō-dai *zhi*, Nara, an autograph letter written from Kyōto by its priest Shō-Shu on Kō-an 4 y. 8 m. 16 d. (31 August 1281) conveying rumors of the planning of an expedition to Korea by "all the *go ke-nin* of the three *kuni*,"—a piece of collateral evidence which has since been much prized by Japanese historians.

that the succession of the Konoé family was maintained through a branch which was affiliated with the Northern Court, and has continued to this day, and also that the phrase "Shimadzu *shō*" survived in documents till the end of the fifteenth century; but the real institutional life of the *shō* as such was terminated, and its control had irretrievably passed into the hands of warrior lords, never to be reunited as a single domain under a Konoé or any other non-feudal lord.

It has been intimated that all parts of the *shō* had been parcelled out among feudal lords: it had not simply passed from a Fujiwara noble to a Shimadzu baron. In fact, Sadahisa had been able to seize but fractions of the great domain. Nevertheless, the passing of the *shō* had left the Shimadzu baron, no longer as a *ji-tō* under a civil noble, but as the feudal lord of his own domains, which were, to all intents and purposes, his fief held under the *shō-gun*. The new fief had been carved out of the vast extent of the old *shō*, and was, in reality, destined in the course of the next two centuries to grow even larger than the latter. To this ultimate result contributed not only the ability of successive heads of the family, but also many historical circumstances, some of which may be observed in the later documents of the period contained in this volume. During the protracted ages of the civil war which engulfed all parts of Japan till their unification by Tokugawa Iéyasu in 1600, the Shimadzu were involved in a continuous series of fierce struggles for ascendancy among contending factions of territorial lords. The very existence of the family seemed often to hang in a trembling balance. By sheer perseverance and native ability, reinforced by policies not infrequently characterized by the unscrupulousness which was common in those dark ages, the Shimadzu baron gradually prevailed upon his ancient rivals one after another, until the final stages of his achievement were attained in the second half of the sixteenth century in a remarkably rapid succession of events. Then suddenly the field of his military operations widened from the southern section to the whole of Kyūshū: within the ten years between 1577 and 1587, as will be seen in the documents Nos. 146 and 147, the Shimadzu lords, who had already gathered in all of the old *shō* and more, swept with their arms of conquest the greater part of the six *kuni* to the north. And with an equally dramatic swiftness they were thrust back, by the supreme military manœuvre of the new suzerain, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, into the confines of the southern domain. The Shimadzu succumbed meekly before the masterly despot, swore to him their allegiance, and joined loyally in his Korean expeditions.<sup>50</sup>

The blow that Hideyoshi dealt upon the heads of the Shimadzu may well be viewed as a blessing in disguise for them; for it shattered their unnatural ambitions and threw them back to their proper sphere of power. This they received anew at the hands of the suzerain as their legitimate fief with definite boundaries and under their full autonomy.<sup>51</sup> These boundaries were slightly changed thereafter, but always in favor of the baron, while all the local chiefs within the barony were henceforth legally his vassals, subservient and removable at will:<sup>52</sup> the anxious days of uncertainty and rivalry were past forever. The baron's control over his fief and vassals was further tightened under the Tokugawa *shō-gun* (1600-1867). Throughout this long period the rule of the Shimadzu was a veritable replica in Kyūshū on a smaller scale of the

<sup>50</sup> Nos. 148 and 150.

<sup>51</sup> No. 149.

<sup>52</sup> No. 151.

peculiar régime that the Tokugawa had elaborated for all Japan,—a régime in which feudal and centralizing agencies of government were skilfully balanced with one another.<sup>53</sup> With resources, moral and material, husbanded in the remote Kyū-shū during these two centuries and a half of peace, men under the Shimadzu were able, when their time arrived in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, to rise to the leadership of the national upheaval which culminated, chiefly through their instrumentality, in the downfall of the Tokugawa rule,<sup>54</sup> and then to direct the political affairs of the imperial régime during the first years after its inauguration. To this very day the guiding hand of the southerner may be discerned in the conduct of the government along more than one line of its activity.

### THE SHIBUYA FAMILY

THE summary view of the career of the house of Shimadzu which we have just given will serve as a guiding chart as we fly back a space of full six hundred years, and, beginning at the middle of the thirteenth century, trace the progress of events at an important region which was later absorbed into the great barony. In the year 1247, the date of the appointment of five Shibuya brothers as new *ji-tō* of *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō* in central Satsuma, we find ourselves at the beginning of the third generation after the dawn of the feudal age of Japan. At Kamakura, the Hōjō regent controlled the affairs of the shogunate; and, at Kyōto, Kanetsune, the Konoé domanial lord of the historic *shō* in Kyū-shū had just resumed his place as Premier; while, in the south, the second lord of Shimadzu, Tadayoshi (1202-1264), in his desire for local ascendancy, was being obstructed at every turn by the agents of the domanial lord and the numerous chieftains who had long been established in and out of the *shō*. The sudden descent at this juncture into the heart of Satsuma of the five vigorous offshoots of the famed warrior family of Shibuya must have seemed to the young house of Shimadzu an event disquieting in the extreme.

The Shibuya, like their kinsmen the Chiba, the Miura, the Hatakeyama, and others, all renowned families of warriors, formed a branch of the great Taira stock which, as will be seen in the genealogical chart below, had descended from the emperor Kwanmu. The latter's great-grandson, voluntarily renouncing his birthright in the reigning house, had accepted the new family-name Taira, and become a local official in the eastern *kuni* Katsusa. His progeny settled and multiplied, as officials of either *kuni* or *shō*, in parts of the extensive sedimentary plain lying east of the Hakone mountains, the various branches assuming for their families the names of their chief domains.<sup>55</sup> Whether public officials of *kuni* or agents in private *shō*, these settlers were all chieftains of warriors: though serving under the imperial government or under civil and religious lords, all these vigorous families were allied by ties of vassalage with the military lords, above them, of the main branches of the two noble families, Taira and Minamoto, and, below them, with the local warriors rooted in the soil.

<sup>53</sup> Nos. 153 and 154.

<sup>54</sup> No. 155.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. No. 63, n. 15 (p. 212), and p. 371, n. 23, below.

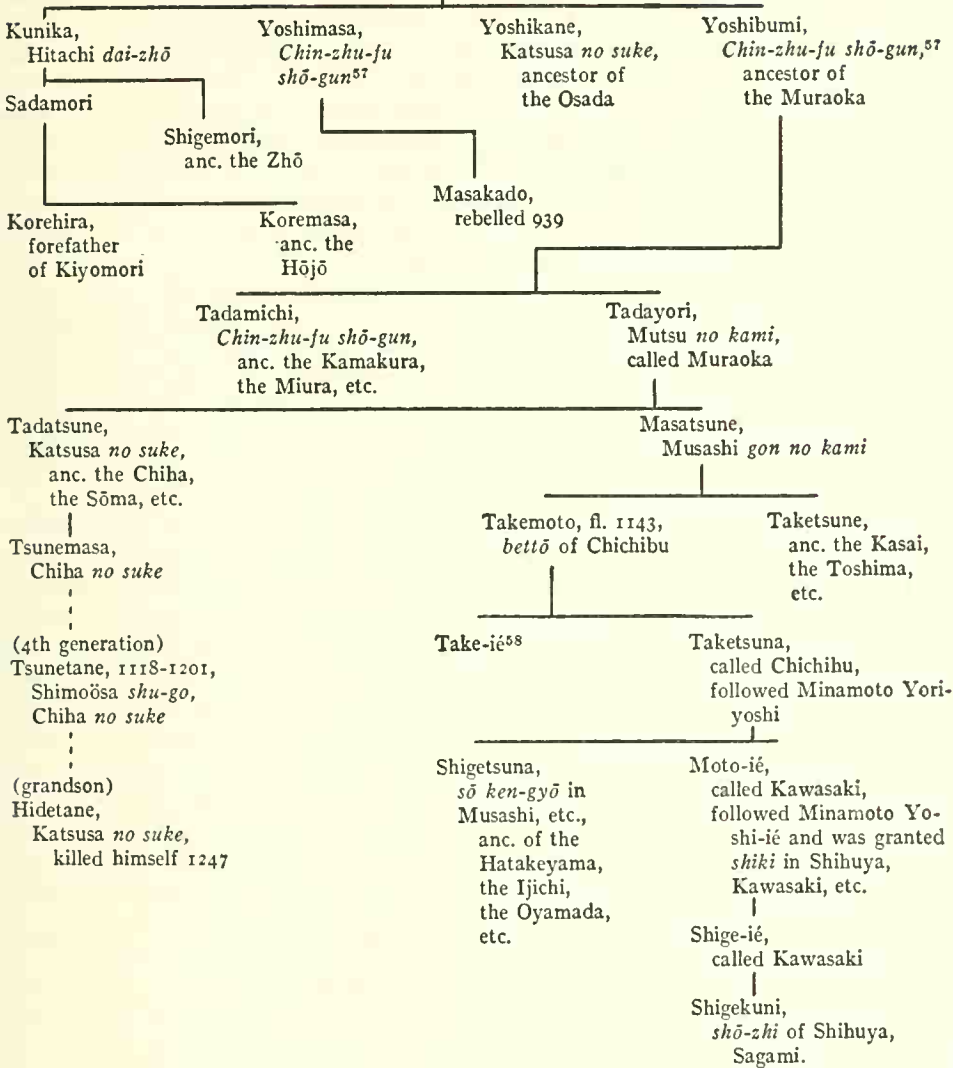
# GENEALOGICAL CHART A<sup>56</sup>

The emperor Kwan-mu (reigned 781-806)

The imperial prince Kuzuwara

Prince Takami

Prince Takamochi, the first Taira,  
Katsusa no suke



(See the chart B.)

<sup>56</sup> This is a greatly abridged chart, based upon the tables found in *Kei-dzu sō-ran*, II, 1 ff., 90 ff; *Zoku gun-zho rui-zhū*, V, 213-260; VI, 1-22, 35-49, 157-201; *Ō kei-dzi*, xliii, the Taira; *Musashi bu-shi*, 50-62; *Shin-pen Musashi fū-do ki kō*, x, 16-17; *Tō-saku shi*, 382-383; *Ke-tō in shi*; etc. These tables show considerable divergence at many points, nor can our chart be accurate in every detail. All that can be hoped for is the general probability of the larger relations.

<sup>57</sup> Military officer in the garrison in Mutsu.

<sup>58</sup> Some genealogies omit Take-iē and place Moto-iē in his place.



The Shibuya descended from the Kawasaki branch of the Taira. Moto-ié, the first of this branch, is said to have been granted, as reward for the warlike service he had rendered under Minamoto lords, a *shiki* of management of the latter's domain lying mostly in the *kuni* of Musashi between the modern cities Tōkyō and Yokohama, that comprised Shibuya, Rokugō, Kawasaki, and Hon-moku; hence his family-name. It is not till the time of Moto-ié's grandson, Shigekuni, that we find in records members of this branch bearing the family-name Shibuya.<sup>59</sup>

There is some confusion in the writings of local historians regarding Shibuya, since regions of that name are found in both *kuni* Musashi and Sagami, with several villages, like Ochiai, Todzuka, and Wada, occurring in the neighborhood of each; and since the Shibuya in Musashi was held by Moto-ié and his descendants for generations,<sup>60</sup> while his grandson, Shigekuni, and the latter's successors were *shō-zhi* (*shō* officials) at the Shibuya in Sagami.<sup>61</sup> What is more, our documents reveal the little known fact that Yoshida, in southeastern Sagami *kuni*, was sometimes called the upper *shō* of Shibuya, and its *shiki* was also held by Shigekuni's line.<sup>62</sup> It is probable that members of different branches of the family were related to one or another of all the three places, and that many of them came to use the same general family-name Shibuya or the same minor names Ochiai, Wada, and the like, deriving them, some from the localities in Musashi and the others from those in Sagami. It is hardly necessary for us to determine the priority of the place-names in the two *kuni*. In this volume, we shall be concerned exclusively with the Shibuya families in Sagami.

It was during the early life of Shibuya Shigekuni that his liege-lord and the chief of the main branch of the great warrior-family of Taira, to which Shigekuni himself belonged—Kiyomori—rose to power meteor-like; having in 1160 vanquished his rival lords of the Minamoto, another military family of an imperial origin, Kiyomori ascended seven years later to the premiership of Japan. It would seem that under his patronage men of the Shibuya attained the summit of their prosperity as local chiefs. When Sasaki Hideyoshi, of Ōmi, the partisan of the Minamoto, was at their fall dispossessed of his holdings, and wandered with his family into Sagami, the gallant Shigekuni, in admiration of the valor of this recent foe of his lord, honored the stranger and his followers with shelter and support for twenty years, till 1180.<sup>63</sup> Nor did Shigekuni during this time place any obstacle in the way of the Sasaki communicating<sup>64</sup> with the young Yoritomo, in Idzu, the scion of the Minamoto, whom Kiyomori had exiled there, and who was secretly framing plans of a revolt. Like other

<sup>59</sup> According to a tradition which is hardly credible, Shigekuni's father, Shige-ié, was granted the family-name Shihuya by the imperial government for his service of having captured at the palace the robber Shihuya Morikuni; and the place-name west of the present Tōkyō was derived from Shige-ié's family-name, since he resided there. *Shin-pen Musashi fū-do ki kō*, x, 16-17.

<sup>60</sup> See the various genealogies mentioned above; also see *Dai Nihon chi-mei zhi-sho*, 2840. Cf. No. 27, n. 6.

<sup>61</sup> This is evident in *Adzuma-kagami* (i, Ji-shō 4 y. 8 m. 9 d., and 26 d.; xvi, Shō-ji 2 y. 11 m. 4 d.; i, Kō-chō 1 y. 5 m. 13 d.; etc.).

<sup>62</sup> See No. 14, n. 5, and No. 24. A passage in *Adzuma-kagami*, ii, Yō-wa 1 y. 9 m. 27 d., refers to Shibuya proper, which lies to the west of Yoshida, as the lower *gō* of Shibuya.

<sup>63</sup> *Adzuma-kagami*, i, Ji-shō 4 y. 8 m. 9 d.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, the same year 8 m. 9 d., 13 d., 16 d., 17 d.



chivalrous warriors of the age, Shigekuni may have regarded private attachments as a thing apart from public affairs over which he had little control: rivalry of great families was a game, but personal relations of men of honor were eternal verities transcending the division of political parties. Shigekuni would serve his knightly guests with distinction, but would, if he must, meet them at the proper moment in an open combat on the field. The same spirit is discernible in his conduct when Yoritomo urged him through the Sasaki to come to his support, and Shigekuni neither answered nor betrayed him;<sup>65</sup> when, Yoritomo at last rising, Shigekuni followed Ōba Kagechika's forces<sup>66</sup> that attacked the small army of the rebel south of the modern Odawara, and utterly defeated it, Yoritomo flying to Awa across the sea, and the Sasaki hiding themselves in the Hakone mountains;<sup>67</sup> and, again, when Kagechika requested Shigekuni to seek and arrest the Sasaki and confine their families, and Shigekuni gave him a flat refusal. Shigekuni had been unable to restrain the Sasaki, said he frankly to Kagechika, according to the trustworthy account in the annals,<sup>67</sup> when they joined their own liege-lord, and was displeased to be asked, despite the armed service he had just rendered, to commit a faithless act toward his honored friends. When three of the four Sasaki brothers were brought by a Buddhist priest to Shibuya, Shigekuni secretly harbored them; noting the absence of the fourth, who had married his daughter, and understanding the scruples of the young warrior, Shigekuni bade his retainers seek him out in the mountains and bring him.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 m. 13 d.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 m. 26 d.

<sup>67</sup> *Adzuma-kagami*, i, Ji-shō 4 y. 8 m. 26 d.



tary retainers of his family. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that in 1184, when the power of the Taira had already been irreparably broken, Shibuya Shigekuni and his children were ranged on Yoritomo's side. Thereafter they served him in all warfare<sup>71</sup> with great distinction, and during times of peace in personal attendance upon the first *shō-gun* and his successors.<sup>72</sup>

Yoritomo died in 1199, and, when his second and last successor, Sanetomo, was assassinated twenty years later, the main line of the Minamoto was extinguished. Although this was followed till 1333 by a succession of nominal *shō-gun* of the imperial or Fujiwara blood, the real power of the government at Kamakura had long since passed into the hands of his regent (*shikken*), who was of the Hōjō family, another branch of the Taira. In the meantime, the fortune of the Shibuya would seem to have perceptibly declined. In 1213 some men of this family were involved in the unfortunate revolt of the Wada against the regency, in which eight of the former perished.<sup>73</sup> Surviving members of the once illustrious Shibuya are mentioned among the immediate attendants of the suzerain or the regency, to the end of the annals of Kamakura, till 1265; the story of the family thereafter must be sought away from the center of feudal Japan<sup>74</sup>—in Kōtsuke, Ise, Mimasaka, and, above all, Satsuma, where, as we shall see, men of the Shibuya had permanently settled down. Indeed, it may fairly be supposed that, even earlier, despite all the special favors<sup>75</sup> accorded the Shibuya by Yoritomo, they were, during his lifetime, hardly as influential as they had been under Taira no Kiyomori,—the very favors of the suzerain having been bestowed

<sup>71</sup> *Adzuma-kagami*, iii, Gen-ryaku 1 y. 1 m. 20 d., 28 d.; iv, Bun-ji 1 y. 1 m. 26 d., 2 m. 1 d., 3 m. 2 d., 5 m. 5 d., 9 d.; ix, Bun-ji 5 y. 7 m. 19 d.; xvi, Shō-ji 2 y. 11 m. 4 d., 12 m. 27 d.; xxv, Shō-kyū 3 y. 6 m. 18 d.; xxxvii, Kwan-gen 4 y. 5 m. 24 d.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, v, Bun-ji 1 y. 10 m. 14 d.; vi, Bun-ji 2 y. 1 m. 3 d.; viii, Bun-ji 4 y. 3 m. 15 d.; ix, Bun-ji 5 y. 6 m. 9 d.; x, Ken-kyū 1 y. 11 m. 7 d.; xii, Ken-kyū 3 y. 11 m. 25 d.; xiii, Ken-kyū 4 y. 3 m. 21 d., 5 m. 8 d.; xiv, Ken-kyū 5 y. 7 m. 8 d., 11 m. 21 d.; xv, 6 y. 3 m. 10 d.; xvi, Shō-ji 1 y. 11 m. 28 d., 2 y. 2 m. 6 d.; xvii, Shō-ji 3 y. 1 m. 12 d.; xxiv, Shō-kyū 1 y. 7 m. 19 d.; xxvii, Kwan-ki 1 y. 1 m. 15 d.; xxxi, Ka-jō 2 y. 8 m. 4 d.; xxxiii, Nin-ji 1 y. 8 m. 2 d.; xxxiv, Nin-ji 2 y. 1 m. 5 d.; xxxv, Nin-ji 4 y. 1 m. 10 d., Kwan-gen 1 y. 1 m. 15 d.; xxxvi, Kwan-gen 2 y. 8 m. 15 d., 3 y. 8 m. 15 d.; xxxix, Hō-ji 2 y. 1 m. 3 d.; xl, Ken-chō 2 y. 3 m. 1 d., 12 m. 27 d.; xli, Ken-chō 3 y. 1 m. 20 d.; xlii, 4 y. 8 m. 1 d., 9 m. 25 d., 11 m. 11 and 12 d., 12 m. 17 d.; xliii, 5 y. 1 m. 16 d., 8 m. 15 d.; xlv, 6 y. 1 m. 4 d., intercalary 5 m. 1 d., 6 m. 16 d.; xlv, Kō-gen 1 y. 1 m. 4 d., 9 d., 13 d., 6 m. 29 d., 8 m. 16 d.; xlvii, Shō-ka 1 y. 2 m. 2 d., 8 m. 15 d.; xlviii, 2 y. 1 m. 1 d., 6 d., 7 d., 3 m. 1 d.; xlix, Bunno 1 y. 1 m. 12 d., 20 d.; l, Kō-chō 1 y. 1 m. 9 d., 14 d., 5 m. 13 d.; li, 3 y. 1 m. 8 d., 12 d.; lii, Bun-ei 2 y. 1 m. 12 d.

Exception must be made of Shigesuke, the fifth son of Shigekuni, who in the wars of 1185 and 1221 took the enemies' side, and was denounced by Yoritomo in stinging terms. He, the unfilial child, said the *shō-gun*, should be heheaded with a metal hoop around his neck. *Ibid.*, iv, Bun-ji 1 y. 4 m. 15 d., 5 m. 9 d.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, xxi, Ken-po 1 y. 5 m. 2 d. and 6 d.

<sup>74</sup> It is a fact that even the chief heirs, respectively, of Shige-ié and Shigekuni, and the whole group of the branches that descended from Shigekuni's successor, Mitsushige, are mentioned nowhere but in the records of the Iriki-in and other Shibuya families in Satsuma. The destiny of the main stock in Sagami is totally unknown.

<sup>75</sup> Yoritomo remitted the taxes of the lower *gō* of Shihuya (*ibid.*, ii, Yō-wa 1 y. 9 m. 27 d.), and paid those of Yoshida *shō* out of his own treasury (xii, Ken-kyū 3 y. 12 m. 20 d.), and gave to Takashige an immunity from the intrusion of *kuni* officials in his domain at Kurokawa *gō*, Kōtsuke *kuni* (iii, Gen-ryaku 1 y. 7 m. 16 d.).

upon them probably in consideration of their reduced circumstances; and that, after Yoritomo's death, through the repeated process of dividing domains among children at succession,<sup>76</sup> the estate of the chief heir in Sagami was at each turn more and more curtailed. In 1261 Takeshige was so sensitive of his circumstances in comparison with those of his forefathers as to take a deep umbrage, as is depicted in the annals, at an unintentional taunt that fell from the lips of a Sasaki.<sup>77</sup> The common custom of dividing one's estate among children had weakened more than one historic family among the great vassals of Kamakura, the very Sasaki being among those who suffered.<sup>78</sup>

Nor should it be forgotten that the regent, though he was distantly related to the Shibuya, as both belonged to collateral branches of the Taira, could hardly be expected to be partial to the worldly interest of the latter. Hōjō Tokiyori, like his father, Yasutoki, was a scrupulously impartial and self-controlled administrator, regarding neither himself nor his kin before the cause of justice. Anxious to be always rigorously just, he was stern to all infractions of established law. It was largely in view of the inflexibility of the regent, from which little clemency for guilt might be expected, that when men of the Miura and the Chiba—two other branches of the Taira—had been goaded by a series of unfortunate events to revolt, in July 1247, they advanced no plea for their really extenuating circumstances, but chose either to die fighting or to kill themselves, to the number of several hundreds.<sup>79</sup>

We should infer that the fall of their kinsmen, the Chiba, gave the Shibuya an opportunity to augment their depleted resources by expanding in the remote Shimadzu in Kyū-shū. The five *yose-gōri* of the *shō*—Taki, Togō, Iriki *in*, and Ketō *in*, on the valley of the river Sendai, and the islands Koshiki off the west coast—had been under the stewardship (*ji-tō shiki*), successively, of Chiba *no suke* Tsunetane (d. 1201) and his grandson, Hidetane.<sup>80</sup> In 1246 the latter seems to have incurred the displeasure of the regent,<sup>81</sup> and, as he died with his kinsmen in the revolt of the next year narrated above, the *shiki* of *ji-tō* of all the five *yose-gōri* except the islands which he had held seem to have been granted to the five younger sons of Shibuya Mitsushige. Of this grant there exists no direct evidence,<sup>82</sup> but the inference is cogent, in view of the official recognition of the fact made by the regency three years later.<sup>83</sup> Accordingly, it seems needless to accept the view advanced ages later by local writers of Satsuma<sup>84</sup> that the Shibuya had left Kamakura lest the fortune of their house might suffer, if they stayed, at the hands of the Hōjō. Nor can we support the theory that the five brothers had come down without any mandate, but arbitrarily taken possession of

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Nos. 13, 17, etc.

<sup>77</sup> *Adzuma-kagami*, I, Kō-chō 1 y. 5 m. 13 d.

<sup>78</sup> In 1248, Sasaki Sanehide presented to the shogunate a memorial written on "several consecutive sheets" that recited the great services his forefathers had rendered to Yoritomo, and bewailed the straitened condition into which the writer's branch of the Sasaki had sunk; *ibid.*, Hō-ji 2 y. 6 m. 21 d.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxviii, Hō-ji 1 y. 6 m. 5 d.

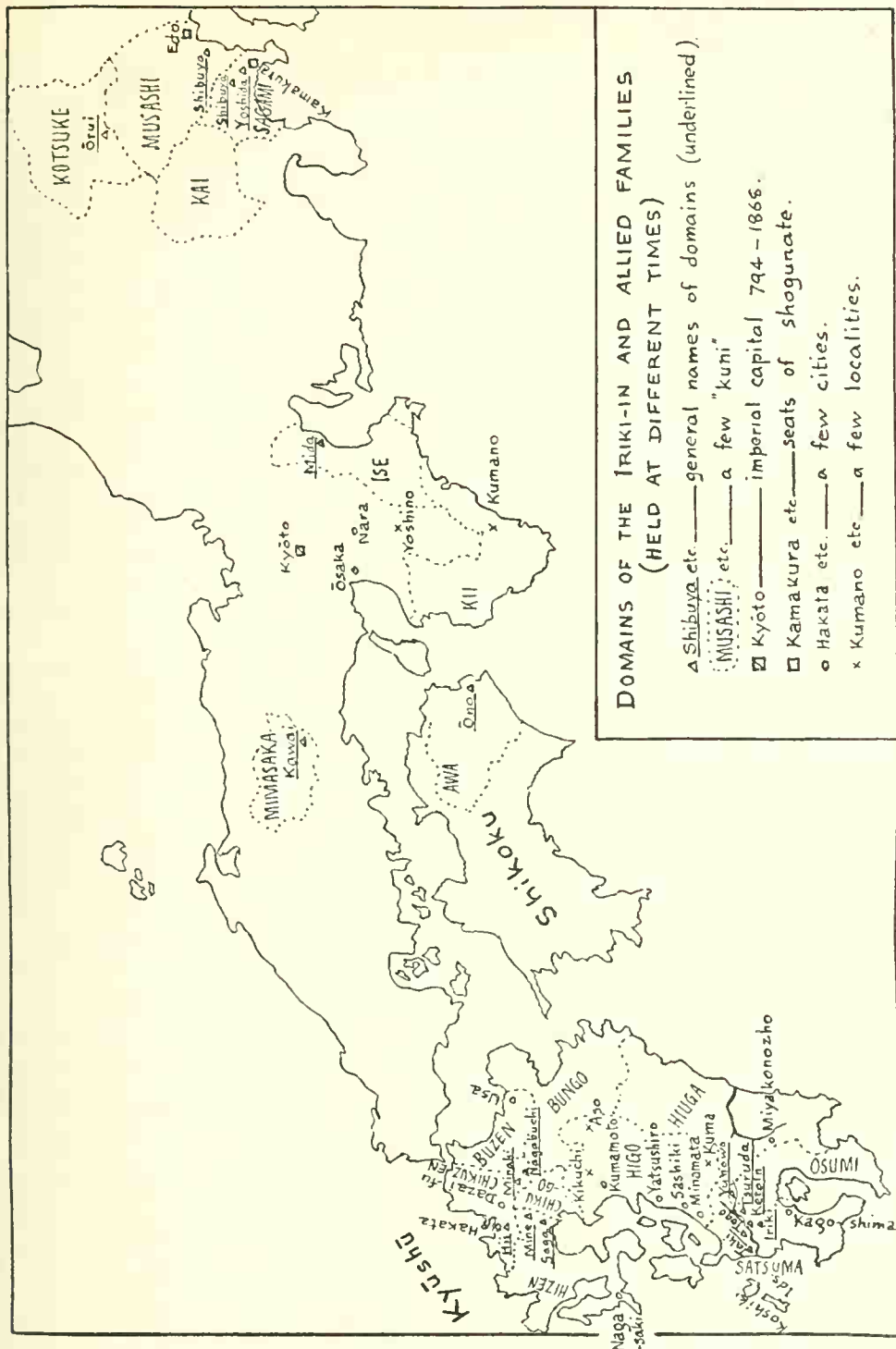
<sup>80</sup> See No. 8, n. 47, Nos. 9 and 16, and the genealogical chart A above.

<sup>81</sup> No. 16.

<sup>82</sup> *Adzuma-kagami* only refers to a part of the recent holdings of Chiba Hidetane that was given to the Great Temple of Ise (xxxviii, Hō-ji 1 y. 7 m. 14 d.).

<sup>83</sup> No. 16.

<sup>84</sup> See the introduction to No. 13.







the four places, receiving the regent's sanction after the act had been committed.<sup>85</sup> However that may be, the new *ji-tō* did not, as their predecessors had done, remain in the east and merely send down their deputies, but forthwith migrated to Satsuma as resident stewards, without at the same time relinquishing their less important *shiki* in Sagami, Ise,<sup>86</sup> Mimasaka,<sup>86</sup> and Kōtsuke;<sup>86</sup> to these were added after the Mongol war new grants of land in northern Kyū-shū,<sup>87</sup> and at some time later small domains in Kai<sup>88</sup> and Awa.<sup>89</sup> The eldest brother, Shigenao, called Shibuya Tarō, remained in the ancestral domain in Sagami, and succeeded to the main estate.

One of the four *yose-gōri* in Satsuma, Ketō *in*, was on this occasion divided into two stewardships, Tsuruda and the smaller Ketō *in*, and the resulting five *ji-tō shiki* were distributed among the brothers as follows: the second son, Saneshige, at Tōgō;<sup>90</sup> the third, Shigeyasu, at Ketō *in*;<sup>90</sup> the fourth, Shigemoro, at Tsuruda *mura*;<sup>90</sup> the fifth, Jō-Shin, at Iriki *in*;<sup>90</sup> and the sixth, Shigesada, at Taki *kōri*.<sup>90</sup> A glance at the map will show that these regions were all situated on the valleys of the lower course of the greatest river in Satsuma, namely, the Sendai, and its tributaries. Having its sources below the high ranges of mountains that separated the western spur of Hiuga from Higo on the one hand and from Ōsumi on the other, the Sendai drained the western half of the historic valley that nestled between the ranges, and, tracing a large triple curve, along many of the most populous centers of habitation in central Satsuma, emptied itself into the sea at the harbor of Kyō-domari, after a course of more than a hundred miles from its heads.<sup>91</sup> The five regions on which the Shibuya brothers now settled covered nearly the whole of the valley of the lower half of the river; and the greater part of the stream within this distance was navigable by rowboats. The soil of this drained area was sedimentary and suitable for the culture of rice; where the ground was less favored, extensive pastures for horses were available at least at four places between the estuary and Ketō.<sup>92</sup>

It appears altogether probable, as has often been surmised, that the region of eastern Taki or western Tōgō just north of the Sendai formed the administrative center of Satsuma in the pre-feudal period. It is in this general vicinity that the historic provincial Buddhist church (Koku-bun *zhi*)<sup>93</sup> stood, the important Shintō temple, Niita Hachiman,<sup>94</sup> still occupies its ancient site, and traditions relating to the fortresses

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Nos. 13, 15, and 16.

<sup>86</sup> Nos. 13, 17, 23, 30, 93, etc. For Mimasaka, cf. *Tō-saku shi*, 369.

<sup>87</sup> Nos. 45, 46, etc.

<sup>88</sup> Nos. 115 and 133.

<sup>89</sup> Nos. 48 and 60.

<sup>90</sup> It is not necessary here to enlarge upon the institutional history of the various territorial units. It will suffice to state briefly that the *kōri* was a regular administrative division of the *kuni*, or province; that the *in* was one of a less formal origin that, especially in south Kyū-shū, had come to be regarded as nearly equivalent with the *kōri*; that the *gō* was also a semi-official area, smaller than and normally comprised within the *kōri* or *in*, which had been generally recognized as an administrative unit; and that the *mura* was the least formal but not the least persistent division, which was usually smaller than the *gō*. In "Tōgō" the unit-name *gō* has been incorporated into the proper name.

<sup>91</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xiii, 1-2.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, xi, 15; xii, 3, 17; xviii, 2.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, xii, 17-18; see also No. 6; No. 9, n. 3; and Nos. 25 and 50.

<sup>94</sup> See the introduction to No. 1.

and the wars of the later warrior-governors abound;<sup>95</sup> it was also here that in those days the two high roads coming from the south seem to have converged.<sup>96</sup> At any rate, the *ji-tō shiki* of Tōgō fell into the hands of the eldest of the five Shibuya. He may for a time have been looked upon by his younger brothers as a sort of chief, and his residence at Onobuchi,<sup>97</sup> Tōgō, as the center of influence of all the Shibuya in Satsuma. Near here stood a temple dedicated to the five Shintō deities, Ise, Hachiman, Kasuga, Kamo, and Takechi, which, according to legends, the five brothers established.<sup>98</sup> The residence of Taki Shigesada was at the present Fumoto, west of the Taki, a tributary of the Sendai, not far from Koku-bun *zhi*; at least, it was here that in later ages the Taki branch had its chief fortress.<sup>99</sup> The home of Ketō-in Shigeyasu must have been the modern Miya-no-zhō<sup>100</sup> by the main stream, while the center of the Tsuruda branch was higher up the river at the point where the latter almost touched the main road.<sup>101</sup> The settlement of the Iriki-in will be treated separately below. It may be added that, in this period, the local chief still being partly a warrior and partly a manager of a farm, his residence was usually built with a view to affording it at once sufficient defensive strength in war and an easy access to cultivated fields in times of peace; as the chief weapon was the bow and arrow, and as combat was still largely individual, it was considered adequate to erect near the farm a rather substantial wooden house, either on a wide ground surrounded on two or more sides by streams or moats,<sup>102</sup> or on the side or top of an eminence. It is likely that, at the five places, residences of the second type prevailed. Each of the chiefs, also, following the common religious custom of the age, founded, near his residence, Shintō and Buddhist institutions in order to invoke the aid of the unseen powers for the welfare of the souls of the deceased and for the prosperity of the house.

The student should clearly understand the nature of the double capacity which each of the five warriors possessed as *ji-tō* and as direct vassals (*go ke-nin*) of the *shō-gun*. (1) As *ji-tō*, the chief duty of a Shibuya was to yield to the government of the *kuni* and to the office of the *shō* the taxes which his *yose-gōri* owed them. In some instances,<sup>103</sup> it was deemed convenient for all parties concerned to farm out to the *ji-tō* fixed amounts of dues to be rendered by him irrespective of the condition of the annual crop. Whether so farmed or not, the *ji-tō* was accountable to the *kuni* and the *shō* to the extent of his financial obligations; but, since he was the suzerain's own "man," neither the governor nor the domanial lord could obtain redress if the steward failed in his duties, except through the intervention of his overlord at Kamakura. Fortunately, at this period the shogunate was anxious to do justice to any to whom the vassals were responsible in any manner. For his service, the *ji-tō* was rewarded, not only with the proceeds of a special surtax<sup>104</sup> levied upon the land in his charge,

<sup>95</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xii, 25-26; xiv, 17.

<sup>96</sup> *En-gi shiki*, xiii; *Ni-hon kō-ki*, xii (*En-ryaku* 23 y. 3 m. 25 d.). Tazhiri is identified by Muraoka Yoshisuke (in his *Ni-hon chi-ri shi-ryō*, xv, 9) with a point in Yamada west of Iriki.

<sup>97</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xii, 26.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, xii, 22.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv, 16, and *Taki gō yu-rai ki*, 2-3, 13-14.

<sup>100</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xviii, 19.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, xviii, 33, and *Ketō in shi*.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. No. 70, n. 12, p. 223, below.

<sup>103</sup> Nos. 22 and 49.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Nos. 15, 18, 59, 78, etc.

but also with pieces of land set apart as his demesne.<sup>105</sup> These he was at liberty to exploit and to dispose of, and they were usually let out to cultivators.<sup>106</sup> (2) As a *go ke-nin*, the *ji-tō*, like all his peers, owed services of court at Kamakura and as a grand guardsman at the imperial capital, Kyōto. It must also be noted that, in the same capacity, his relation toward the *shu-go* of the *kuni* in which he resided was singular: he should, like all *go ke-nin* in that sphere, perform police duties when local disorders occurred, and go to the field in case of war, under the immediate direction of the *shu-go*; and yet both were peers as direct vassals of the *shō-gun* at Kamakura. This was a chief reason for the anxiety that the Shimadzu felt at the coming of the Shibuya and for the difficult relations which naturally ensued between them.

In his own sphere, each Shibuya *ji-tō* was confronted with the same difficulty, only on a smaller scale, that the Shimadzu *shu-go* was experiencing in the *kuni*. Even as the latter had to contend with the obstruction of the various *ji-tō* and other warrior-chiefs in the territory, similarly the former met frequent resistance at the hands of the many well-established families whose heads, as will be seen in the land report of 1197 (No. 9), held in his *yose-gōri* by heredity the posts of *gun-zhi*, *gō-shi*, and *myō-shu*, and the pieces of land which accompanied these offices. Most of the local warriors held similar *shiki* also in other places, and were sufficiently strong, when they chose, to defy the *ji-tō*. The measure of his control which they would admit was strictly conditioned by his capacity as the general collector of the taxes; as the holder of his own demesne, he was really on a par with the other landholders who were *go ke-nin*. They would not only resent the least excess of power he might show at their expense, but even dare encroach upon his demesne.<sup>107</sup> To make the matter worse, there were, at least in Taki, Tōgō, and Iriki, lands which had not been incorporated into the *yose-gōri*, but belonged to other domains, and were managed by agents who had no official relation whatever with Shimadzu *shō* and its officials; these lands were evidently intermingled with parts of the *yose-gōri*, in the same manner that the *ji-tō*'s demesne was with the holdings of other warriors.

The complexity of the situation tended continually to increase through the prevailing custom of dividing and devising one's *shiki* among his children.<sup>108</sup> The *shu-go*, the *ji-tō*, and all *shiki*-holders habitually followed this procedure, no one questioning their right so to do, and the *shō-gun*'s government sanctioning the share of each devisee at succession, if he was his direct vassal, with a new writ of investiture or confirmation.<sup>109</sup> Add to this condition another historic custom in Japan, namely, of the woman inheriting *shiki*, even a *ji-tō shiki*, through a devise, and, after marriage, transmitting them to her children. The result was an ever changing division and combination, multiplying causes for complication and friction. As the families steadily ramified, and

<sup>105</sup> See the judicial judgment by the *shō-gun*'s court dated Ken-cho 4 y. 6 m. 30 d. (6 August 1252) on the *ji-tō* vs. a *myō-shu*, at Taki, in SK, IV.

<sup>106</sup> No. 13, n. 22. Cf. orders of the *shō-gun*'s government dated 1208 and 1278 that are found in *Mibu kwan-mu mon-zho* (*Koku-shi tai-kei*, XII, 1380-1382).

<sup>107</sup> Cf. No. 15, and the document referred to in n. 105 above.

<sup>108</sup> Nos. 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 23, 24, 42-48, 60, 73, etc. Cf. Nos. 63, 64.

<sup>109</sup> Nos. 21, 23, 24, 34, 35, 43, 48, 71, etc.



their *shiki* were correspondingly split, the tendency toward division naturally prevailed greatly over that toward combination. It was not till ages later that the impact of a continual civil war gradually tended to produce in Japan the *universalis successor* of the feudal warrior.

Chief among the powerful families that received the Shibuya with an ill grace were these: the Tomo,<sup>110</sup> also divided into the Takemitsu<sup>111</sup> and other branches; the Ōkura,<sup>112</sup> related to the Koremune and the Ichiku; the Ōsaki,<sup>113</sup>—these three had for ages held *shiki* in the civil government of the *kuni* and pieces of land in the neighboring country; probably some members of the Toyama, at Tōgō, the family of the hereditary agents of the domanial lord of Shimadzu *shō*;<sup>114</sup> the Madaramé, reputed to be a branch of the great Tachibana clan, at Ketō *in*;<sup>115</sup> the Shūin,<sup>116</sup> the Gon-Shūin<sup>117</sup> and the Kokubun,<sup>118</sup> strongly established about Taki. Friction with some of these families began as soon as the Shibuya arrived in Satsuma in 1247.<sup>119</sup> The three great families in Taki must have given a bitter, prolonged resistance, though written evidence of it is meager. Traditions, however, abound of the sanguine contests that the Ōsaki, known as the Zaikokushi ("resident *kuni* governors"), continued for generations to wage with the Shibuya in Tōgō; specially famed is the legend of Tōgō Shigechika, of the latter half of the thirteenth century, who vainly sought to break down the power of the Ōsaki at their fortress at Onobuchi, till finally in despair he buried himself alive, at an early age of twenty-three, fully armored and mounted on his charger, and swearing ghostly vengeance upon his enemy.<sup>120</sup> The names of the Zaikokushi lords continue to appear in documents of Tōgō and Ketō *in* till the period of the war of the two Courts in the early fourteenth century.<sup>121</sup>

All the five branches of the Shibuya gradually multiplied and were divided into an increasing number of small families. These held portions of the *yose-gōri* which were being at each generation split and shifted and willed to younger members. All the ramifications took the names of their respective domains as their family-names, and defended themselves in the fortresses which they erected at strategic points. Side by side with this process of division, there was discernible, as may be indicated in our documents, a slow but sure increase in the power of the chief heir of the main line of each original branch, and in the resulting cohesion of the latter as a unitary group of allied warrior families.

There, however, was hardly any consistent scheme of organization that comprised all the five main branches, nor were they always harmonious with one another. Each group was sufficient unto itself, coöperating with others only when they were impelled

<sup>110</sup> Nos. 1, 2, 4, 9, 15, 16, etc.

<sup>111</sup> Nos. 47, 54, 55, 58, etc.

<sup>112</sup> Nos. 3, 5, 9, etc.

<sup>113</sup> Nos. 8, 51, 102, etc. See an Ōsaki document of 1336, in *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, series VI, vol. III, 338.

<sup>114</sup> Nos. 2 and 5.

<sup>115</sup> Ketō *in shi*.

<sup>116</sup> Nos. 31, 50, 68, 100, etc.

<sup>117</sup> No. 86.

<sup>118</sup> Nos. 25 and 50.

<sup>119</sup> See No. 15.

<sup>120</sup> See No. 8, n. 73. Several legends have grown around this one. Shigechika's spirit was later deified, and annual Buddhist rites continued for centuries to be performed for its sake. See *Miya-no-zhō ki*; Ketō *in shi*; *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xii, 22, 24-27.

<sup>121</sup> A Tomimitsu doc., in *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iii, 338.



by a common danger or ambition,<sup>122</sup> and upholding a leader of whichever branch who had evinced superior qualities. Thus, between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, the influence of the four elder branches seemed eclipsed by that of the youngest, the Taki, owing in part to the size of the land it controlled,<sup>123</sup> but largely to the personal ability of its third lord, Shigesato. He is mentioned among the chief warriors of Kyū-shū, apparently somewhat overshadowing the Shimadzu;<sup>124</sup> and, in two orders from Kamakura dated 1286,<sup>125</sup> Shigesato, together with the three other lords, Shōni, Ōtomo, and Satsuma, was given wide judicial powers in the whole island, the second order being worded as follows:

It has already been ordered that, [as regards litigations by men of Kyū-shū], the various *shu-go* shall decide them. However, *ji-tō*, *go ke-nin*, and *bettō*,<sup>126</sup> *kan-nushi*,<sup>127</sup> *ku-sō*,<sup>128</sup> and *shin-kwan*,<sup>129</sup> of Buddhist churches and Shintō temples, as well as *myō-shu* and *shō* officials of different places [in Kyū-shū], have been bringing suits [to Kamakura and Rokuhara].<sup>128</sup> Henceforth, they should not come to the Kwan-tō<sup>129</sup> and Rokuhara, except under special orders, but stay in the *kuni* and render the guard service against the foreign [enemy].<sup>130</sup> If there be litigation, Shōni *nyū-dō*,<sup>131</sup> Hyō-go *nyū-dō*,<sup>131</sup> Satsuma *nyū-dō*, and Shihuya Kawachi *no gon no kami nyū-dō*, should consult together, and investigate and pass upon it. If the case is difficult of adjudication at the *kuni*, it should be reported. Even appeals should be investigated and reported upon. Those who, residing in the Kwan-tō,<sup>129</sup> bring suits against men in the Chin-zei,<sup>132</sup> should go down thither and be adjudged; they shall not be adjudged at the Kwan-tō.<sup>133</sup>

In 1319 Shigesato's grandson, Shigewo, was acting as the executive agent of the *shō-gun*, at least for the whole of central Satsuma.<sup>134</sup> Later the leading place among the

<sup>122</sup> Sometimes calls for warlike service were addressed to the whole body of the Shihuya; as, e.g., in No. 84.

<sup>123</sup> In comparison with the 42.7 *chō* of the *yose-gōri* in Tōgō, 75 in Iriki *in*, and 112 in Ketō *in* and Tsuruda, the Taki lord was *ji-tō* over 136.5 *chō*, besides 100 under other domanial lords which he might dominate if he could. See No. 9.

<sup>124</sup> In the list of great names of Kyū-shū dated Kō-an 9 y. intercalary 12 m. 28 d. (12 January 1287), Shigesato preceded Shimadzu Nagahisa (Hishizhima docs., IV, and SK, VI); and in the rotation of the services as councillors to the regent's deputy at Hakata that was assigned to thirty chief warriors of the island, appears Shigesato, but no Shimadzu (SK, VII).

<sup>125</sup> *Shin-pen tsui-ka*, c. 254 and 255.

<sup>126</sup> A *bettō* was usually a Buddhist priest in charge of the worldly affairs of the Shintō temple to which he was associated. *Ku-sō* were generally Buddhist priests serving under him and performing Buddhist rites for the Shintō deity; they might also mean Buddhist priests in independent Buddhist churches.

<sup>127</sup> *Kan-nushi* and *shin-kwan* were purely Shintō officials.

<sup>128</sup> The *shō-gun*'s deputies at Rokuhara, Kyōto.

<sup>129</sup> The Kwan-tō refers to Kamakura; see No. 12, n. 11.

<sup>130</sup> The Mongol invasion is referred to; see No. 45.

<sup>131</sup> The Shōni had originally been deputies of the *shō-gun* in Chikuzen, where they had stayed and become the chief warriors in northern Kyū-shū. Hyō-go *nyū-dō* was the Ōtomo lord, of Bungo, the strongest haron in that part of the island.

<sup>132</sup> The Chin-zei meant Kyū-shū.

<sup>133</sup> *Shin-pen tsui-ka*, c. 255, and Hishizhima docs., I.

<sup>134</sup> His executive order of 1319 addressed to a Kawakami, in the Kawakami docs. Thirty years later, in 1349, a Shihuya Tarō-zaemon-no-zhō acted in a similar capacity together with Nikaidō Yukiwo (see *Ni-kai-dō ujī sei-tō kei-dzu*, xii, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xiii, 27). This may possibly be the same Shigewo.

Shibuya would seem to have passed, sometimes to the Iriki-in,<sup>135</sup> sometimes to the Tōgō,<sup>136</sup> and still later to the Ketō-in;<sup>137</sup> as will be referred to below, the Iriki-in again rose to power, and reached the height of their influence toward the middle of the sixteenth century, throwing the others completely into the background. Nor are wanting instances after the fourteenth century of mutual quarrel among the related branches: men of different branches would support opposing political parties; the Taki would encroach upon Ketō in<sup>138</sup> and Tōgō;<sup>139</sup> the lords of these three and of Iriki would attack the Tsuruda, causing the latter's downfall.<sup>140</sup> In those ages, rivalry all too frequently divided families against themselves, and it would be difficult to find during the centuries of civil war ending in 1600 many families which were completely immune from internal dissension.

Had it not been for their own domestic divisions, the Shimadzu could have marshalled their resources and subdued the Shibuya families in comparatively early ages. As things were, the first branch to lose its ancestral domain was the Tsuruda, in 1401;<sup>141</sup> this was followed by the loss by the Taki of their territory, in 1422.<sup>142</sup> The Ketō-in were ousted in 1565,<sup>142</sup> and the Tōgō in 1587.<sup>143</sup> And the lost domains all found their way eventually into the hands of the Shimadzu.<sup>142</sup> It was the Iriki-in alone who, as will be seen below, though vanquished at the end of the fourteenth century, recovered their domain, and held it, with only a brief interruption, to the end of the feudal régime of Japan.

#### IRIKI IN AND THE IRIKI-IN

WE have reserved to this point a fuller account of the career of the Iriki-in branch of the Shibuya family, for, as the main subject of this volume, it deserves a special distinction in treatment.

Shibuya Jō-Shin, the first lord of Iriki, accompanied by some hereditary vassals<sup>144</sup> of his family in Sagami, arrived in the in in 1247,<sup>145</sup> and assumed the office of *ji-tō* in the *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō* comprised therein. This was a region at once more secure strategically and less favored economically than the neighboring districts in which his brothers settled at the same time. Iriki in was bounded on the north by the river Sendai and its tributary Kubuki, but on all other sides by mountain ranges traversed by difficult paths. To the south and southwest were Mts. Haé-yama and

<sup>135</sup> During the war of the two Courts: Nos. 92 and 116-118.

<sup>136</sup> See No. 121, in 1386.

<sup>137</sup> Between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century; *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xii and xvi.

<sup>138</sup> In 1341; see *SK*, XV, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, vi, 870.

<sup>139</sup> Later in the same year; see *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, vi, 915.

<sup>140</sup> In 1401; see the introduction to No. 121, and also No. 127.

<sup>141</sup> See note 140 above.

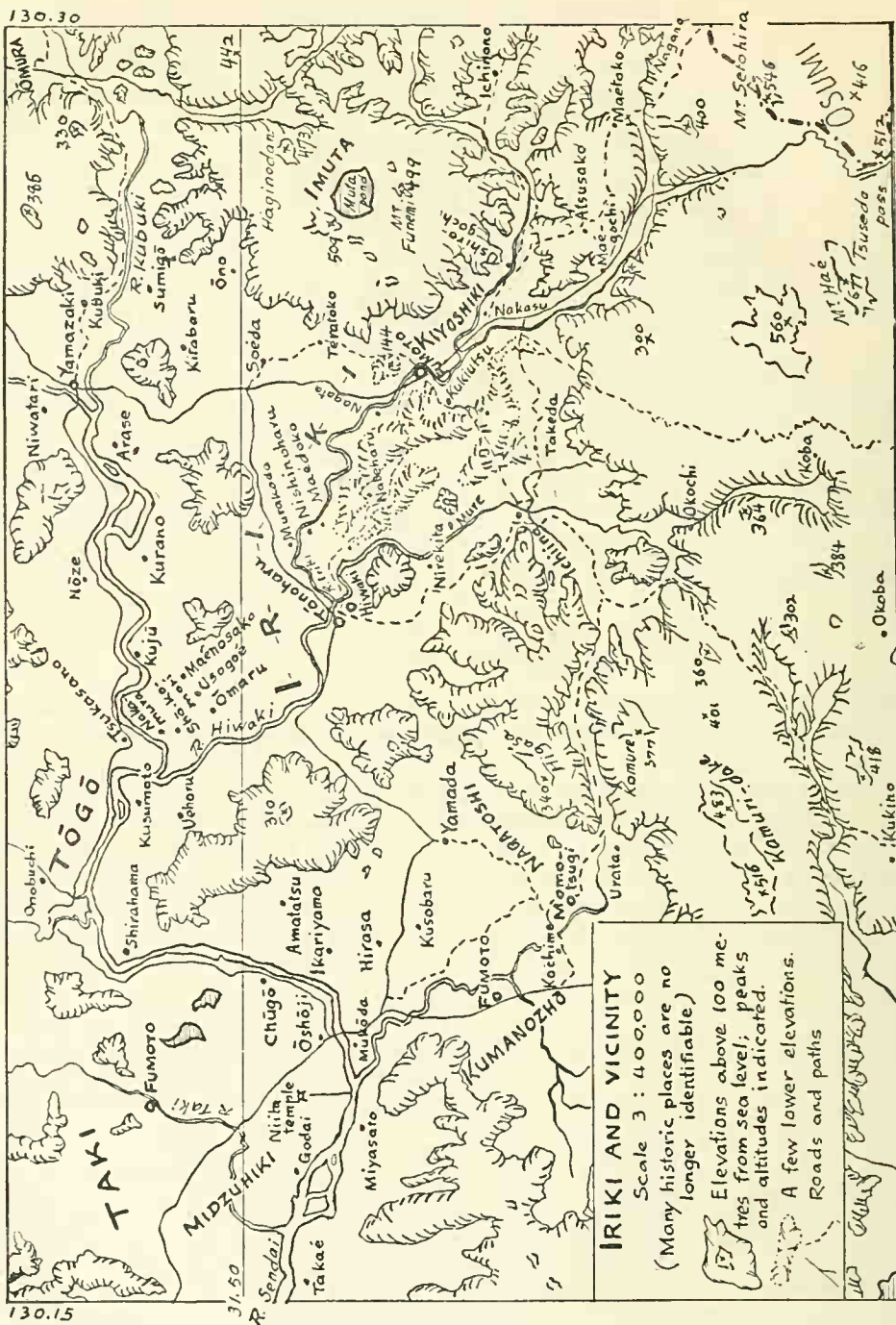
<sup>142</sup> See the preface to No. 145.

<sup>143</sup> Tōgō genealogies; *Taki gō yu-rai ki*, 21.

<sup>144</sup> According to *KK*, VII, these vassals included members of the families of Taneda, Katsuta, Honda, Ōyama, and Koba, all of which settled here with their lord and served his family for generations. Some of these family-names were, however, derived from place-names in Iriki in, and were therefore assumed by their bearers after their arrival.

<sup>145</sup> That Jō-Shin came in 1247, instead of the following year, as is generally assumed, is inferred from No. 15.







Kamuridake (2,221 and 1,692 feet above the sea level, respectively, at the highest points), separating Iriki from Mitsué *in* and Izhū *in*. The summit of Haé-yama commanded a sweeping view of the surrounding country and looked far into the southern sea. Athwart the eastern spur of the mountain ran the pass of Tsusedo,<sup>146</sup> on the main road leading to Kagoshima; it was at this pass that, a hundred and forty years later, Shibuya warriors harassed a retreating army of the Shimadzu.<sup>147</sup> The south-eastern limits of Iriki were marked by Takago (1,771 feet) and other peaks, beyond which lay the district Kamo. The east was flanked by the Funami mountains (1,647 feet), forming the western boundary of Imuta. To the west was a confused mass of elevations, none exceeding 1,200 feet, over which roads led to Taki and Yamada. These mountains and their many offshoots covered the greater part of Iriki *in*, leaving not more than a third of its area to human habitation. This lowland formed the basin of the Kiyoshiki and Ichiino rivers, whose rather swift currents joined to form the Hiwaki, becoming navigable for small craft, and finally flowing into the Sendai. The entire economic life of Iriki *in* was built upon the narrow strip of land drained by this little system of rivers. It is hardly surprising to see, in the cadaster of 1197,<sup>148</sup> that, of the less than 55 square miles of the total surface of the *in*, only 261 acres, or hardly eight-tenths of one per cent, were recorded as the cultivated area; and the *yose-gōri* comprised but 220.5 acres of this small extent of reclaimed land. It is probable that when Shibuya Jō-Shin arrived here a half-century later, considerably more land had been reclaimed,<sup>149</sup> and that subsequently cultivation continued to make a slow progress;<sup>150</sup> but the *yose-gōri* seems to have remained stationary,<sup>151</sup> perhaps so long as it persisted as such.

On the other hand, it may well be seen that a domain so completely surrounded by a broad river and complicated mountain systems must have been singularly impregnable against invasion, so long as the chief implements in warfare continued to be the bow and arrow, that is to say, till the use of the sword and the spear began to be more common from the latter part of the fourteenth century. Moreover, when about that time the Shimadzu established their quarters at Kagoshima, they found that the main road connecting that center with their allies in Tsuruda and with other points in its vicinity on the Sendai, ran through Iriki *in*. When this strategic route was controlled by the enemy, as it actually was by the Shibuya, the forces of the Shimadzu were compelled to take the circuitous road to the west that was the more exposed to other

<sup>146</sup> This must have been an extremely difficult pass till quite a recent time, for it is said to have become available for general traffic only after a great repair was made in 1845 by order of Shimadzu Nari-oki. Even this improved pass has now been discarded since a better highway was built here in 1893. *Ke-tō in shi*.

<sup>147</sup> No. 125.

<sup>148</sup> No. 9.

<sup>149</sup> Or else it is difficult to understand No. 18; see No. 22, n. 1.

<sup>150</sup> This may be inferred either from the population, or from the assessed productive power of the arable land, of Iriki *in* (including both Kiyoshiki and Hiwaki) during the Tokugawa period. The former could not have been less than 5,000 persons, while the latter must have been nearly 6,000 *koku*. Allowing 30 *koku* for the average *chō* of *ta*, 6,000 *koku* must represent 200 *chō*, or 500 acres. That would be the smallest possible extent of rice-land upon which 5,000 people, of whom nearly half the number were unproductive *samurai*, could be expected at all to subsist.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. No. 17, dated 1250.



foes the further north it led. Particularly difficult was the situation when, as it proved to be the case for a considerable period thereafter, most of the Shibuya were united and were allied with the Shimadzu's enemies at Idzumi, Hishigari, and Kuma. Any pacification of central and north Satsuma seemed to depend upon the reduction of Iriki.

In view of the political importance of the route that traversed the *in*, and of the economic value of the only system of rivers that irrigated the territory, it is significant that the Shibuya made their headquarters at the point where the route and the main river crossed each other, namely, at Kiyoshiki. Here, inside of the loop made by the wide rushing stream, stood a hill rising some two hundred feet above the ground and measuring nearly two miles around the base, adequately supplied with water and easily defensible.<sup>152</sup> This was the spot where the successive lords of the Iriki-in resided and guarded themselves. The fortress of Kiyoshiki was later supported by the secondary defenses on other elevations near by and in the *mura* of Soéda,<sup>153</sup> Ichiino, Hiwaki, and others,<sup>154</sup> which were built gradually as the family multiplied into branches that settled on the various points.

The prevailing religious sentiment which the Iriki-in shared in common with the warrior class of the age, found expression in the various Buddhist churches and Shintō temples, none of very great magnitude, which they established at Kiyoshiki and elsewhere.<sup>155</sup> A study of these institutions would reveal many an interesting characteristic of the religious psychology of the race, but we have no space to indulge our curiosity in that direction.

Sometimes an unauthenticated document is cited that shows that early in the eleventh century one Fujiwara Yoritaka controlled land in Iriki *in* and presented a part of it to the Niita temple of Taki, but little is known of the subsequent history of his family.<sup>156</sup> It is, however, an established fact that the temple and its Buddhist associate, Go-dai *in*, held pieces of rice-land in Ichiino *mura*, in Iriki, at least till the middle of the thirteenth century,<sup>157</sup> and even in the northern *mura* Kusumoto and Nakamura, by the river Sendai, in the early fourteenth.<sup>158</sup> It was in some of these small domains of the Niita temple that members of the great Ōkura family held hereditary *shiki*, besides controlling much greater *shiki* in the *yose-gōri* itself, as its *ben-zai shi*.<sup>159</sup> In the fertile plain at Tō-no-hara, further down the river from Kiyoshiki, of which this volume contains many documents, and upon which branches of the Iriki-in family were later established, warriors of the strong Ōsaki<sup>160</sup> and Tomo<sup>161</sup> families had held and continued to hold important *shiki*, more or less resisting the authority and the aggression of the new Shibuya *ji-tō* and his successors, despite the fact that the *shiki* were being divided and weakened,<sup>162</sup> till at least the early fourteenth century. It would seem that equally tenacious were the *shiki*-holders of the

<sup>152</sup> *Iriki sō-mawari*; *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xii, 10; *KK*, XII.

<sup>153</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xii, 13.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, xi, 36-37, xiii, 37; *KK*, XII; etc. Also see No. 125, n. 4 (p. 284), below.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, xi, 30-36, xii, 3-4, 8-9; *KK*, XII.

<sup>156</sup> See No. 8.

<sup>158</sup> No. 68, in 1327.

<sup>160</sup> Nos. 51 and 58.

<sup>162</sup> *Cf.* No. 58.

<sup>157</sup> Nos. 1, 3, 9, 50, 100, etc.

<sup>159</sup> Nos. 3, 5, 9.

<sup>161</sup> Nos. 12, 15, 16, 47, 54, 55, 58.

small domain in Ichiino which belonged, probably largely nominally, to the provincial church, Kokubun *zhi*, and its allied Shintō temple, Ten-man *gū*, both of Taki.<sup>163</sup>

These circumstances clearly indicate the special position that the Iriki-in lords, like the other Shibuya chiefs in Satsuma, occupied throughout the Kamakura period (1186-1333) of Japanese history. They were not, as they subsequently became, feudal lords holding the entire district as their fief and controlling all the local warriors as their vassals, but merely *ji-tō* of the *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō* that formed a fraction of the *in*, possessing a far smaller demesne and commanding a handful of their own retainers. One should go a step further and realize that this essentially transitional character of the *ji-tō* as a feudal chieftain typified the still incomplete feudalization of Japan. Feudal institutions there formed themselves privately and slowly in the course of centuries. When at last, in 1186, the greatest feudal lord which the country possessed at that time, Minamoto *no* Yoritomo, was admitted by the imperial government to share in the rule of the nation, the feudal system that he commanded was still so immature and the non-feudal institutions which lay beyond his control were still so vast and formidable, that he was barely able, as it will be recalled, to improvise the institutions of the *shu-go* ("protector" of the *kuni*) and the *ji-tō* (steward of the fiscal district) as an entering wedge of feudalism into the polity of Japan. And the whole system was as young socially as it was politically,—in private as in public law. The feudal forces of the Kamakura age exercised no greater control over the military, financial, and judicial powers of the central and local government of the country, than over the private rights and institutions of the feudal classes themselves, as regards the family, property, and personal relationship: the public and the private aspects of feudalism were in a process of parallel growth, feeling their way cautiously toward a better adjustment of the system to its own interest and a more complete assertion of its will upon the state. The final triumph supervened, as we shall presently observe, only toward the end of a protracted civil war which, having arisen in the first half of the fourteenth century, had raged with increasing fury for more than two centuries; it awaited this long discipline by fire and sword to enable feudalism to mature itself internally and to reduce and replace other agencies for the political control of Japan.

What has just been stated in abstract terms about the Kamakura period may be concretely illustrated by the eighty-eight documents<sup>164</sup> contained in this volume that date from that age. In them it will be seen, among other things, how the *ji-tō* of Iriki at the same time held *shiki* elsewhere in widely separated parts of the country; how he possessed in the *yose-gōri* his own demesne, as well as other sources of income; how freely he divided and devised his *shiki* among children, and how various branches were thus created, each of which acted likewise; what status the women of his household occupied, and what they contributed to the general institutional life; how intricate was the resultant division of the control of land over which he was *ji-tō*; and, in order to adjust the complicated fabric of claims that time was continually weaving over

<sup>163</sup> Nos. 9 and 25. In 1396 this was wrested from the hands of the Iriki-in by the Shimadzu lord and granted to a Nagayoshi (No. 125). By that time, it would seem, the Iriki-in had succeeded in reducing nearly the whole of the *in* under their control.

<sup>164</sup> Nos. 5-73.

land throughout Japan, how robust a system of administration of feudal justice had been devised at Kamakura. These are among the more obvious aspects of the feudal life of this period which may be gathered from the documents; they should yield to the keen analyst a much more abundant harvest of finer points.

Between the end of this period and the capitulation of the Iriki-in to the Shimadzu baron (1333-1397) intervened six decades of active warfare<sup>165</sup> which involved the whole of south Kyū-shū, as it did the rest of Japan. In this confused clash of arms, the historic *shō* of Shimadzu was, as we have seen, at length extinguished as an integral domain, and all the greater chieftains it had nursed—the Shibuya, the Shimadzu, and others—achieved a notable progress toward the position of feudal lords which they were eventually to occupy in the following ages: from the custom of dividing domains and *shiki* among children, a custom that had come down from the preceding period, were gradually evolved elements of primogeniture;<sup>166</sup> and out of the parcelled rights and interests of land slowly arose a trend toward a unitary control by a baron built upon a hierarchical organization of vassalage and infeudation.<sup>167</sup> It was in this period, also, that the Iriki-in had consolidated their control of the greater part of the *in*, and began to expand, through an exchange of land with another Shibuya family and by grants by the Shimadzu, eastward in southern Ketō<sup>168</sup> *in* and westward into Yamada.<sup>169</sup>

The historic rivalry of the Iriki-in and the Shimadzu came finally to a decisive issue at the end of the fourteenth century. After seventeen encounters, according to the *Taki gō yu-rai ki*, on different fields, the *shu-go* led three repeated assaults upon Kiyoshiki between 1395 and 1397, when Iriki-in Shigeyori at length surrendered and fled.<sup>170</sup> His hereditary domain was seized by the conquerer and parts of it were granted to others.<sup>171</sup> The position of the Shimadzu in south Kyū-shū was, however, still too insecure, and the historic prestige of the Iriki-in too great, for the former not to deem it politic to conciliate the latter by temporary grants of fiefs in other parts of Satsuma.<sup>172</sup> Nor was the Iriki-in lord backward in reestablishing himself at Kiyoshiki; in 1406 we already find him reinstalled in the historic home of his family.<sup>173</sup> Nominally vassals of the Shimadzu but really their allies, feared but indispensable, Shigeyori and his successors took advantage of the internal dissension that cleft the family of the *shu-go*, and resumed their course of expansion westward beyond the confines of Iriki *in*.<sup>174</sup>

The civil war that engulfed the whole of feudal Japan only deepened with time. It is altogether probable that in this age of universal commotion the Iriki-in lost all the domains they had held in the Kamakura period in other parts of Japan, including even those in northern Kyū-shū; everywhere scattered holdings of absent lords were absorbed into the fiefs of local barons. These losses were, however, more than compensated for by fresh gains made in Satsuma. While the Shimadzu were engrossed in

<sup>165</sup> Nos. 74-124, comprising eighty-four documents; but see Nos. 125 and 126 also.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Nos. 97, 115, etc.

<sup>168</sup> No. 76.

<sup>170</sup> Nos. 125 and 126.

<sup>172</sup> Nos. 126 and 127.

<sup>174</sup> Nos. 127, 132, 133.

<sup>167</sup> No. 107.

<sup>169</sup> No. 107 B and No. 121.

<sup>171</sup> No. 125.

<sup>173</sup> Nos. 128 and 129.

successive struggles with their rivals in various directions, with either their tacit consent or their express sanction, the lord of Iriki made within a few years before 1539 large conquests in Yamada and beyond,<sup>175</sup> annexing more than fifty square miles of contiguous territory stretching from the Yamada mountains straight to the western shore. To this was temporarily added, by grant, Kōriyama<sup>176</sup> to the southeast, which together with the recent acquisitions more than doubled the dominion of the family, and brought the latter to the height of its political power.

In the meantime, these "dark ages" of anarchy saw the final stages of the feudalization of Japan, both socially and politically, or, in both private and public law,—a process which is distinctly traceable in our documents. The *shō*, in which both the Shibuya and the Shimadzu had begun their careers as *jī-tō*, and whose domanial lordship had recently lapsed, rapidly disintegrated into fragments; in these the old distinctions of *shiki* and the division of control between the domanial lord and the *kuni* governor were obliterated, and were superseded by a new relationship frankly based upon vassalage.<sup>177</sup> Nor could the distinction of a later origin that had been drawn between "original" domains and "grants" be maintained with success;<sup>178</sup> all domains tended to become fiefs held of lords above and divided among vassals below. Likewise, *shu-go*, *jī-tō*, and *myō-shu*, as well as *go ke-nin*, had become empty terms, the complicated arrangement which they had once expressed having now been replaced by a new organization in the *kuni*: civil and religious lords having all but vanished, and the *shō-gun*'s authority having been almost forgotten, the old *shu-go* had become the overlord under whom the other lords and warriors were vassals and rear-vassals holding fiefs in a descending gradation in a scheme of hierarchical feudal relationships. The whole barony was an autonomous unit owing only a shadowy allegiance to the Ashikaga *shō-gun* at Muromachi, Kyōto; the baron's vassals wrote oaths of fealty,<sup>179</sup> and received all fiefs as grants.<sup>180</sup> Precisely similar principles ruled within the family and the domain of the Iriki-in lord: the succession was now by primogeniture;<sup>181</sup> the lord asserted his power as the chief of a coherent household, sanctioning the holdings of its members<sup>182</sup> and christening younger relatives on their reaching majority;<sup>183</sup> the parts of his fief with which he vested his own vassals in return for their services were in character exact duplicates of the fief he had received as a whole from the baron, that is, rewards for service which, in principle, were precarious grants, but, in practice, domains normally hereditary and subinfeudable.<sup>184</sup>

From the foregoing discussion it may perhaps be seen that it was hardly a blind chance which had almost simultaneously brought to maturity the powers of both Iriki-in Shigetsugu as lord and Shimadzu Yoshihisa as baron. Even as Shigetsugu and his immediate predecessors had risen to the pinnacle of their glory in central Satsuma as its autonomous rulers, Yoshihisa wished to demonstrate that he no longer would be

<sup>175</sup> Nos. 141, 142.

<sup>176</sup> No. 142.

<sup>177</sup> No. 121.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Nos. 89, 103, 121, 122, 138. For explanations of terms, see the introduction to No. 45; No. 113, n. 2 and 3; No. 116, n. 2; No. 138, n. 4; No. 145, n. 14 and 16.

<sup>179</sup> Nos. 136 and 137.

<sup>180</sup> No. 138.

<sup>181</sup> No. 138, etc.

<sup>182</sup> Nos. 111, 119.

<sup>183</sup> No. 113.

<sup>184</sup> Nos. 113, 144; also cf. Nos. 139-140.



content with the rather nominal fealty which they had been accustomed to give his family, but could assert his suzerainty over them in unequivocal terms. The position of both had greatly changed, independently and relatively, since 1397, when the Iriki-in first succumbed to the Shimadzu: both were now immeasurably stronger, but the influence of the baron was also incomparably more irresistible for the lord than had been the case a century and three-quarters before. In 1570 Shigetsugu and his kinsman Tōgō Shigenao deemed it politic to give up a large part of their more recently acquired domains. From Yoshihisa's standpoint, however, the power of the lord of Iriki had not yet been abridged sufficiently, even with this sacrifice, to make it innocuous for all time. Four years later, in a simple phrase which he let drop as if by chance, Yoshihisa aroused anxiety in Shigetsugu's successor, Shigetoyo, and his vassals; and Shigetoyo thought it wise voluntarily to offer, and beg the baron to accept, all the domains which he had still held outside of the historic *in*.<sup>185</sup> Under the baron's gentle stroke of practical diplomacy, the house of Iriki was stripped of its glory and thrust back behind its old gates, with hardly sufficient energy left to resist any further reduction of its fortune that might be attempted in the future. What the baron sought ineffectually to accomplish by force of arms in 1396 was thus achieved in 1574 by a wave of the hand: at length the Iriki-in were true vassals of the Shimadzu.

Thereafter we find the Iriki-in lord serving his baron in war<sup>186</sup> and in peace<sup>187</sup> with unfeigned loyalty. Another decisive stage in the downward course of his fortune was reached when the Shimadzu accepted the suzerain rule of Hideyoshi and received back their domain at his hands, in 1595, in complete autonomy.<sup>188</sup> The land of the vast domain had just received an exhaustive survey of its taxable capacity,<sup>188</sup> and the opportunity was most favorable for the Shimadzu to effect a new arrangement of its divisions as sub-fiefs to be assigned to the chief vassals. The baron, who had already dispossessed the heads of the other branches of the Shibuya of their hereditary domains and transferred them freely from one place to another, now reached his hand to the stronger houses, including the Iriki-in, that had still been established in their historic homes, and uprooted them and transplanted them elsewhere. Iriki-in Shigetoki was moved to Yu-no-wo, in Ōsumi, on the upper course of the Sendai.<sup>189</sup> Though his successor, Shigetaka, was one of the fortunate lords who were subsequently restored to their former domains,<sup>190</sup> the former's return to Kiyoshiki in 1613 only marked the beginning of the repeated reductions of the fief that were afterward repeated under one pretext after another.<sup>191</sup> The closely woven bonds of marriage and adoption which tied the family of Iriki-in to that of the Shimadzu served at once to lend a glamor of prestige to the former and to silence the whisper of discontent not infrequently heard among its following. The men at Kiyoshiki had thus been reduced to a state of proud indigence, when the feudal régime of Japan was abruptly ended after 1868. Both the lord and the vassals of Iriki, like all the warrior class in the

<sup>185</sup> No. 145. Yoshida, on the western coast, was retained for Shigetoyo, it is said, but it, too, seems to have remained in his hands for a brief period only.

<sup>186</sup> Nos. 146, 147, 150.

<sup>188</sup> No. 149.

<sup>190</sup> No. 152.

<sup>187</sup> No. 148.

<sup>189</sup> No. 149.

<sup>191</sup> No. 154.



country, lost their hereditary holdings of land, and were sent adrift into the world to win their way to a livelihood.<sup>192</sup>

The new age has called a few sons of Iriki to active life in the outside world, but many others have remained in their ancient community hemmed in between the loop of the river and the hill which the successive lords had guarded for more than six hundred years. Today the old fortress is remembered only by its site, and on its outskirt stand the schoolhouse and the village office. The many Buddhist churches that once graced the neighboring villages with their peculiarly charming presence were all destroyed about 1871; for men of Satsuma, flushed with enthusiasm for the new era which had dawned largely through their own effort and sacrifice, tore down all these survivals, or, as they believed, encumbrances, left by the age which they hoped was forever past. What few Shintō temples still stand at Iriki are in a sadly reduced state. The present generation of the Iriki-in and other families of the community know the last days of the feudal régime only from the tales they had heard in their childhood from their parents. Yet the place is still redolent of its distinguished past: the same stream of the Kiyoshiki which blessed the domain with constant benefits of nature throughout the ages is unchanged, as is also the general agricultural life of the surrounding country; the same hills and plains, as richly covered with legends and memories as with verdant vegetation, have not yet been defiled by modern processes of impatient exploitation. Nor has the village of Iriki lost the external aspects of the streets and houses which it, as a *fumoto*,<sup>193</sup> possessed during the Tokugawa period: the street is lined on both sides with low stone parapets surmounted by hedgerows or simple fences, above which loom the steep thatched roofs of the plain houses of the old *samurai*. Each house opens, not toward, but parallel with, the street, from which it is approached, doubtless for reasons of defense, through two gates pierced by a path flanked by fences that bend at a right angle toward the house before the second gateway. Still more charming to the visitor are the plain but refined dialect of the descendants of the *samurai* and their admirably simple but courteous and dignified manners. These are marks of a culture of long ages that has been instilled into the lives of persons as a species of unconscious birthright; and they were among the human qualities of Iriki, the editor must avow, that recently made him feel extremely reluctant to sever himself from their influence after a brief period of contact.

<sup>192</sup> No. 155.

<sup>193</sup> The *fumoto* meant the living quarters of the *samurai* of the domain of the suh-lord or the *to-zhō* of the *ji-tō* under the Shimadzu haron; to this day the word is used as a proper name in many an old community in the three *kuni*. The appearance of *Fumoto* is changing more or less, as houses of other styles are built and shops and stores are opened in their midst; the *fumoto* of Iriki is one of the least changed.

The word is generally written in a character which means the foot of a hill or mountain; this suggests the origin of the community as the settlement of warriors huilt under the shadow of the fortress which they defended and which protected their families. The exact original meaning of the word itself cannot, however, be determined.

## THE IRIKI DOCUMENTS

THE editor had already studied the documents of the three *kumi*, including Iriki-in documents, that are contained in the one hundred and one volumes of the manuscript work *Sappan kyū-ki*,<sup>194</sup> when he visited Iriki in June 1919. There he found the family in possession of two hundred and fifty original documents,<sup>195</sup> preserved in an excellent condition, mounted and carefully made into sixteen rolls and one portfolio. Of these documents, many had not been transcribed in the work just mentioned, and therefore were new to the editor. The family also had a manuscript work, entitled *Kiyoshiki ki-kan*,<sup>196</sup> in twelve volumes, in which had been copied, in one of the most accurate hands the editor has ever seen, all of the original sources referred to, besides other documents and materials the originals of most of which had been lost, bringing the number of pieces comprised to four hundred and five, all relating to the family and the domain of Iriki-in.

This is not the largest collection of family documents in existence in Japan, but it combines in a rare degree several conditions which make the Iriki sources a very remarkable body of materials: in variety, in the representative character of the institutional evolution which is traceable through them, and in the great stretch of time which they cover. These conditions gained in value in the estimation of the editor when he viewed them in connection with the fact that the documents all related to a comparatively limited extent of territory; for his experience had shown that it was difficult to analyze the growth of institutions through documents which continually brought the student to unfamiliar places, and that investigation was rendered much easier when the given sources concerned but a single line of lords and a small piece of territory. These conditions were admirably met by the Iriki documents, while at the same time the essential institutional facts which they embodied were, in the best sense of the word, typical and representative of those that ruled the institutional history of feudal Japan as a whole.<sup>197</sup> Here was found at last just the material for which the editor had been in search in his desire thereby to bring the world in contact with the reality of the feudal growth of his country.

<sup>194</sup> See the Bibliography.

<sup>196</sup> All historical documents of Japan are written with the brush on flexible and absorbent paper. The kind and the quality of paper, as also the vocabulary and the orthography, vary according to the period and the style of the document. The handwriting presents characteristics of the different ages. Some pieces are executed with a bold hand in large characters, even as large as two inches square or larger.

The infusion of India ink into the soft texture of the paper, mellowed further by age, presents a charming appearance that delights the eye. Often the calligraphy, especially of the earlier documents, is inimitably superb, its firm but graceful strokes of the brush thrilling the connoisseur.

<sup>196</sup> See the Bibliography.

<sup>197</sup> The following words of Charles Seignobos in the introduction to his *Le régime féodal en Bourgogne* (Paris, 1882) may with little change apply here: "Convaincu," says he, "que le régime féodal ne peut être compris si on le contemple du centre du royaume et du haut du gouvernement, parce qu'il s'est formé au fond du pays et par le bas, on a voulu, pour le regarder de près, descendre sur le terrain où il reposait. Là, on a vu qu'avant d'atteindre les institutions il fallait passer par les hommes auxquels elles servaient: avant de parler du gouvernement on a cherché à voir les classes qui formaient la société, l'origine, la condition et le rôle de chacune. Il fallait rester dans un champ restreint où l'on pût compter les habitants, les voir à l'œuvre et s'imaginer leurs rapports."

Out of this mass of material, and with a few additions garnered elsewhere,<sup>198</sup> the editor has selected two hundred and fifty-three documents, translated and annotated them, and grouped them in one hundred and fifty-five consecutive numbers. A glance over the table of contents will reveal the wide range of the material as regards time, authorship, form, and character. Some are private in nature, and others are public, while there are also documents which are half private and half public. Among the private ones may be seen deeds of sale, gift, surrender, and compromise, regarding real *shiki*; personal letters; devises and testaments. The part public and part private documents include petitions of persons and institutions to domanial lords or the government, and orders by a domanial lord to his agents in his domain. The public documents, or documents touching public law, include imperial decrees; orders of a bureau in the imperial government; orders of an imperial prince; those of the civil governor of the *kuni*; and commands, appointments, judicial decisions, and writs of investiture or confirmation, issued by the *shō-gun's* feudal government. The sources more exclusively feudal, whether private or public in character, are: documents relative to vassalage, such as commendation of persons, oaths exchanged between lord and vassal; sanction of the vassal's holdings; letters conferring domains or fiefs, issued by the *shō-gun*, the baron, the lord, or the head of the family; records of the organization of the barony under the Tokugawa *shō-gun*; surrender of grants, demand of hostage; documents written in times of war, including calls to armed service, letters of arrival, reports of warlike exploits, letters of praise and of promise of rewards; records of the distribution of military service. Besides, there are a number of documents concerning land tenure, survey, and taxation.

Most of the more formal documents are written in the peculiar Chinese style that was in use in the feudal periods: the characters employed are wholly Chinese ideographs, but their choice and combination into phrases are so singular, and the composition follows such a corrupt grammar, that the educated Chinese would find many of the documents of this class unreadable. There are also some pieces written wholly or largely in syllabic phonographs called *kana*:<sup>199</sup> some of these are close to the colloquial in style, and are specially liable to contain errors due to the local dialect or mispronunciation or to the ignorance of the writer. Furthermore, early documents in *kana* are generally difficult to decipher, due in part to the rare use of the diacritical mark for indicating the sonants, but largely to the presence in the language of many words of Chinese origin having the same sounds, the distinction between which is lost when they are written phonetically.<sup>200</sup> All documents, whether in Chinese or in *kana*, are perfectly intelligible only to students trained both in paleography and in institutional history; and those that were written by well-nigh illiterate persons and contain wrong characters and phrases, individual caprice in orthography, and local and his-

<sup>198</sup> See the Bibliography.

<sup>199</sup> See No. 63, n. 10, below.

<sup>200</sup> The mark for a sonant consists of two dots placed at the upper right-hand corner of the *kana* intended to be voiced. Without this sign, *butō* (grapes) may be taken for *Fudō* (a Buddhist deity of a terrifying appearance), the *f* being labial. Imagine a mistake of "a van," in English, for "a fan." A phonetic spelling will also confuse, for example, "consideration" and "two swords" under the same sound *ryō-ken*. Amusing but annoying errors of this nature are illustrated in the *Gi-zan go-kaku*, ii. Students of *kana* documents are continually misled.

torical vagaries in pronunciation, may not be understood completely till an extensive ground for comparison and inference has been gained. The student of the original should also be on constant guard, so that he might not be led astray by terms that recur in the succeeding ages but gradually change in signification. It is needless to add that many of the difficulties which have been enumerated attend the study of the documents in their original form, but will not always be perceptible in a translation.

The editor has sought to preserve, as far as was possible in the face of the great difference between the two languages, the flavor of the original, as well as the marked difference in the degree of the culture which is betrayed by the various writers. The many rough places that will be found in the translation may as often be accounted for by this close pursuit of the original language, as by the editor's defective use of English. Pains have been taken, as a matter of first duty, to render points of institutional significance as accurately and scrupulously as has been within the power of the editor. The degree of success in this essential particular has seemed to him to depend very largely upon the translator's own knowledge of the comparative institutional history of the East and the West. And it is here that the editor wishes to record his most lively sense of his shortcomings.

A few technical points regarding translation and transliteration may be explained here.

#### *Transliteration.*

1. Our system of transliteration follows the one that has long since been current in writings in English, except in one respect: we have employed *zh* for the sonant for *sh*, and *j* for that of *ch*, instead of using *j* for both, as is generally done. The distinction is always important in the written Japanese; though in speech it is disregarded in the greater part of the country, it is strictly observed in Kyū-shū. *Zh* should be pronounced like *z* and *s* in "azure," "usual," and "fusion"; *j* is the same as the English *j* and soft *g*.

2. Proper names should be easy of pronunciation, since each consonant or vowel has a fixed value and no other. As regards the consonants, the only caution that needs to be made is the simple fact that *g* is always hard, as in "gate," irrespective of the vowel following it. The five vowels, when not marked, are as in Italian: *or*, *a* as in "atone" (not as in "hat"), *e* as in "nest," *i* as in "mill," *o* as in "obey" (not as in "not"), and *u* as in "pull" (not as in "but"). *Ā*, *ō*, *ū*, and *ei* and *ii*, are merely the prolongations, respectively, of *a*, *o*, *u*, *e*, and *i*. *Ai* is pronounced as in "aisle," or like the English long *i*, as in "tile." When an *e* preceded by another vowel needs to be pronounced separately, the acute accent is placed over the former; as, Mitsué and Moto-ié.

3. The native words are usually polysyllabic. This fact, added to their unfamiliar appearance, is often regarded by the foreigner as a formidable deterrent in his approach to any Japanese subject-matter of study. It must be admitted that a phonetic spelling of these names does indeed make them seem forbidding sometimes even to a native, for he is accustomed to see them written in ideographs, which are extremely brief in form, and which, moreover, carry associated ideas that aid the memory. However, the editor thinks that the great simplicity with which each syllable in its



Romanized form is pronounced makes the Japanese words much easier of mastery than many others of non-European origin. If the student repeatedly pronounced the Japanese words he met according to the simple value of each letter, without stressing any syllable, he would readily learn to distinguish and memorize them. In order somewhat to relieve their appearance of excessive length, the editor has frequently used the hyphen between syllables.

4. In regard to the family and personal names, the prefatory remarks to the Iriki-in genealogy in the Appendix will be of help.<sup>201</sup> The Buddhist name, which is usually written in two Chinese characters, is transliterated in two distinct parts beginning with capitals and connected by a hyphen; as, Jō-Shin, Ren-Shū.

#### *Translation.*

1. The editor has deemed it unwise to follow the common custom of translating the Buddhist institution *zhi* (*tera*) or *in* as "temple," and the Shintō institution *sha* (*zhin-zha*) or *gū* as "shrine." The former seems to him more like a church or a monastery—sometimes the one, sometimes the other, according to the character of the given institution—than a temple, while the Shintō "shrine" is really akin to a temple. For these reasons, the editor has ventured to use "church" or "monastery" for *zhi* and *in*, and "temple" for *sha* and *gū*.

2. From no standpoint, as stated elsewhere,<sup>202</sup> can the use of the word "clan" for the *han* in the Tokugawa period be tolerated. The *han* was the domain of a feudal baron, or *daimyō*, and was therefore essentially territorial in character, being sometimes even coextensive with a *kuni*, the administrative division of the empire. It is true that, on its personal side, there was in the *han*, as in all feudal societies, a large element of heredity and fixed status, but that was no more the basis of the social organization of the *han* than it was that of any feudal community. The *han* was in reality already passing beyond the purely feudal stage of social evolution, for, while its warrior classes were attached to the baron by bonds of vassalage, the greater part of the governing machinery, the economic organization, and the population of the *han* were already post-feudal, and, indeed, removed by a millennium from a clan stage of its social life.<sup>203</sup> Common as is the use of "clan" among writers in English, native and foreign, no more misleading term could have been selected as an equivalent of the *han*. We have either retained the original term or employed the word *fief* or *barony*.<sup>204</sup>

3. There are a few technical terms which we have thought it best to use in their original forms, either because they are too concise and occur with too great frequency for the student not soon to learn their meanings, or because their peculiar institutional character does not lend itself to a precise rendering in English. First and foremost come the terms *shō* and *shiki*. Of as great importance are *ta* (wet rice-field) and *hata* (upland field for other crops). Likewise, there are the territorial units, *kuni*, *kōri*, *in*, *gō*, and *mura*; the offices and positions, *shu-go*, *ji-tō*, *myō-shu*, etc.; and others. Explanations are given at the proper places, and may be traced through the Index.

<sup>201</sup> Also see Summary of Points, B-III-b-ii and iii.

<sup>202</sup> See No. 151, n. 3.

<sup>203</sup> See No. 151.

<sup>204</sup> See Summary of Points, B-I-f-i and D-I-b.



4. Nor are the units of weights and measures translated into English, for obvious reasons. For the units of land areas, *chō*, *tan*, *bu*, *shiro*, and *jō*, see No. 9, note 1, and the preface to No. 18. For the decimal units of dry measure, *koku*, *to*, *shō*, *gō*, etc., see the preface to No. 18. For the monetary denominations, *kwan* and *mon*, of copper, and *ryō* and *mon-me*, of silver, see No. 13, note 26; No. 49, note 9; and No. 50, note 4.

## A SUMMARY OF POINTS

It should be stated emphatically that this volume is intended solely for an independent analysis of its contents by the student. The work is neither a narrative nor an exposition, but a source-book. The introduction and the notes have been prepared with this fact constantly in view: they should explain neither too little nor too much—should say no less than what is important, no more than what is necessary. All who have undertaken an intensive study of medieval sources are well aware how irksome is the presence of an officious guide or interpreter: they know that his understanding of the material must necessarily be conditioned by his training and his intellectual peculiarity, and that otherwise his mind should never be accepted as a substitute for theirs. Clear and original conclusions are rewards only of an independent personal study of the sources.

The following summary of the institutional points which may be elaborated by a careful analysis of the documents of this volume should, therefore, be regarded as at once partial and tentative. Such points as our material would not yield or does not touch even indirectly have been relegated within brackets. At the same time, the editor has not hesitated to include such topics as are not patent on the face of the documents, but are hidden among the institutions in the background without whose existence the events or transactions recorded could probably not have taken place, but which might be discovered and analyzed only by dint of close scrutiny and thought. The inclusion, in the following summary, of these references to invisible institutions—references which from their nature must be largely tentative—gives all the more reason why the student should not place an implicit confidence in the judgment of the editor, but should rather search for his own topics and gather his own data.

As for the occasional comparisons with European institutions which have been indulged in, they take for granted a more or less advanced knowledge of Western feudalism on the part of the student; for that reason, bibliographical references to sources and literature on that subject are much abridged or altogether omitted for economy of space. It is hoped that the student has at his command an adequate scholarly guidance and a sufficiently good library to enable him to appraise the attempted comparisons with critical care.<sup>1</sup>

### *General Scheme of the Summary.*

A. Origin; B. Development; C. Relations; and D. The régime.

A. Origin, 39.

I. Local divisions, 39.

II. Land, 39.

<sup>1</sup> Lack of space forbids an extended discussion of any of the points, whether Japanese or European, which are contained in this summary; it is hoped that the forthcoming volume by the editor on the feudal régime of South Kyū-shū will afford an opportunity for a more adequate treatment.

- III. Vassalage and the inchoate fief, 40.
- IV. Conclusion, 40.
- B. Developments, 41.
  - I. The fief, 41.
  - II. Organization of vassalage, 47.
  - III. The warrior, 50: a. Differentiation as a class, 50; b. Privileges, 51; c. The warrior's career, 52; d. The warrior and the vassal, 52; e. The warrior's code, 53; f. Grades of warriors, 54.
- C. Relations, 55.
  - I. Lord and vassal, 55; a. Homage, fealty, and investiture, 55; b. Obligations and rights relative to the fief considered as property, 56: i. Exploitation, 56; ii. Succession, 57; iii. Subinfeudation, 58; iv. Alienation, 58; v. Conclusion, 59; c. Mutual obligations and rights, 59: i. General, 59; ii. Material, 59; iii. Military, 60; iv. Judicial, 61; v. Domestic and administrative, 62; vi. Sanction of obligations, 63; vii. The feudal contract, 65.
  - II. Between lords, 67.
  - III. Lords and *shō-gun*, 67.
  - IV. Lord and the imperial court, 68.
  - V. Lord and the domanial lord, 69.
  - VI. Lord and religious institutions, 69.
  - VII. Lord and the peasantry, 70: a. Agriculture, 70; b. The *mura*, 72; c. The classes and private status, 72; d. Position in public law, 74.
  - VIII. Lord and burghers, 75.
- D. The régime, 75.
  - I. General, 75.
  - II. Military affairs, 76.
  - III. Administration, 77.
  - IV. Legislation, 77.
  - V. Judicature, 78.
  - VI. Financial, 79.
- Conclusion, 79.

#### *General Division of Periods.*

- Pre-feudal ages, to c. 1185.
- The Kamakura period, under the Minamoto *shō-gun* and the Hōjō regents, c. 1186-1333.
- The age of imperial restoration, 1333-1336.
- The age of the rival imperial courts, northern and southern, 1336-1392.
- The Muromachi period, under the Ashikaga *shō-gun* (1336) 1392-1573, also conventionally called the period of the civil war.
- The age of Nobunaga (Oda) and Hideyoshi (Toyotomi), 1573-1598.
- The Edo period, under the Tokugawa *shō-gun*, 1603-1867.
- The new régime, imperial and constitutional, 1868-.

## Abbreviations.

gen. = genealogies in the Appendix.

Int. = Introduction.

Iri. = the Iriki-in family.

n. = note.

No. = the numbers under which the documents are grouped.

p. = page.

pr. = prefaces to numbers and to Iri. gen.

Parts of the summary are referred to by the ordinal letters and numerals assigned them, as, *e.g.*: B-I-f-i-3-(c) = Development: the fief: the Edo period: the elaborated organization: as a *dominium directum*: *shi-ryō*; D-III-a = The régime: administration: central. The uniform scheme of the sequence of the ordinal signs, when the points are subdivided to the farthest extent, is: A-I-a-i-1-(a)-(1)-a-1.

## A. ORIGIN

The amount of material in the Iriki collection which relates to feudal origins is small.

## I. LOCAL DIVISIONS

Local units (No. 1 n. 9; Int. p. 19 n. 90).

*Kuni* persists throughout (No. 1 n. 9; Nos. 6, 8, 9, 18, 22, 25, etc.), but *kōri* (Nos. 6-9) becomes confused (No. 141). *Kuni*, also *kōri*, again figure as large units in the later haronies (Nos. 140 A, C, D, 151 B, D, 152 pr.).

*In* is semi-official and variable (Int. p. 19 n. 90; No. 1 n. 9; Nos. 22, 105, 107 C, 108, 109, 114, 115, 124-126, 127 B, 130, 131, 138, 142, 152 B). *Gō* is even more so (No. 1 n. 9; Nos. 8, 9, 13 n. 8, 19-24, 28, 30, 34, 35, 42-46, 55, 62, 65, 70, 83 A, 80 A, B, 93 A, B, C, 97 A, 103, 107, 114, 115, 121 A, B, E, 122). Composition of a *gō* (No. 55). New *gō* emerge (No. 149 D), and are formed (Nos. 152 pr., 154 A).

Local officials (Nos. 6, 8, 9, 22, 25 n. 32, 51 pr. and n. 3, 53 pr.). The *Da-zai fu*, or simply *Fu* (Nos. 6 pr., 22, 25, 46?). (Further see Index: "gun-zhi," "gō-shi," "in-shi.")

The *jō-ri-hei* system of land registration (No. 55 n. 14, Nos. 89 B, 97 B, 114).

II. LAND (PUBLIC LANDS, *shō*, *shiki*)

Origin of *shō*; origin of Shimadzu *shō* (Int. pp. 2, 3 ff.; C-VII-a-iv). Its fiscal immunity (Int. pp. 3, 4 ff. and notes; Nos. 6; 25 n. 17; the Japanese immunity of the *shō* was purely fiscal, and therefore different from the Frankish). Growth of Shimadzu *shō* (Int. p. 5; Nos. 2 and 6); commendation of land (Int. p. 5).

Other names for domains (*ryō*: Nos. 89 B, 97 B, 109 A, 114).

Other domains in South Kyū-shū (Int. p. 6; No. 6 pr.).

Character of *shō* as domain (*cf.* C-VII-a): Nature of agriculture, and proprietary right of the landholder (C-VII-a-i, ii, iii; Int. p. 2; Nos. 1; 13 and other devises; 14, 17, 30). Size of *shō* (Int. p. 6; No. 6; No. 18 shows forty-six per cent as wasted or failing). Composition of *shō* (Int. p. 5 f.). Contents of the peasant estate: boundaries (Nos. 13, 14, 29, 30); kinds of land (No. 49); houses and appurtenances (Nos. 7 pr., 13 n. 25; 78, 104 n. 22). *Shiki*: their division, complexity, and fluidity (Int. pp. 3 ff., 5 f., 35; C-VII-a-iv-3); *shiki* granted (Nos. 1, 8, 9, 18, etc.). Cultivators (No. 1); artisans (No. 18). Can there be serfs? (C-VII-a-iv-1 and 2). Dues and services (Nos. 1, 2, 4-6, 14, 18, 36, 48 pr., 50). Control and management (Int. pp. 2, 4, 9; Nos. 2-6, 9, 12-14, 36, 48, 50, 54, 58, 121 pr.). Domianial justice (Nos. 4 and 5). Flexibility and looseness of nomenclature (No. 93 A, B; is Kawaé a *shō* or a *gō*?—Nos. 93 A, B, C, 97 A, D, 114, 115; after the disappearance of Shimadzu *shō*, its part is still called *shō*, No. 118 C). *Shō* not a manor: its demesne is small and not generally cultivated by tenants (Nos. 13 n. 3; 18 n. 4; 59 n. 10; 70, 81, 139, 140 n. 1); its lots are individual entities (see above, Contents of the peasant estate; C-VII-a-

iv-1 and 2), while the whole is loose (see above, Contents of *shō*; for a section of a *shō*, see No. 18).

Domianial idea affects public districts (Nos. 9 nn. 13 and 20; 22; 25; 81, *ho*), and even public offices (Nos. 25, 51, 52, 55, 58, 66). "Public" land remains for some time (Nos. 13 n. 8; 44 and 70 B).

### III. VASSALAGE AND THE INCHOATE FIEF

Private warriors (*bu-shi*): Martial spirit bred locally (Int. p. 2). Local warriors (Nos. 1-6, 8-10, 12, 13, 25). Men who came from the east (Int. pp. 4, 26; Nos. 6, 13 pr.). Men connected with religious institutions (C-VI-b-i; Nos. 25, 50, 86, 103, 107). Warriors held land and *shiki*, and assumed offices, in private domains and public districts (Int. pp. 3 ff., 7 ff., 21 f., 26; Nos. 1-15, 17, 51-53, 95 n. 7; Iri. gen. pr.); an example of commendation of land (Int. p. 24).

Private military nobility: The Taira and Minamoto descended from imperial princes (Int. p. 12 f.). They settled in the country, and held private and public offices and *shiki* (Int. p. 12 f.; Nos. 2-4, 6, 8, 9, 16; Iri. gen. pr.), branched off into increasing numbers of families (Int. pp. 12 f.), attached themselves as clients to court nobles (Int. p. 4), and made local warriors their vassals (Int. pp. 7, 12; Nos. 4, 6, 9, 12, 25); vassalage relations were still largely isolated and not organized hierarchically (No. 6). Then the Taira and Minamoto fought for supremacy, first the former, later the latter succeeding (Int. pp. 5, 7; Nos. 6 pr., 25 n. 10, 155 n. 33).

The warrior classes often took their family-names from the place-names of their domains (Int. pp. 4, 12 ff.; Nos. 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 63 n. 15; 69, 73, 107, 118 C, 121 G, H, 122, 123, 125; Iri. gen. pr. and nn. 3 and 4), also from the offices or *shiki* they held (Nos. 50 pr. and 68, the Shū-in; 69, Zai-koku-shi, Shikihu; 86, Gon-shū-in; 147, Sai-sho), and sometimes from the churches (Nos. 25, 50 pr., 69, 107, Koku-bun) and the *kuni* with which they were connected (No. 74, Chiku-go, Tsu-shima).

The early fief: Rarely granted by the military lord (Int. p. 7), but usually either the vassal's own land or the land and *shiki* which he held under a domianial lord recognized and protected by the military lord (Int. p. 7; Nos. 6, 16). Holdings granted to vassals by a military lord attached to a religious institution (A-III-a, C-VI-h-i) may perhaps be regarded as among the exceptionally early examples of true fiefs. Examples of allods (No. 10); of public *shiki* (Nos. 9, 11, 22); of land attached to public offices (Nos. 9, 11); of private *shiki* (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8-10, 12, 15, 16) and private land (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 50); of half public and half private land and *shiki* (Nos. 2, 4-6, 8, 9, 12); and of Buddhist churches considered as domains (No. 10). Of the same character as non-military holdings (C-VII-a-v; No. 18, distinction between *men* and *kyū*).

### IV. CONCLUSION

[Even from our scanty material on the Origin may be gathered a few pregnant points of the difference of the origins of Japanese feudalism from those of the European.

[a. Some points in common: i. Personal: private groups of armed men united by a contract of aid and service of a comprehensive character. ii. Economic: these groups were maintained upon agricultural land. iii. Political: the groups had come into being largely because the state failed either to defend itself against a dangerous enemy or to cope with serious social unrest; and private bodies of men not only were banded for defensive and offensive ends, but also began more or less to exercise public functions.

[h. Difference in institutional heritage from earlier ages: i. Political: clearer ideas in the pre-feudal Japan of the state and sovereign as public institutions (D-I-a-ii), and a better centralized official organization of local government, than obtained under the Frankish rulers. ii. Economic: agriculture not half-pastoral in character and not largely communal in husbandry, as in medieval Europe, but based upon the intensive, individualized rice-culture, with no pasture as an integral part of a domain; a tenacious sense of individual ownership (C-VII-a-i, ii, iii).

[c. Difference in feudal formation: i. Foundation of land: the *shō* not a villa or manor or even village community, but a loose bundle of more or less coherent lots of peasant-holdings and an increasingly intricate plexus of *shiki*; land in public districts similarly composed. (See A-II, above, and C-VII-a-iv.) ii. It was upon these lots or *shiki*, not upon a manor or upon a specially differ-



entiated tenure, that the private warriors found sustenance and, when they became vassals of military nobles, obtained means to serve them (C-VII-a-v). As a general rule, on the same *shiki* or piece of land a man was at once a vassal of a military lord, and a tenant under a domanial lord or a citizen in a public district (A-III). A specialized military tenure and an exclusive military vassalage were rare occurrences, because no external foe had suddenly menaced the life of the state, no need of an abrupt reorganization of the national army had been felt, and no initiative had been taken by the state to bring about a quick, widespread adoption of the military *beneficium*; on the contrary, a gradual rise of private warriors from below, and their entrenchment in the soil in the same manner as mere peasants, their neighbors (A-III). iii. The short struggle after the middle of the twelfth century, which decided the supremacy of the chief of the Minamoto party (A-III), did not, like the Frankish wars of the Saracenic and other invasions, usher in a sudden but deliberate reformation of the army by the state, but only accelerated the formation of the vassalage relation among private warriors which had already begun. And this was not followed, as in France, by a long and intensive civil war, such as might have enabled the warriors to sweep away the more inconvenient of the old land institutions and to replace them with a tenure more adapted to the needs of feudal warfare, namely, the true fief,—the fief which would be granted out of the lord's own domain, and for which the vassal would render only or chiefly "free" and "noble" services. For such war and such fief, as will be seen below, Japan had to wait for more than three hundred years, or till five centuries after Hugh Capet's time. In the meantime, the peculiar condition described here prevailed.

[Is it possible to suggest, by comparing feudal origins in Japan and in Europe, under what primary and what secondary conditions a feudal system might arise in a society? Would the relative importance of the various factors seen in the light of comparison appear to be different from the perspective in which they are usually viewed by scholars in regard to European feudal formation?]

## B. DEVELOPMENT

### I. THE FIEF

#### a. Terminology.

i. Nouns: *Chi-gyō* (Nos. 16, 68 B, 149 D, 151 C, 152 B); *sho-ryō* or *ryō* (Nos. 16, 24 A, 28-30, 33, 39-42, 44, 48, 55, 63, 64, 70, 73, 79, 87, 91-93 A, B, 97, 105, 107, 109, 114, 115, 120, 124, 127 pr. and A, 129, 135, 138, 149 D); *shi-ryō* (Int. p. 5; Nos. 115 D, 138); *sho-shiki* (No. 55); *sho-mu* (Nos. 55, 115 D); *sho-tai* (Nos. 58, 92 B); *ryō-sho* (Nos. 25, 113, 125, 126); *hyō-rō ryō-sho* (No. 121 H); *kyū-bun* (No. 138); *bun-koku* (Nos. 149 A, 151 D).

ii. Verbs: *chi-gyō* (Nos. 12, 14, 19, 24, 39-41, 44, 55, . . . 81, 86 C, . . . 124, 127, and many others); *ryō* (Nos. 20, 29); *ryō-chi* (Nos. 21, 55, 60, 83 A, 89 A, 93 C, 136 A, 149 C, 151 B); *ryō-shō* (Nos. 23, 35, 41, 43, 46, 48, 71, 73, 83 A, 93 C); *hai-ryō* (No. 145); *sa-da* (Nos. 14, 20, 34, 125, 126); *shin-tai* (No. 48); *kaku-go* (Nos. 138, 145); *shi-hai* (No. 149 D).

Comparison is possible with *Gewere* and *saisina*.

#### b. The Kamakura period.

i. growth of *shō* (compare No. 9 with Nos. 59 and 70 B; Nos. 48 pr., 60).

ii. Increase of the warrior's control over land and *shiki*: 1. The *shō-gun's* (a) through vassalage relations (Int. p. 7): that is, by confirmation of vassals' holdings (Nos. 9, 16, 47, 51-53), by fresh grants (Nos. 45; cf. No. 55), by judicial decisions (Nos. 16, 41, 50, 63, 71), by recommendation to the domanial lord (Nos. 6, 14, 22); (b) through conquest or confiscation (Nos. 9 n. 7, 22 n. 6); and (c) through the office of *ji-tō* (2-(h), below; Int. pp. 7 f.; No. 6 pr.).

2. The *shō-gun's* vassal's: (a) through the growth of *shō* (Nos. 18, 59, 70 B; 48, 60); (b) as *ji-tō*: that is, by settling down (Int. pp. 17, 18-20; Nos. 6, 8, 9, 13-17); by disposing of the office as a *shiki* (Nos. 21, 22, 34, 45, 48, 60, 69) with the *shō-gun's* sanction (Nos. 23, 24 B, 28, 34, 41, 43, 45, 48); by levying dues (Nos. 18, 55); by holding land (Nos. 15, 16, 18, 55, 58); and by farming taxes (Nos. 14 n. 5; 22 pr., 49, 50, 55); (c) through other offices (Nos. 2, 4-6, 8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 24, 47, 55); (d) by employing deputies (Nos. 12 A, B, C, 16, 18, 36, 57); and (e) by giving subgrants (No. 18).

iii. Contents: Nos. 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 28 (*cf.* 34), 29 (*cf.* 35), 30, 43-45, 47, 50, 55, 58, 59, 70, 71, 73; parts were constituted like the whole (Nos. 18, 59, 70, etc.).

1. Objects held as fiefs: Land customs of the earlier ages utilized (A-IV-c-ii, iii). Whole tracts are sometimes mentioned (Nos. 14, 20, 21, 23, 30, 34, 37, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 55, 65, etc.), but really often only rights to incomes were held (Nos. 15 n. 2, 18 n. 17, 68, 70 B). (a) *Shiki*: No. 9; *ji-tō shiki* (Nos. 13, 15, 18, 22, 45, 48, 59, 78, etc.; Int. p. 9 and n. 44); *ben-zai-shi shiki*, *sō-ryō shiki* (No. 55, etc.); *myō-shu shiki* (Nos. 16, 25, 70, etc.), etc. (h) Land: *ta*, *hata*, and other arable (Int. p. 35; Nos. 45, 49, 50, 70, 78, etc.; *sono*: Nos. 45 n. 9, 47 n. 3, 49, 55, 59, 62, 64, 65, 70, 78, etc.); bouses and appertaining land (*zai-ke* and *ya-shiki*: Nos. 7, 13, 14, 17, 24, 29, 30, 34, 39-43, 45, 48, 49, 55, 57, 58, 60, 63-66, 70-72, 77, 79); *aza-na* (Nos. 59, 68 B, 70, etc.); *myō* land (Nos. 7-14, 16, 17, 25, 45, 55, 68, 70): *myō* began to disintegrate (Nos. 45, 55, 68, 70, etc.). On the *zai-ke* and *myō*, see C-VII-b-i. Wild and wooded land (Nos. 24, 47, 55, 70 B, etc.). Hunting ground (No. 55). The warrior's domain was not a manor: analyze the character of the lords' demesnes and tenants' holdings (Int. pp. 9, 30; Nos. 15 n. 3, 18 n. 4, 59 n. 10, 70 n. 6, 72 B n. 14, 81, 104 n. 18, 139, 140). (c) Fair or market (No. 70). *Shiki* or land held was subdivided into parts whose tenurial conditions varied, but whose economic constitution was similar (*e.g.*, Nos. 18 and 59).

2. Juridical character (*cf.* h-ii, above, and C-I-h): (a) The vassal's rights of enjoyment and of heredity (Nos. 13, 17, 28-30, 37, 44, 50, 58, 73; *cf.* C-I-h). (h) The lord seldom granted a fief out of his own ownership or possession (Int. p. 14; No. 50); the vassal's domain was generally held under a non-military lord or in a public territory (Int. p. 7; A-III-d; Nos. 6, 8, 9, 12-25, 28-30, 34, 35, 42-58, 60-73). (c) Therefore, the lord's favor in relation to his vassal's fief seldom meant further than his confirmation and protection of it as held under a fiscal lord or in a public district (A-III-d; Nos. 6, 12 D, 16, 21, 23, 24 B, 34, 35, 43, 45, 46, 48, 57, 71). (d) The vassal's obligations in relation to his fief were not only personal and military (C-I-c), but also fiscal (B-I-d-i-2, B-III-a-i, C-VII-d-ii; Nos. 13 and n. 12, 14 n. 5, 17, 18, 22, 47, 49, 52, 53, 55 and n. 27, 56, 60, 68, 72 A, B, 73).

iv. Tendencies: 1. As regards the objects held as fief, two parallel tendencies are notable. (a) The increasing loosening of a *shō* or a public district as a whole (iii-1, above). This was due to the *shō-gun's* grants made more or less at random as occasions required or made possible (Nos. 13, 17, etc.); to the flexibility allowed in the disposition of *shiki* (Nos. 13, 17, 21, 24, 47, 48, 55, etc.); and to free division of estate among children (see C-I-ii-2 and 3). The result was domains widely scattered over many places, intricately intermingled with others' holdings in each place, and continually divided and shifted (Nos. 2, 5, 9, 13, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28, 47, 48, 50 pr., 55, etc.). (h) The increasing coherence of individual parcels of a holding: the houses and appertaining lands were gaining in importance, and the *myō* were dissolving into similar units (iii-1-h, above; C-VII-h-i); but the process was not carried far.

2. [The unstable elements in the juridical constitution of the fief (iii-2, above) do not yet show in the Iriki documents any notable alteration. Such alterations would become obvious, and the tendencies already visible in the objects held as fief (iv-1, above) would be completed, only when a sufficiently violent commotion in society should liberate forces for change and reorganization. These forces were only partially inherent in the fief of the Kamakura period, and were still held in check by the bondage of the land customs which had come down from the later pre-feudal ages (A-IV-c-ii and iii).]

#### c. The age of the rival courts.

[Fresh political causes joined with the causes of instability latent in the land system, had produced a widespread and extremely confused warfare; and war accelerated the movement toward the growth of the true fief. Both the civil government of *kuni* and the domanial lordship of *shō* had long been ignored by local warriors, when, in 1352, Shimadzu *shō* ceased to exist as such, and, with it, the distinction of a host of old *shiki* vanished, or became meaningless (Int. pp. 11, 28-29).] Observe changes in the warrior's holding:

i. Changes in the objects held: There still were scattered and intermixed fiefs (Nos. 77, 78, 87, 89 A, B, 97, 104, 107 C, 109, 114, 115, etc.) and split *shiki* (Nos. 81, 83, 87, 93 A, B, C, 97, 99 A, 107 A, B, 115 A, D, 118 C, 121 E, G), and there was, of course, no manorial organization (Nos.

104, 115); but 1. different *shiki* of the same place tended to be united in one holding (Nos. 107, 121 G, H; many instances of *ji-tū shiki* were habitually called by the place-names, and not as *shiki*); 2. the center of interest tended to be shifted more exclusively than before from *shiki* to actual land (Nos. 121 D, 107 A, B, 115 A, D); 3. the unit house-and-land (b-iii-1-(h), iv-1-(h), above) gained further in importance (Nos. 78, 87, 89, 91, 93 A, B, C, 97, 105, 109, 114, 115), and *myō* (Nos. 89 A, 97, 107 A, 109 A), *ta*, *hata* (Nos. 93 A, B, C, 104 C, 109), and other arables (Nos. 89 B, 100, 105, 109), wild land (Nos. 79, 87, 93 A, B, 97, 105), etc., gravitated toward this unit and tended to be attached to it; 4. contiguous tracts of land, rather than scattered and intermingled holdings, were desired (Nos. 87, 97, 107 B, 115); and 5. the rule of primogeniture was horn out of necessity (C-I-h-ii-2).

ii. Changes in the juridical character: Lords whose suzerainty was insecure might make temporary grants (No. 86 C, D). The *shō-gun* (Nos. 83 A, 118 C, 121), and, when they were strong enough in their respective spheres, the Shimadzu lord (Nos. 86 C, D, 107 B, C) and the Iriki-in chief (No. 113) would, whenever possible, treat land and *shiki* hitherto belonging to others, as if they had confiscated or conquered them (*cf.* No. 155 n. 24), and grant them to their own vassals as fiefs. As fiefs, the old distinction between original domains (*hon-ryō*) and new grants (*shin-on*) lost some of its meaning, for the warrior's domains all tended to be regarded as fiefs invested in him by a lord (Nos. 45 pr., 89 B, 93 A, B, 94, 112, 113 n. 3, 116 A, B, C, n. 3, 117, 121 A, B).

Thus the evolution of the true fief was perceptible, but needed for its completion the impact of a more prolonged and thoroughgoing warfare.

#### d. The Muromachi period.

The civil war not only continued, but grew larger in scope and in the issues at stake; from confused struggles for existence among small local warriors, the warfare rose gradually to competition for ascendancy among fewer and greater territorial lords, and finally to a war of conquest waged by one who would unify the whole of feudal Japan. As a consequence of the protracted war, not only was the true fief perfected at last, but also some elements which were subversive of the spirit of feudalism made their appearance.

i. The true fief: 1. Objects held: (a) *Shiki* all but vanished, and were generally identified with the land with which they were formerly associated (Nos. 126, 127 A, B, 130, 133 B, 138). (b) The prevailing unit of a domain was the peasant-estate, consisting of house and land (Nos. 104 n. 22, 138 and n. 6, 139, 140, 144; see C-VII-h-ii); *myō* had either been broken up or grown to be *mura* (Nos. 133 A, B, 138, 143, 145; h-iii-1-(a), iv-1-(h), c-i-3, above); non-arable land was attached either to the peasant estate or to a domain (later to *mura* also) (Nos. 124, 138). Never had the manor developed (Nos. 139, 140); but why? (A-II-e, IV-h-ii, c-i, B-I-h-iii-1-(b), C-VII-a). (c) Fiefs were generally whole contiguous tracts; this was true especially with newly given fiefs (Nos. 126, 127 A, B, 130-133 A, 136 n. 3, 138, 145 and pr.). There now were fortresses and castles with adjoining land (castellanies) used as units of fiefs (Nos. 125, 126, 132 pr., 136 A, 141 pr., 142, 145). (d) Distant domains were lost and near ones consolidated and extended (Int. p. 29; No. 48 n. 1); the lord accomplished the latter, whether by inducing all independent warriors to become his vassals and to receive back their domains as fiefs or to accept other fiefs at his hands (Nos. 132, 145 pr.; this was probably done in Iriki when Shigeyori returned there after 1397; the Shimadzu haron was cautious in dealing with the historic domains of new vassals; see No. 145), or by conquest (Nos. 125 pr., 126 pr., 127 pr., 132 pr., 136 A, 145 pr.). (e) It should be added that not only was primogeniture now completely established, but also a large feudal family was a compact unit of society, with its chief as its lord and its male members among his vassals (Nos. 111 pr., 135, 138; compare with Nos. 85 pr., 86 pr., 92 n. 13).

2. Juridical nature: From a less secure position which the lord held in the early years of this period as regards the fief he granted (Nos. 126, 127, 133 B, 141 pr.), he in course of time attained its *dominium directum*; he even sought to extend his control over domains of his vassal with which he had not himself invested him (Nos. 127 pr., 139, 140, 144, 145; *cf.* G. Durand, *Speculum juris, De feudis*, ii, c. 33, taken from P. Albert; see C-I-c-vii, below). The vassal had the *dominium utile* of his fief: he had it "in possession," in practical heredity, and could subinfeudate it among



his relatives and vassals and other followers. (See C-I-h.) [Beyond his personal and military services to the lord, his fiscal obligations were now largely conventionalized, and assumed the form of voluntary presents (B-I-h-iii-2-(d), C-I-c-ii-2, D-VI-a-i-1).]

ii. [With the establishment of the true fief, a regional feudal hierarchy slowly emerged, to be perfected in the next age; the pyramid had the territorial haron at its apex, and comprised within it many smaller local feudal groups; each of the latter was also organizing itself more or less hierarchically upon the principles of primogeniture and subinfeudation.]

iii. At the same time, the haron's domain had now become in some respects non-feudal: it had passed beyond a purely feudal organization, and developed elements which were not of true fiefs. The haron would use some of his more important new acquisitions in land as apanages for members of his family or as his own domains, or else place them under a special bureaucratic régime (No. 145 and pr.); he would reward the services of some vassals, not with land or right to income, but with money stipends (No. 140; cf. the *fief-argent* in France).

iv. [Still more important is that the progress of the art of war (D-II-a) in the latter half of the sixteenth century brought about the segregation of most warriors near castles and fortresses; this took these men away from the soil from which they obtained support but of which they were now content to hold only the superior rights; i.e., rights to revenue and control; the inferior rights of land, of possession and use, had been gradually passing into the hands of the peasant holders, with far-reaching consequences (see C-VII-c and d); for one thing, this situation made it possible in this and the next ages to introduce into the régime non-feudal and post-feudal elements, some of which have been noted above.]

[At this point, the student may recapitulate the evolution of the fief from the pre-feudal land customs which the warriors began to utilize before the Kamakura period; try to find, by comparison with Europe, why the true fief developed so slowly and was completed so late in Japanese feudal history, and also consider the relation of this peculiar phenomenon, again in the light of comparison, to other large phases of the feudal régime, specially to the evolution of the social classes (B-III, C-VII), to the character of the feudal contract between lord and vassal (C-I-c-vii), to the changes in the nature of warfare during the past ages (A-IV, B-I-c pr., d pr.), and to the institutional developments which seemed suddenly to hurry upon Japan in the next few years (e, below).]

*e. The age of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi.*

i. Politically: 1. The regional feudal hierarchy under the Shimadzu haron, which at length began to take form toward the end of the last period, was in this age rapidly consummated (Nos. 146, 147, 149); then as suddenly a hierarchy of the whole of feudal Japan sprang into being under Hideyoshi (Nos. 148, 149). Why so slow before, and so sudden now? Are there reasons common for both phenomena?

2. All of the vassals' domains, regardless of their origins, were treated by his lord, wherever possible, as a fief held of him (Int. pp. 24, 30; Nos. 146, 147, 149, 150; cf. c-ii and d-i-2, above); he recognized the vassal's holdings thereof "in complete possession" (No. 149 C and n. 31), but demanded from him services in full measure (Nos. 146, 147, 150).

3. The non-feudal elements already in evidence in the harony of the preceding period (d-iii, above) were now extended further; Hideyoshi applied the same idea on a large scale to his government of the whole of the realm. Under Hideyoshi: an exhaustive cadastral survey of all the haronies under uniform rules (No. 149 A, B); more or less direct dealings with the haron's relatives and great vassals (No. 149 D); interference with the internal affairs of the harony, regarding the domains of some rear-vassals (No. 149 n. 5), and regarding the division of the harony among the various classes of fief-holders (No. 149 D); and the creation within the harony of private domains of Hideyoshi and of his ministers (No. 149 D). These measures betray the more or less unsystematic character of Hideyoshi's application of the principle of centralization to his rule of the country. Under the haron: his private domains were set apart from fiefs (No. 149 D and nn. 26, 36); still other lands held by vassals directly of him and harring subinfeudation (*to-zhō* and *ji-tō*, Nos. 145 pr., 147); arbitrary dispossession of historic families of their ancient domains No. 149 pr. n. 5; Iri. gen. p. 393; cf. Nos. 145 pr. and n. 16, 147 n. 13); etc.

ii. Economically: 1. All disposition of fiefs and haronies in this period and throughout the next,

and consequently the assertion of the power of the suzerain over the harons, and of the haron over his vassals, were greatly facilitated by the survey of the economic lands of Japan which was carried out under Hideyoshi's peremptory order; land was registered in terms of its productive capacity stated in *koku* of hulled rice (No. 149 A, B; previously the haron would seem to have used the dimensional unit *chō* for measuring feudal holdings, No. 146 A; cf. 144).

2. [What made such a uniform system of registration possible was the parallel development of two things which had taken place all over the country: the consolidation of the estate of the typical peasant-family (called *kado* in our documents), which we noted in the preceding period (d-i-1-(h)),—an estate the proprietary rights of which the peasant had patiently gathered one after another (d-i-v), and had now united into a virtual ownership; the resuscitation of the ancient idea of *mura*, that is, peasant hamlet or group of hamlets, now made more or less self-governing as a body (No. 149 pr. and nn. 24, 25), though still consisting of scattered peasant-estates, and never forming a manor or a village community in the economic sense (cf. C-VII-d-iii-3, iv). The *myō* of the Kamakura period had disappeared with the land system of which it was an expression (h-iii-1-(h), iv-1-(h), c-i-3, d-i-1-(a)).]

#### f. The Edo period.

i. [The early Tokugawa shogunate was strong enough to elaborate and systematize the régime left by Hideyoshi and to impose it upon the country (No. 155 A and n. 25). The foundation of the vast structure was the peasant-estate (*kado*) and the peasant-hamlet (*mura*), the economic capacity of both of which was recorded in terms of *koku* (e-ii-1 and 2).]<sup>2</sup>

1. The land of the whole country under the *shō-gun* was, with minor exceptions, divided into domains and baronies (*han*) and smaller fiefs held directly of him (Nos. 151, 155 n. 25). The *han* was not a "clan," but a feudal state comprising some non-feudal aspects (Int. p. 35; No. 151 n. 3), as is illustrated by the Shimadzu *han*. The latter was officially recorded as considerably below one million *koku* in annual productive capacity (Nos. 149 C, D, 151 A, C, D, 152 A, 154 A), and as second in value in the list of the baronies of Japan (No. 155 n. 28); but it is probable that its actual production of wealth was greater (No. 154 pr. and B).

2. As a *dominium utile*, the *han*, like its subinfeudated parts in their relation to the haron, was held in "complete possession" (No. 151 B), but was subject to transference, reduction, or confiscation, for an offense committed by the baron (Nos. 151 pr., 155 A; cf. 154 pr., A, B; Iri. gen. 1739), [though, in reality, the *shō-gun's* council would hardly dare ignore the power and the historic prestige of the Shimadzu *han*].

3. As a *dominium directum*, the *han* duplicated on the main the composition of feudal Japan as a whole; was divided, except religious land, into the haron's own domains, the outer defenses, and the fiefs subinfeudable. (a) The haron's domains (*kura-iri*): Origins: lands originally set aside (No. 149 D); some wild lands and some lands newly reclaimed (No. 151 D); parts of the southern islands (No. 151 C, D); and possibly parts of fiefs restored to the baron on his general request (No. 153 n. 7). In 1640 the *kura-iri* and cognate lands totalled nearly thirty per cent of the *taku* of the *han* (No. 151 D). Uses: support of the haron's family; recompense for the vassals' and other followers' services with treasury-rice (*kura-mai*); (in 1756, treasury-rice thus granted represented more than 85,000 *koku* of land: No. 154 A; cf. 153 D); possibly also office-fiefs (*yaku-daka*), or, fiefs accompanying the tenure of offices in the harony (No. 153 A, D), and some unusual grants of land; and labor-service of the inhabitants (No. 151 D). (h) The outer defenses (*to-zhō*): Origins: some were among the old castellanies more or less reorganized; others, historic domains of independent warriors who had later come under the haron's control; a few were more or less new creations (Nos. 147, 152 A, 153 B, C, D, 154 A). Both the vassals (*zhū-chū* or *gō-shi*) of *to-zhō*

<sup>2</sup> The system of evaluation in *koku* was of great convenience in many phases of government: it much simplified all grants, changes, and exchanges of fiefs; showed the relative magnitude of the fiefs in a harony, and of the baronies in the whole country; and afforded a rough index to the population of each region, for, on the average, land yielding one *koku* of rice or its equivalent would support one soul (cf. Int. p. 25 n. 150). The system also greatly aided the government during the transition from the feudal to the imperial régime; cf. No. 155 pr.



and their administrators (*ji-tō*) were the haron's direct vassals, and received their fiefs and stipends as direct grants from him. (c) The fiefs which were subinfeudable (*shi-ryō*): The haron sought, more successfully than before (c-ii, e-i-2) to assimilate the ancestral domains of vassals with the fresh grants he made to them; each fief under the haron, both as a *dominium utile* and as a *dominium directum*, duplicated the juridical nature of the harony under the *shō-gun*; subject to revision (Nos. 153 A, 154 pr.), general reduction (No. 153 A and n. 7), transference, and confiscation. Holders of this class of fiefs, the only class of true fiefs, had their residences in the haronial city of Kagoshima; and their fiefs comprised a very wide range of magnitude (Nos. 153 D, 154 A). A considerable number of non-military fiefs, besides religious fiefs (Nos. 152 A, 154 A). The fief of the Iriki-in lord: changes and reductions (Int. p. 25 and n. 150; Nos. 152 pr., A, B, 153 A, C, D, 154 pr., A, 155 G). Small fiefs (Nos. 152 B, 154 pr.; get the average of the *to-zhō* fiefs and the fiefs of the Kagoshima *shū*, in Nos. 153 B, D, 154 A). For further details of domains, fiefs, etc., cf. B-II-e-ii, D-III-h.

4. A most remarkable feature of the régime was its largely public character: the shogunate claimed delegation of governmental power from the emperor (No. 155 pr., A, B; cf. C, and nn. 13 and 37; further see D-I-a, C-I-c-vii); the haron was recognized by the shogunate as endowed with powers to govern his *han* and to defend its territory (No. 155 A). The public territorial units *kuni* and *kōri* were used in relation to haronies (A-I-i, Nos. 149 A, 151 B, D), and the words prince (*kō*) and subject (*shin*) were freely applied to lord and vassal (No. 155 n. 32; for *kō*, see Nos. 142 n. 2, 143, 146 n. 10, 149 n. 16, 152 B; see further No. 155 nn. 69 and 73, Iri. gen. 1725, 1737). Specifically, the governance of the *shō-gun's* and the haron's own affairs savored more of public official administration than feudal rule (D-I-a, h, III, IV, V-a, h, VI-a-ii, C-I-c-vi-2-(h)-(4) and (5)).

ii. Finally, among the smaller fiefs held under the haron, we may observe ones so tiny that they would barely if at all support families of moderate size, to say nothing of a knight's service in war; and, with the increase of population, the smaller fiefs also increased (i-3-(c), above; calculate the average *taka* of the men of Kagoshima and that of the men of the *to-zhō* for 1640 and 1756, in Nos. 153 D and 154 A). Similar condition prevailed among the holdings subinfeudated by vassal-lords (No. 154 pr.). [This is a fact worthy of study from a wider range of sources than are presented in this volume. We may suppose that such a state of things was possible because peace reigned over the country during the greater part of the period, and also because the diminutive fiefs were often supplemented with grants of rice from the haron's or the lord's granary. Remember the pulverization of the smaller fiefs which occurred in France in the later feudal ages, from causes and with effects different from those in Japan.]

#### g. The new régime.

First, the shogunate disappeared, but the *shō-gun's* son received a fief from the imperial government (No. 155 pr. and B); the harons also continued to hold their haronies under the emperor, until they were returned or taken away (No. 155 pr. and C); still the harons had secret hopes to receive some fiefs under the emperor (No. 155 n. 41), and did receive a fraction of their former *taka* and were appointed governors of the old *han* (No. 155 pr., E, F). Vassals of harons also lost their fiefs (Iri. gen. 1870), and received a reduced recompense partly from the central government indirectly and partly from the haron's own fief (No. 155 G and n. 51). All this anomaly was swept away in 1871 (No. 155 pr.). Also cf. D-I-c.

#### Conclusion.

[From some such material as the following, make a tentative list of the juridical factors which constituted the fief in European feudalism, and obtain some idea of the evolution which each factor may have undergone during the feudal ages: Prou, *Actes de Philippe I<sup>er</sup>*, No. 13; Pourpardin, *Chartes de l'abbaye de St. Germain-des-Prés*, I, pp. 310-313; Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St. Père de Chartres*, II, Nos. 47 and 62; *Consuetudines feudorum*, ed. Lehmann, vulgata, I, 5, 2 and 4; II, 8; II, 23; d'Ahléiges, *Grand coutumier de France*, p. 208; Charles Du Moulin, *In cons. Paris.*, préambule, nos. 114-115; Boutillier, with Charon das' commentary, 1621, pp. 823, 825. Comparing, as best one may, the result of this inquiry into the character of the European fief with conclusions gained from the preceding study of the history of the Japanese fief,

seek to determine which factors were common to both, and, of these, which would be the most fundamental and necessary to the existence of any fief; then, consider how the other factors developed and reacted upon the central ones. This study should bring out points of agreement and of difference between the European and Japanese fief at their full maturity, and in their course of evolution; and might even suggest a revision of the perspective commonly accepted among students of each system. As for the deeper reasons for the difference in the institutional history of the two fiefs, our materials should afford some ground for their partial consideration (*cf.* A-IV-b-ii, c-i and ii; C-VII-a and h.)]

## II. ORGANIZATION OF VASSALAGE

(For the relation between lord and vassal, see C-I.)

### a. The Kamakura period.

i. Sudden extension of vassalage under the new *shō-gun* (Int. pp. 7, 16 f.; C-III-a, C-VI-h; Nos. 6, 8, 16).

ii. The *shō-gun* (Int. pp. 7, 16 f.; D-I-a-iv; No. 6 pr.) and his *baku-fu* (D-III; Nos. 25, 155 n. 39); combined public and feudal powers (Nos. 6, 8, 9, 16, 155 C); public powers increased through the institution of *shu-go* and *ji-tō* (Int. p. 7; Nos. 6, 9, 10, etc.; for the pre-feudal *ji-tō*, see Nos. 2 and 4), and at the time of the Mongol invasion (No. 25). As feudal suzerain, he gave justice and exacted military and other services (C-I-c; D-V). [However, how would the retarded development of the true fief (*cf.* B-I) affect his position as suzerain?]

iii. The direct vassals of the *shō-gun* (*go ke-nin*, Nos. 6 pr., 8 pr., 69): 1. were, as such, peers (Nos. 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15-17, 39, 40; *cf.* 80 pr.), no matter whether they held public local offices (Int. p. 23; Nos. 8, 9, 12, 16, 36, 37, 66, 69), or had tenures under domanial lords (Nos. 6, 8, 9, etc.), or served for religious institutions (Nos. 8, 9, 25, 68, 69); or whether they were simple warriors, or *ji-tō* (Int. pp. 20 f., 26 f.; Nos. 6, 8, 9, 13, 15-17, etc.) or *shu-go* (Int. pp. 8, 20; Nos. 6, 8, 10, 12, 13 pr. and n. 31, 36, 37, 50, etc.), who as officers of the *shō-gun* had some authority over them. Even brothers and other adult members of a warrior-family were peers in this sense (Nos. 8, 9, 13, 17, 21, 23, etc.; see further C-I-h-ii).

2. A *go ke-nin* might have his own vassals (deputy *shu-go*, Nos. 25, 37, 57, 60; hereditary vassals, Honda, Odawara, etc., No. 69; Int. pp. 9, 24 and n. 144) and other followers (*ge-nin*, Nos. 13, 31, 37, 48, 55), who may have increased as a result of his settling in a new place (*cf.* Nos. 6, 13, 15-17); to some of these and his relatives he gave grants of land or income (Nos. 59, 73).

3. [From the nature of the warriors' holdings in this period (B-I-h), it follows that there could be few notable instances of local feudal hierarchies; also from the system of *go ke-nin* it is clear that, for the whole of feudal Japan, there was no well-formed pyramidal hierarchy, but a single suzerain over a great number of direct vassals, under whom rear-vassals were relatively few. Moreover, the base of this amorphous figure was indistinct, as the lower warriors and peasants were, like their holdings, still very poorly differentiated from each other (A-III-d, A-IV-c, C-VII-a-v, c-i-1).]

iv. Signs of changes: 1. A *go ke-nin* might also receive a fief from the Hōjō regent (*nyū-dō dono*, Nos. 13, 17). When after 1221 the *shō-gun* was a figurehead, the regent or another Hōjō might receive personal homage of a *go ke-nin* (Nos. 26 ff.; Int. p. 17).

2. The *shu-go* would, if he could, make of a *go ke-nin* his vassal, or, perhaps, an ally (Iri. gen.: 3d lord's brother Arishige married a Shimadzu). A *ji-tō* would likewise make of *go ke-nin* in his sphere his deputies (Nos. 9, 12, 15 and 16, 18, 49, 69) and a species of vassals (Nos. 15, 16). [These cases paved the way for the later territorial lord, but were still few; often local warriors were refractory and resisted the authority of *shu-go* and *ji-tō*, and some even wielded as great a power as the *shu-go* (Int. pp. 8, 12, 20 ff., 26 f.; *cf.* the chevaliers in Lorraine as a class in its relation to the duke, in Bonvalot, Parisot, I, and the *Coutumes gén. des trois bailliages*).]

### b. The ages of the imperial restoration and the rival courts.

i. The restoration eliminated the *shō-gun* as feudal overlord and put warriors under the imperial government (Nos. 74, 75, 77, 79-81; *cf.* Nos. 101, 102, 106, 112, 117), though the fiction of the *go ke-nin* system was retained (No. 80). This anomaly was removed partially when the

Minamoto lord, Ashikaga Takauji, called men to service, virtually asking them to choose between himself and the emperor (Nos. 82, 83, etc.), and was appointed *shō-gun* by the Northern Court (Int. p. 10). Those *go ke-nin* who responded were once more the *shō-gun's* direct vassals, though of wavering allegiance (Nos. 92 A, 98 pr., 106 pr., 110 pr., 112 pr., 116 pr., 118 pr.). The warriors serving under the Southern Court were, considered in terms of vassalage, largely independent; there were a few, however, who were vassals of religious institutions (Hirayama in No. 92 A). Under men on both sides there, of course, were rear-vassals (Nos. 78, 80 C, 92 A, 95 A; cf. 108).

ii. The development of the local suzerain was delayed longer than the establishment of the true fief. Perhaps the Shimadzu succeeded most where they, rather as old *ji-tō* and present local chiefs than as *shu-go*, had approached the position of the lords of true fiefs (B-I-c-ii; cf. Nos. 86 pr., 107 A, B, C, 117 pr.); and these were not yet common. Another favorable trend was the increasing unity of control within a great family (Nos. 76, 79, 82, 84, 95 A, B, 111, 112 A, 116 C, 119), which was concomitant with the development of a law of primogeniture (C-I-h-ii-2); this was conducive to power, but unfortunately there was frequent division within a group of related families, whether of the Shimadzu or of the Shihuya (Int. pp. 23-24; Nos. 85, 86, 92 A, 117 pr.). Purely political conditions were adverse: with Kagoshima as their new center (Int. p. 25), the Shimadzu *shu-go* would command local warriors (Nos. 80 C, 83 D, 84 pr., 86, 92 A, B), but were hampered and resisted, not only by champions of the Southern Court, but also by many of the *shō-gun's go ke-nin* (No. 88 pr., etc.) and even by his special agents (Nos. 84 pr., 85, 86 C, 90, 98 pr., 110 pr.; 83 B, 92 B, 96 A, B, 98 pr., 112 B, 116 and pr., 118, 121, 123). A few *go ke-nin* probably were nearly as strong feudal lords as the *shu-go* (No. 118 C).

#### c. The Muromachi period.

i. The full maturity of the fief in this period (B-I-d-i) was followed by a gradual and not yet complete establishment of the regional lord (Nos. 138 n. 5, 146 pr.; compare Nos. 118 C, 126, 127, with 145); how far would the two things run parallel, and why should the one go faster than the other? The Shimadzu's slow success was achieved, among other things, through the extension of their landed and personal control, whether by exploiting their office of *shu-go* (No. 127 pr.), by winning the good will of independent warriors through alliance (Iri. gen., 8th, 10th, 11th lords), marriage (6th, 8th, 11th), and other favors (11th, at majority), or by conquering them or compelling them to yield (No. 145 pr.; Int. p. 28); through utilizing the land thus gained as fiefs to new vassals (Nos. 125, 126, 127 A, B, C, 130, 136 A); and even through permitting a new vassal to make conquests on his own account (No. 141 pr.), for they might eventually fall under the Shimadzu's direct control (No. 145). The haron's council eagerly promoted his interest (No. 145 pr., n. 18; No. 154 pr.). The Iriki-in's gradual subjection to the Shimadzu, passing from the position of allies to that of vassals (cf. the oaths in Nos. 127 D and 136 B; see the feudal hierarchy under the *shu-go* reflected in No. 138; study Nos. 125, 126, 127 A, B, 145; also Iri. gen., 7th to 15th lords). The nearly complete suzerainty over local chieftains which the Shimadzu haron had achieved is reflected in their names listed in No. 147, where his relatives, hereditary vassals, new vassals, and recent enemies, appear side by side as vassals without distinction. Such old terms as *shu-go*, *ji-tō* (except in its new usage), *myō-shu*, and *go ke-nin*, had lost their significance and been nearly forgotten in the new situation (Int. p. 29).

ii. Meantime, the Iriki-in lord also had become the territorial lord of the locality in which lay his historic domain (No. 136 and n. 3; cf. Nos. 138, 148; also compare 111 pr.), but only after he had lost and regained the latter (Nos. 125, 126 pr., 127 A, 130 pr.); his subsequent expansion westward (No. 141 pr.) only ended in contributing to the haronial power (No. 145), and he was thrust back to his proper sphere. This sphere and the vassalage it contained formed an integral part of the hierarchy under the haron. The Iriki seigniorship itself was a little hierarchical organization of the lord's relatives and vassals, protected by primogeniture, graded by subinfeudation, and all subjected to the suzerainty of the chief (Nos. 129, 133, 134, 138). [There being other bodies of like nature, the harony was a veritable pyramid composed of small pyramids.]

iii. The *shō-gun's* power had gradually waned almost to nothing (No. 138 n. 5; cf. No. 107 A; Iri. gen. 1497, relative to the former *shō-gun*). [Therefore, the feudal Japan as a whole was a large truncated hierarchy comprising local hierarchies of all sizes but without an apex for the entire

body. Of this body, the base was now clear and distinct, for the warriors and peasants had been completely differentiated (B-I-d-iv, B-III-a-ii and a-iii, and C-VII-c-ii-1 and 2.)]

iv. [The true fief had been evolved and had begun even to transcend itself (B-I-d-iii), but vassalage was not only older but also was still intact: warriors detached from land or receiving stipends and those placed beyond the pale of subinfeudation were nevertheless all vassals. Hence, it is seen that, in Japan, the history of the true fief is shorter than that of vassalage, the latter beginning earlier and lasting longer; at the beginning and toward the end there was a part of the vassalage organization without the true fief. (Cf. d-ii, below.)]

*d. The age of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi.*

i. How great and how sudden was the success of the Shimadzu lord in finally perfecting his position as a regional baron is seen more or less when we note the number, and the kind and duration of the military service, of the vassals whom he led in war at different times since the end of the fourteenth century (Nos. 126 pr., 127 pr., 130 pr., 141 pr., 145 pr., 146 pr., 147 pr., 148 pr., 150 A, B).

ii. [The abrupt establishment of the feudal hierarchy of the whole of Japan under Hideyoshi has been noted, as also the further growth of non-feudal or post-feudal factors in the régime (B-I-e-i). Which of these factors involved things which were not true fiefs, and which implied acts which would not be normal in purely feudal relations of vassalage? (Cf. Nos. 148 pr., 149 pr., n. 5, 150 pr.) If not only the fief, but also vassalage, was exceeded, it must be said that feudalism was outgrowing itself.]

*e. The Edo period.*

[Feudal and non-feudal elements were carefully systematized in the Tokugawa régime (B-I-f-i); the most notable non-feudal factor was the openly public character of the *shō-gun's* and the baron's rule (B-I-f-i-4).]

i. The *shō-gun*: Theories of usurpation and of delegation, and political results of these theories (No. 155 pr., A, B, C, nn. 13 and 37; D-I-a and b). The baron's residence in Edo, and his periodical attendance upon the *shō-gun* (No. 155 A; see C-I-c-v).

ii. The baron: Technically called *dai-myō* (Nos. 154 n. 30, 155 A n. 28).

1. His vassals were organized elaborately. (a) General: calculate the proportions of men and of *taka* divided or assigned according to the various principles of classification (B-I-f-i-3; No. 153 C, D, n. 15, No. 154 B). (b) The Kagoshima *shū*: determine their component classes, their proportions, their great disparity (Nos. 152 pr., A, n. 10, 153 A, D, 154 A; see Iri. gen. n. 57); the greater vassals of this body stood toward the baron much as the barons did toward the *shō-gun*, for the former were (c) the lords of the *shi-ryō* (private domains), who were obliged to have residences in Kagoshima (Nos. 152 pr., 152 A). (d) The *to-zhō* (outer defenses), their *zhū-chū* or *gō-shi*, vassals, and *ji-tō*, the baron's agents (Nos. 152 pr., A, 153 C, D, 154 B). (e) Vassals attached to religious houses (C-VI-h-ii; No. 152 A); what was their status? (f) Retainers of inferior grades, some of whom could hardly be called *samurai* (B-II-e-ii-1-(f), III-a-ii-2, II-f-iii-2; Nos. 152 A, 153 D, 154 A; note *sotsu-zoku* in 155 pr.).

2. For the warriors' living quarters, called *fumoto*, see No. 152 pr., Int. p. 31 n. 193.

3. The family-group, which figured large in the development of vassalage in the Muromachi period (B-I-d-i-1-(e)), was now somewhat diffused by division, adoption, and marriage, and more or less neutralized by principles of rank and territoriality (Nos. 152 A, 154 A, B; Iri. gen. n. 57).

*f. The new régime.*

The extraordinary situation which developed between 1867 and 1871 has already been noted (B-I-g).

*Conclusion.*

[From the main results of the foregoing study, evolve the general course of development of the organization of Japanese vassalage, its relation to the growth of the fief and to feudalism as a whole.]



## III. THE WARRIOR

a. *Differentiation as a class.*

A parallel differentiation of the feudal from the non-feudal land tenure, and of the warriors from the peasants.

i. Tenure (*cf.* B-I): At first, the warriors observed the same land customs as the peasants, with the difference that the former added to the fiscal obligations which they owed from their holdings to the domanial word or the provincial government personal services to a military lord for the same holdings; otherwise, the holdings of both classes were little distinguished the one from the other (B-I-h-iii-2-(b); Nos. 1-6, 49, 59, 70, 72 B, 104). Gradually from the fifteenth century, and rapidly in the sixteenth, the lower rights of use and the higher rights of control and revenue of land, were separately consolidated and vested, respectively, in the peasant and the warrior (B-I-d-iv, C-VII-c-ii-2; compare Nos. 59 and 128, and note the marked change seen in the latter; also No. 144). In South Kyū-shū there exceptionally were some warriors who tilled with their own hands their tiny fiefs (C-VII-c-iii), whose tenure was nevertheless noble.

ii. Persons (*cf.* B-I and II): 1. At first, the smaller warriors and the larger peasants led much the same mode of life, except the former's more or less occasional armed movements (Nos. 6 C, 13, 17, 36, 59, 70, 72 B, 104); but the separation between the classes gradually widened, and sooner and faster than that of the tenures: the warriors (*bu-shi*), whatever the condition of their holdings, were noble, the peasants (*do-min*), even the free ones, were common (Nos. 6 C, 36, 37, etc.). By the fourteenth century, the word *hyaku-shō* had ceased to include in its meaning, as before, all free persons, armed or unarmed, but become more and more identified with the peasantry. (*E.g.*, No. 59 and n. 14; who are in No. 104? Further see Nos. 104 pr., 151 pr.) In 1576 (No. 146 A) we find even very small fief-holders doing (presumably) military service in a campaign, only their widows supplying laborers; economically near the peasants, the small warriors had risen to a fully distinct status (iv, below; C-VII-c-ii-2).

2. Needless to say, there were in all feudal ages followers of a lower order who stood on the boundary line between the noble and the common; some of them were household retainers, and others were menials. Our documents refer to them but seldom (*shū-bara* and *ge-nin* in Nos. 13, 17, 22, 31, 60 B, 108; see B-II-e-ii-1-(f), B-III-f-iii-2). [*Cf.* the early Frankish *pueri*, *vassi*, etc.]

3. From these should be distinguished *waka-dō* and *rō-dō* or *rō-zhū* (Nos. 92 A, 95 A) [who probably were, like the *armigeri* and *domicelli* or *demoisèaux* in feudal Europe, either youthful warriors of quality still in apprenticeship or grown ones whose fortune and status fell short of the full knighthood. See, further, B-III-f-iii-1, below.]

4. As for the armed adventurers known as *no-bushi*, who were sometimes employed as mercenaries in the period of the civil war (Nos. 125 pr., n. 1, 127 pr., 132 pr.), they were neither knights nor vassals, and were beyond the pale of feudalism and chivalry, and should be regarded as an anomaly peculiar to their age (C-VII-d-iii-1).

iii. [At this point, consider why the knights as the noble class were differentiated in Neustria and Aquitania earlier than in Austrasia, Italy, and Germany, and still earlier than in Japan; what possible causes for an early division were present in some places and absent in others. How is this question related to the one concerning the differentiation of the military *beneficium* and fief as a distinct tenure in France, which occurred almost as early as when the *milites* were found to be the nobles, and the differentiation of the true fief in Japan, which matured even more slowly than her separate warrior class? (*Cf.* A-IV, B-I-h, c, d, e.)]

iv. During the Edo period, the division between warrior (*samurai*; *cf.* No. 149 A, B, n. 12) and peasant (*hyaku-shō*) was wide. The lower *samurai* (No. 149 n. 12)—not only recipients of treasury rice, but also holders of petty fiefs which they cultivated—were, if economically humble, above the peasantry in status (*cf.* the *ko-mono*, *chū-gen*, etc., in Nos. 152 A, 153 D). *Samurai* of the *to-zhō* and the *shi-ryō* usually lived in *fumoto* apart from the peasants (No. 152 pr.; Int. p. 31 n. 193; B-II-e-ii-2). At the downfall of the old régime, it was found natural to make of the peasantry of the country a distinctly separate class of its own (No. 155 pr.).

v. [Here, again, consider the difference between France and Japan as regards the relation of tenure and class. In France, when noble services ceased to be demanded of the fief, villeins often

hought it; the correspondence between tenure and class was thus disturbed; and then, the nobility as a class of persons closed itself against the intrusion of the non-noble. In Japan, the peasant of the Edo period had the actual use and virtual ownership of land, and had little need to buy the latter's right to a revenue from this land; nor would the peasant be permitted to do so, since the warrior's services still existed (C-VII-c-ii-2). The division of the classes had evolved from the divided consolidation of two kinds of rights, and been further widened by the rulers for reasons of control (C-VII-d-iii and iv); and had not resulted from an artificial closure of one class for self-protection against the other. In the earlier ages, when the classes were being differentiated by purely natural causes, the division was much more easily surmounted, specially during the civil war, for there was relative freedom for aspiring commoners to participate in warlike adventure and assert their personal ability.]

#### b. Privileges.

i. [The warrior carried arms]; and, when of a sufficiently high grade, was mounted (Nos. 147, 150 A, B, 152 A; cf. D-II-h-i).

ii. He could bear a family-name, which underwent a remarkable evolution (cf. Iri. gen. pr.): the first clan-name was later used only on formal occasions (A-III-c; Nos. 70, 74, 76, 79, 80 A, B, etc.); a branch family would adopt the name of its chief domain or its residence as its family-name (Nos. 6, 8, 9, 11, 13 pr. and n. 3, 16 n. 9, 17, 63 n. 15, 69, 74, 107, 118 n. 11, 125, 144, 147 n. 13, etc.; Iri. gen. nn. 3 and 4; Int. pp. 4, 13, 14); as the smaller branches gradually took smaller domains, their family-names were identified with the names of smaller and smaller localities (Nos. 13, 14, 60, 73, 118 C, 119, 121 G, H, 122; cf. 123). It is notable that the Iriki-in branch of the Shibuya did not assume the name of the *in* until after the other branches had long been using the names of their respective domains (No. 136 n. 3; cf. 138), but continued to be called the Shibuya or the Kiyoshiki (Nos. 118 C, 121 F, G, H, 123, etc.); why? Sometimes, by reason of special association, the names of religious houses (Nos. 25, 50 pr., 68, 69, 107), official posts (Nos. 50 pr., 69, 86, 147), and *kuni* (No. 74), were used. It is instructive that, toward 1600, bearers of old family-names were often found far removed from the places or offices from which they were originally derived (Nos. 147, 152 A, 153 B). This was, for one thing, an evidence of the assured supremacy of the haron, who had uprooted historic families from their ancient domains (B-I-c-ii, e-i-2, B-II-c-i, d-i, e-ii-3). Another mark of the enhanced power of the haron or suzerain was the custom of bestowing his family-name to a vassal as an act of favor (No. 140 C, D, n. 28, No. 151 B).

iii. As for the warrior's personal names, they were singularly multiple (Iri. gen. n. 2). 1. For his informal name (*tsū-shō*), the simplest way was to use the word *rō* (son) preceded by an ordinal word, as: Tarō (first son), Saburō (3d), Rokurō (6th), etc.; a son's son might have two *rō* in his name, as: Taro-gorō (5th son of the 1st son); a distinguishing word, like Mata-, Suke-, Mago-, Iya-, etc., might be added before the *rō*, as: Iya-rokurō, Mago-saburō; and the *rō* might be dropped, as: Iya-roku. With any of these might be used an official title or its abbreviation borne by the man or his ancestor, as: Taro-hyōe, Suke-zaemon, etc.; often the office-name alone was used, as: Sama-no-suke (No. 121 D, E), Mino-no-kami (No. 123). A part of the family or clan name might be used as part of a personal name, as: Ki-tō-ta, Tō-hei-zhi.

2. Buddhist names were frequently used: Jō-Shin, Dai-Raku, Ryū-Haku.

3. The formal personal name (*shitsu-myō*) contained a part which was transmitted through generations in the same family, like the *shige* of the Shibuya and the *hisa* or *tada* of the Shimadzu; when a family ramified too far to make it longer practicable to preserve this custom, the privilege of retaining the historic particle might be confined to branches nearest to the main stock. The customs of adoption of children led to rather frequent changes of formal names (Iri. gen., 16th, 10th, 22d, 23d lords, etc.).

4. As in relation to family-names, so in that to personal names, the haron's and suzerain's heightened power over the vassal was shown in the custom of the former's giving a part of his name to the latter, necessitating the abandonment or suspension of the inherited name-particle of his own family, a questionable honor indeed (Shimadzu gen., 20th-22d, 25th-27th, 29th lords, etc.). The Chinese custom of avoiding the name of a superior person obliged men to change names (Iri. gen. 1723, 1735, n. 69).

iv. The warrior followed the court noble's idea of using a family-crest, and developed it further (Iri. gen. n. 7); here, again, the baron of the Edo period presumed to grant to vassals new crests (Iri. gen. 1702, 1749, 1768). Large and small banners (*nobori* and *hata*) usually bore the crest of the lord who led the contingents (D-II-c-ii); whether or not for this reason, in the Edo period, men of the *to-zhō* do not seem to have carried banners, while those of the *shi-ryō* did (No. 152 A).

v. It is a remarkable fact with the Japanese warriors that sometimes they carried public ranks and generally bore public official titles which had descended from the pre-feudal imperial ages. 1. The ranks (*wi*, *i*) must always have been formally conferred by the imperial government, but the official titles (*kwan*) were, the later in history, the oftener privately given or even assumed. The chief reason for the universality of these titles was that the early private warriors and their forefathers had served at some time or other as guardsmen (*e-mon*, *hyō-e*, etc.) of the imperial palace and capital (e.g., Nos. 59, 69, etc.); the modest titles thus earned were often used for generations till their official import was forgotten and till other warriors and even commoners customarily used these ancient titles as parts of their popular personal names (h-iii-1, above). As for more official titles of the central government at Kyōto (Nos. 6 n. 15, 9 n. 28, 16 n. 21, 81, 82, 92 A, n. 20, 101, 105 n. 7, 107 B, C, 111, 112 B, C, 114, 115, 121 pr., B-E, 126, 127 A, B, C, D, 130, 144, 147 n. 12, 149 C, D, 151 n. 9), which for the warriors were of course purely honorary, it is not clear how soon they began to be granted and assumed privately. The same may be said of the titles of local government (Nos. 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 83 A, B, 92 A, B, 101, 112 A, 120-123, 125, 127 C, 137, 138, 141 pr., 143, 144, 147); as honorary titles they continued to be granted to warriors by the imperial government throughout the ages, but that private bestowals and assumptions were frequent in the period of the civil war is evident in No. 147 (and n. 12; cf. No. 152 A). Why did the Japanese warriors so commonly bear public official titles? (Cf. an interpretation in No. 155 C; cf. also D-I-a and h).

2. In the Edo period, the baron's public offices and ranks were granted by the imperial government on the *shō-gun*'s recommendation (No. 155 A); the baron, however, might grant a title to a vassal without sanction (Iri. gen., case of Shigeyori in 1639). Promiscuous use of central and local official titles in this period is all too evident (Nos. 152 A, 153 A, 154 A; Iri. gen., 16th, 18th-20th, 22d, 27th, 29th lords). [When the shogunate fell, the imperial government gave ranks and offices directly to barons (Iri. gen. n. 77).]

vi. On the warriors' privileges in judicial procedure, the Iriki documents are silent. His financial obligations were common with the peasants at first, and became distinct only when his class was totally differentiated from the peasantry (D-VI-a).

#### c. The warrior's career.

i. Our documents give few data of the warrior's childhood, but throw some light on his coming of age (Nos. 8 n. 73, 9 n. 35, 58 n. 7, 134; Iri. gen. 1473, 1639, 1661, 1685, 1690, Hisasuke in 1678, Sadatsune in 1722, Sadakatsu in 1744 and 1749, Sadaka in 1770, Sadanori in 1792, Sadatsune in 1802). [Compare the significance of this ceremony with that of the knighting of the new chevalier in medieval Europe.]

ii. The first battle in which a young warrior participated was a great event in his life (Iri. gen., Shigetsugu in 1546, and n. 32).

iii. The warrior's practice and proficiency in martial arts receive little reference; likewise, his daily life with his peers and their strong mutual sanction (e-iv, below).

iv. The warrior's deficiency in knowledge of ideographs is reflected in his writings in the Kama-kura and Muromachi periods (Nos. 13 n. 7, 17, 18, 27-33, 48, 61, 89 B, 91, 109, 120, 124), but the fact that his judicial documents were written tolerably well shows the presence of lettered men among local warriors even during the dark ages. [In the Edo period, education improved greatly.]

#### d. The warrior and the vassal.

[The chevalier class in European feudalism corresponds to the warrior class in the Japanese. Members of both had a strong consciousness and pride of belonging to a high class, and shared its common ideals and followed its precepts. Was this class in each society, as an institution, if not

as persons, a body distinct from the feudal group of lord and vassals? What was the exact relation, in origin and in history, between feudalism and knighthood?

[This is, for each sphere of history, a difficult problem; it would be still more difficult to compare the situation in both spheres. A few broad suggestions follow.]

[i. In western Europe: 1. in the tenth century, knights were vassals, but there still were free men who were neither knights nor vassals; 2. in the eleventh and twelfth, the three categories of men, nobles, knights, and vassals, were nearly identical; 3. later, the correspondence was broken, for there appeared (a) holders of noble tenures who were not knights, (h) vassals who were not knights (*cf.* Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne*, I, preface, chap. 7), or could not afford to be knighted, (c) knights who were not vassals, whose numbers increased in the Crusades (case of the chevaliers in Lorraine was special), (d) knights' orders whose organization was independent of or transcended the ordinary bounds of vassalage, and (e) knights who were not noble, like some "ministriales."

[ii. In feudal Japan, so far as the warriors who were not vassals were concerned, their course of evolution was reversed: instead of coming into existence after the maturity of the régime, they were numerous before the advent of the *shō-gun*, but then entered into vassalage as *go ke-nin* or as rear-vassals; only as regards the still feeble territorial lord, local warriors (Nos. 9 pr., 13 pr., 15) were, when the *shō-gun* was nominal, not real vassals of the one or the other; also, the adventurous free-hooters of the civil war (B-III-a-ii-4) were unattached warriors: these relatively few examples of abnormalities had all vanished by the year 1600. As for knights' orders forming large confraternities, there were few such in Japan. There were no vassals who were not warriors, for the ceremony of majority was simple and came as a matter of course to any young *samurai*. Nor was a peasant or burgher allowed to acquire a fief as such (B-III-a-v). In a word, in Japan, the warrior and the vassal not only became identical at the beginning of the shogunate (No. 134 pr.), but continued so throughout the feudal ages with remarkable consistency. How may we account for this difference from Europe? Needless to add that, as in Europe, there were warriors who ranked below the common vassals (B-III-a-ii-2, f-iii-2).]

#### c. The warrior's code.

i. The story of Shibuya Shigekuni, the ancestor of the Iriki-in (Int. pp. 14-15), reveals the character of the knightly code at the beginning of the feudal ages: loyalty to one's lord, and valor, so highly prized as to be admired by an enemy; truthfulness to a pledged word to whomsoever given; staunch faith between friends ranged in opposing camps; ready but profound sympathy among warriors for difficulties peculiar to themselves as a class.

ii. Loyalty to lords: [Before the prevalence of the true fief, the ground for loyalty to one's lord was more purely personal and moral and less material than in the later ages; failing the adequate material reason, the feudal rulers relied the more heavily on the moral sense of the vassals; for this end, he found a ready instrument in the Chinese ethical doctrine, which, based as it was upon a social order essentially civil and pacific in character and bureaucratic in political organization, emphasized simple social virtues, including filial duty to the parent and loyalty to the ruler; this teaching, despite the difference in the social and political structure of the two countries, gave the Japanese feudal lord a welcome justification and an instrument of education and sanction in his demand of loyalty from his vassals (see C-I-c-vii-2-(a) and (c)). This could, however, hardly be adequate for the purpose of insuring the desired coherence of the vassalage group.]: loyal services at war, even unto death (Iri. gen., 3d generation), were inspired probably as much by individual heroism and by desire for recognition, as by sheer loyalty; faith to a suzerain who lived far away or who was largely impersonal would waver (No. 26), and, in times of troubles, he freely broken, as in the age of the rival courts (C-I-c-vi-2-(h)-(2)). During the civil war, breaches of faith and rebellions were frequent between the haron and his allies or recent vassals (*e.g.*, Nos. 143 pr., 145 pr., 148 pr., 150 pr.); but, in small historic seigniories, the attachment of vassals to their lord was more steadfast (Nos. 126 pr., n. 1; 145 pr., text, n. 18). This was probably due in no small measure to the fact that, in these spheres, the true fief had long been evolved. Likewise, in the barony as a whole, when the true fief prevailed, loyalty to the haron acquired a more substantial basis (Iri. gen. 1580, 1592-1593, 1595 f., 1598-1599, 1600). On his side, the lord continued to inculcate the moral principle of loyalty as the supreme virtue, specially in the Edo period (C-I-c-vii-2-(c)); *cf.*



the custom of following the lord to the other world (Iri. gen., Shigenori, 1643; Shigetaka, 1644; Shigemichi, 1632; n. 53).

[This rigorous education in loyalty, after serving the interest of feudal society, bore unexpected fruit after the downfall of the régime; loyalty to the lord was transformed into devotion to nation and emperor.] At first, an ardent desire to bring Japan honorably into the family of nations inspired the recent *shō-gun* and a few barons and vassals (No. 155 pr., B, C); [but gradually spread among all persons who had just ceased to be of the feudal classes, and then among all the others; this new loyalty, a contribution of the old Japan to the new, has been a moral cause of the latter's notable career. The meaning of this may be appreciated by contrast with nations in a similar state of transition but without a like moral inspiration].

iii. Other virtues prized by the warriors upon which our documents touch are: fidelity to one's word (No. 117 pr.); punctilious sense of propriety (No. 145 pr., n. 12); filial piety (Iri. gen., Shigetaka in 1601; cf. C-I-b); support of the aged (No. 63); etc.

iv. The knightly virtues were buttressed with a strong sense of personal honor and shame (cf. Iri. gen. 1595, 1600) and enforced by a rigorous mutual sanction (cf. No. 145). In this light should be viewed some of the warrior's ideas of suicide (Int. p. 18; No. 8 n. 73).

v. Why did warriors act nobly as between lord and vassal or between comrades, but often treacherously (No. 118 pr.) even among relatives (No. 127)? Why were slanders of men to be feared even among peers (Nos. 127 D, 132, 136 B, 137, 142 pr., 145)? [A partial answer may be found in the fact that the warrior's virtues hinged upon his pledged word, whether expressed or implied, which he gave voluntarily: he would go even to unnatural lengths to observe his word, but might allow himself to be guided without scruple by his passion or self-interest in spheres where he was bound by no promise or contract or where it had broken down under unusual circumstances.]

vi. [In comparison with the European knight's code, the Japanese is marked by the absence of a cult of the woman and the difference of religious atmosphere. These are among the most significant points for comparison, but upon them our material throws little light.]

#### f. Grades of warriors.

[The evolution of feudal hierarchy has already been observed (B-I and II). It is possible to grade warriors according to other principles than the hierarchy of fiefs, especially office, whether civil or military, and rank, whether of the imperial system(*i*) or in the feudal precedence(*kaku*). In the Edo period, these and other principles were combined with an extremely elaborate and multifarious system of grading. On this point, the Iriki documents give no data; however, a glimpse of its copy in the organization of the barony may be had in No. 154 A, the translation of which in this volume is abridged.]

i. [In any scheme of grading, the *shō-gun* must be placed at the apex. Probably his almost uninterrupted career throughout the feudal ages was due to the constant presence of the emperor in the Japanese state-system (cf. C-I-c-vii-2, D-I-a); and the persistence of the *shō-gun*, in turn, facilitated the formation of a real feudal hierarchy when other circumstances favored it (B-I-c-i-1, and II-d).]

ii. [The descending grades of the warriors below the *shō-gun* changed in the succeeding ages, both in general principles (cf. B-II) and in detail; it would suffice here to say that, in the Edo period, when orders of precedence were rigidly enforced, the separation between barons and other warriors was well-nigh absolute. There was reason, therefore, in the division made under the new régime between *kwa-zoku* and *shi-zoku* as two distinct classes (No. 155 pr.).]

iii. Omitting the grades which obtained in the different ages among the warriors below the *shū-go* or the baron, we may note, in the Shimadzu barony in the Edo period, two kinds of what may be described as incomplete *samurai* near the base of the hierarchy: 1. young men of warrior-families who, under the title *ko-shō*, served in attendance upon the baron and members of his family (B-II-a-ii-3; Nos. 152 A n. 19, 154 A; cf. 150 B); these would become full-fledged warriors on reaching majority; and 2. men of humble birth not allowed to bear family-names, who, as *chū-gen*, *ashi-garu*, etc. (Nos. 139 n. 4, 147, 152 A n. 22, 154 n. 22; Iri. gen. 1598, 1600), received land (No. 139) or rice, and served in meaner capacities (Nos. 147, 152 A), but participated in war

(B-II-e-ii-1-(f), III-a-ii-2; Iri. gen. 1508, 1600). It was the latter class which, under the new régime, was designated *sotsu-zoku* (trooper-families) and distinguished from the *shi-zoku* (*samurai*-families), to which the former was, however, later combined (No. 155 pr.): the temporary distinction reflected the earlier condition of the *chū-gen* and others as a sub-feudal class.

## C. RELATIONS

### I. LORD AND VASSAL

#### a. Homage, fealty, and investiture.

i. Terminology: 1. For lord and vassal: *shū-zhū* (Iri. gen. 1600). 2. For lord: *yakata* (Nos. 136 C, 137); *go-zen* (No. 147); *kō* (No. 147; see 142 n. 2); for *shō-gun*: *ku-bō* (No. 107 n. 5), *kō-gi* (No. 146 n. 10); for baron: *dai-myō* (Nos. 154 B, n. 30; 155 A). 3. For vassal: *shū* (Nos. 145, 146, 147), *zhū-chū* (No. 152 pr., A), *ka-chū* or *ke-rai* (No. 152 pr.; Iri. gen. 1868), *uchi* (No. 132 pr.), *samurai* (No. 140 A), *ka-shin* (Iri. gen., under Shigetoki). 4. For entering into vassalage relation: "to come under the [lord's] standard" (No. 147 n. 4). 5. For feudal service: *hō-kō* (Nos. 26, n. 2, 89 A, 142 n. 2; 143).

ii. Feudal subjection: How established: by audience (see below); by commendation by letter (cf. No. 108); by personal attendance and service (Nos. 26 ff.); by accepting a call for military aid (Nos. 82, 83, 88, 106) with (No. 116 A, B) or without promise for reward; by capitulation or surrender (No. 145 pr.); by receiving a fief. Cases of equivocal subjection: alliance or vassalage? (Study the status of the Iriki-in in relation to the Shimadzu, in Nos. 126, 127 pr., A, B, 132 pr.) Formalities (see below); were the formal acts which a baron performed before a new *shō-gun* done in the order mentioned in No. 155 A?

iii. Homage: Form (Nos. 13 n. 34; 15, 16, 26, 130 pr., 136 pr., 148; Iri. gen. 1610, 1738, 1745, 1773, 1792, 1802; cf. 1695, 1705, 1745, 1749). Distinct from the ceremony of majority? (Cf. B-III-c.) Was homage confined to the warrior class? (Cf. No. 108.) Did it usually accompany investiture, and was the fief usually mentioned in the homage? Did homage imply the substance of fealty? (See below.) [On the origin of homage, our documents throw no light. Compare the European homage, its origin and form; what difference, and why significant? (Cf. C-I-c-vii.)]

iv. Acts of swearing older in origin and wider in application than the oath of feudal fealty (Nos. 136 pr., 61, 67). Oaths of faith, between allies (No. 127 D) and between lord and vassal (Nos. 15, 132, 136 B, C, 137); difference between these oaths in the degree of reciprocity they express (cf. No. 145); what were their occasions? Oath to a new *shō-gun* (No. 155 A). [Compare the European fealty: its composite origin, and its relation with homage.] Hostage (No. 148).

[Can it be said that the Japanese homage and fealty constituted a contract—feudal contract, as did the European? (See C-I-c-vii.) Voluntary and reciprocal, in substance, if not in form?]

v. Investiture: 1. Never a symbolic act, always a written document (Nos. 111 pr.; cf. 118 C; vermilion seal, Nos. 149 n. 31, 151 n. 11, 155 A); study in detail the wording concerning investiture (Nos. 13-17, 21, 23, 24, 34, 35, 46, 48, 50, 75, 77, 83 A, 93 C, 111, 113, 119, 121 B, D, E, F, G, H, 125, 126, 127 A, B, 130, 131, 135, 136 A, 141, 142, 143, 149 C, 151 B, 152 B, 155 F, G).

2. Fresh investiture (Nos. 6 A, B, 45); after the true fief had been more or less evolved (cf. B-I; Nos. 83 A, B, 86 nn. 11 and 13, 113, 126, 127 A, B, 145 and pr.—*ji-tō*; see the anomaly of No. 141 and Iri. gen. 1539).

3. Fief by *reprise* (Nos. 15, 16).

4. Confirmation of an old domain, reinvestiture (Nos. 16, 21, 23, 24, 34, 35, 40, 41, 43, 46, 48, 58, 61, 74, 93 C, 100, 103, 111, 119, 121 A, B, 122, 149 C, D, 151 pr., B, 154 pr., 155 A) for heredity (cf. C-I-h), for actual possession (Nos. 58, 67, 70, 75-77, 120, 121 D), and for prescription (No. 120 B).

5. Procedure: petition, order, *ensaisinement*, receipt (Nos. 74, 83 A, B, 118 C, 122).

6. [Did investiture form a part of the feudal contract? (a) The answer would depend in part on whether the lord directly or impliedly agreed to support the vassal, which may be assumed. (b) Did support imply an investiture with a true fief? Obviously no, while the true fief was still rare (B-I). What would be the effect of its absence upon the stability of the feudal contract? (Cf. C-I-c-vii-2.)] (c) Then, even when the true fief was common, the lord's agreement of support did not

necessarily mean an investiture: the latter was often a reward for military service already rendered (Nos. 45, 83 A, B, C, E, 90, 113, 116, 117, 118 A, 155 G), for service promised (No. 127 A, B, C; cf. 141), or for homage (Nos. 15, 16); that is, as much a *Gegengabe* as a clear *Lehen*; at first, it was remarkably precarious (Nos. 15, 16; cf. a similar state in feudal France, in Viollet, ed., *Étab. de Saint Louis*, I, 160-161); domestic vassals (Nos. 147, 150 B), vassals with fiefs or emoluments too small for self-support (Nos. 144, 146 A, B, 150 B, 153 D, 154 A; see B-I-f-ii); and even vassals without grant (Nos. 146 A, 150 B, 154 A), persisted through the ages. (d) Now, however, the fief, if theoretically its presence was still unnecessary for the constitution of the feudal contract, tended to be regarded more and more as its essential part; why?—the establishment of the true fief; the growing pressure of the vassal's natural desire for security of his proprietary rights, which was soonest realized in his "original domains" (Nos. 48 pr., 116 n. 2, etc.); and other circumstances. [Nevertheless, the Japanese feudal contract never, as in France after the later Middle Ages, became a mere "*contrat formel d'investiture*" (Du Moulin) or was ruled by local coutumes (O. Martin, I, 310); why? A period of great civil war came late in Japan (cf. B-I and II), as did the political supremacy of haron and suzerain (B-II), who were now inclined or at least desired to regard all fiefs held of him, irrespective of their original differences in status, as equally precarious (B-I-c-ii, e-i-2); after 1600, there was peace, but the lord's power was, on the whole, even greater, and his interest was sufficient to counteract the desire of the vassal to make of the fief a mere property. Summarize the above as an answer to the question which heads this paragraph.]

7. Enumeration of fiefs: Letters of investiture, in which the fief is not mentioned (No. 75), is mentioned (Nos. 21, 23, 23 A, B, 34, 35, 43, 45, 46, 71, 77 A, B, 81, 83 A, B, 93 C, 121, 122, 125, 126, 127 A, B, 130, 131, 136 A, 141, 143, 149 D, 152 B), or which are accompanied by a separate table (Nos. 135, 149 C n. 30, 151 B). *Aveu* and *dénombrement* on special occasions (Nos. 40, 59, 70 A, B, 139, 144, 151 C). Examination or survey (Nos. 9, 18, 59 A, B, 72 B, 104 A, B, C, 149 A, B, 151 pr., D).

vi. *Ligeity*: [In feudal France, starting with the single lord prescribed in the Carolingian capitularies, the trend was toward a plurality of lords, limitation of service, and confusion of social ranks in the feudal hierarchy. In Japan, the progress was reversed]: 1. the pre-feudal or non-feudal land customs which a vassal utilized were conducive to plural domanial lords, limited obligations, and confused grades of *shiki* (Int. p. 6; Nos. 6, 9, 14, 45, etc.), [but the feudal tenures always implied the principle: one vassal, one lord]; 2. seeming instances of plural lords occurred in the age of the rival imperial courts,<sup>3</sup> and during the civil war before the haron became paramount, when the *shu-go* was weak, and lords of his house, as well as other local chiefs, courted followers in mutual rivalry, while the *shō-gun's* suzerainty grew more and more shadowy (Nos. 75-132; specially 86 C, 118 C, 126, 127, 131); [however, there never was a vassal's open avowal of two lords; then, the feudal hierarchy was powerfully established (B-II-c-i); and one's lord was always his liege. What caused the single lord and plural lords in each country? Why the opposite courses of evolution?]

vii. Direct and rear vassals: [Rear vassalage is inevitable from subinfeudation (B-I and II). Did the principle, "My man's man is not my man," obtain in feudal Japan?] Exclusion of appeal to a superior lord, but his cognizance of a case to which only one party was a direct vassal (Nos. 15, 16). Partial control of rear-vassals by a strong suzerain (Nos. 149 pr., n. 5, A, B; 150 pr.); was this purely feudal, or partly public? Immediatization, from below (No. 145 pr.); from above (*to-zhō* and lord's domains; cf. B-I-f-i-3, B-II-e-ii-1; Iri. gen. 1659); its effects on the feudal hierarchy and on the whole feudal régime. Instance of intercalation (Iri. gen., 22d lord Shigenori's mother's father).

#### b. Obligations and rights relative to the fief considered as property.

##### i. Exploitation.

Use of land or of profit from land by the vassal (Nos. 13, 17, 18, 37, 59, 78, 128, etc.); any agreement against deterioration or diminution of fief? Financial dues to the lord grantor of the fief from the vassal? from the peasants? (Consider Nos. 13, 14, 17, 18, 104 C, 128, 140, 139, 149; see C-VII-d-ii and iii.)

<sup>3</sup> Earlier cases (Nos. 15 and 16; 13, 17, 26, 29): how should these be understood?

## ii. Succession.

1. Heredity: (a) "Principle of heredity" had been well established when the shogunate was founded (*cf.* Nos. 2-5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13 *pr.*, 28, 30, 42, 47, 55, 64, 68, 73; *Int.* p. 9; "original" holding: Nos. 12, 45 *pr.*, 58, 63, 76; 28, 30, 42, 44, 48, 55, 60; *ato:* Nos. 33, 36, 44, 46, 49 n. 18, 58, 61, 63-65, 70); continued in constant practice (Nos. 87, 89 A, B, 91, 93, 97, 107 A, 114, 115, 124, 129, 133, 135, 138; *ato:* Nos. 89 A, 91, 97, 104, 114); and the lord always recognized the principle (Nos. 21, 34, 35, 41, 71, 107 A, B, C, 111, 113, 118, etc.). Why? Did the Japanese fief originate from a *beneficium* held for life? (A-IV, B-I-h-iii-2, C-I-b-ii-2.) Nevertheless, the lord recovered the fief on certain occasions (Nos. 13, 17, 15, 16, 107 B, C, 113, 121, 145); on what occasions? on what principles? [Compare with the varied growth of heredity of the fief in France and Germany, and seek the reasons for the difference in the three countries.]

(h) Reinvestiture at succession: see C-I-a-v. At the succession of the lord as well as that of the vassal?

(c) Relief (Nos. 2 n. 10, 21 *pr.*; *Iri. gen.* nn. 56, 60, 61, and 64, and under 1683, 1699, 1700, 1704, 1735, 1739, 1770, 1801). [Amount as heavy as the normal relief in France?] Earlier examples? [Origins: on those of the European relief, scholars are by no means in agreement; on those of the Japanese?] Compare presents to the lords on other occasions (*Iri. gen.* 1722, 1744, 1770, 1792, 1802; 1736; 1752).

(d) Retirement and succession (*Iri. gen.* 1769, 1837).

(e) Adoption and succession (Nos. 8, 43, 46, 63 and 65, 64, 73; *Iri. gen.* under 2d and 4th lords; Nos. 83 D, 89 A, 94, 97, 105, 109, 115; *Iri. gen.* under 13th to 15th lords; Nos. 152 *pr.*, 154 *pr.*; *Iri. gen.* under 16th, 20th-24th, 27th, 29th).

(f) Was there wardship? Proxy for a young son (Nos. 79, 86, 99 B; *Iri. gen.* 1739, 1801).

2. Primogeniture: (a) [Primogeniture may be regarded as a mode of adjustment between the lord's interest in integral service and the vassal's desires as house-father.] In the earlier ages (1) the warrior's authority over his children was great, and probably exceeded that of the free house-father of the pre-feudal period (Nos. 26, 40, 65; revocation or revision of devises: Nos. 13 *pr.*, 14, 17, 27, 29, 31, 40 n. 6, 41, 83 and 93 A, B, 97 and 105, 109 and 120; repudiation and disinheritance: Nos. 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 91, 113 and 115, 120), and the shogunate acknowledged the fact (Nos. 40, 41). (2) As remarkable was the vassal's freedom of testamentary division of fiefs among children and near relatives (*Int.* pp. 18 and 21; Nos. 10, 13 and 17, 23, 24, 27-30, 44, 55, 61, 63, 73, 89 B, 91, 97, 103, 109, 114, 115, etc.); for this, the lord's sanction was necessary (*Iri. gen. pr.*: Mitsushige's division in 1247), which was granted (Nos. 21, 28, 43, 111, 119, etc.) so readily, that it seems likely that often the sanction was asked after the deed. The usual share of the chief heir (Nos. 13, 17, 21, 23, 28 n. 2, 39, 40, 55 n. 2, 60, 61 n. 3, 63 n. 2, 64 n. 1, 72 A, 73, 80 *pr.*, 87, 93, 97 n. 14, 105 n. 3, 109, 114; what were the *sō-ryō* and the *chaku-shi*? *Cf.* Beaumanoir, c. 465). The younger sons usually founded new families or were adopted by other families (*cf.* *Iri. gen. pr.*, 2d-4th, 6th-8th lords, etc.); and generally were direct vassals of the lord of their eldest brother (B-II-a-iii-1), though there may have been cases of *parage* (*cf.* Nos. 13 and 17). (3) The custom of having secondary consorts, which continued throughout (Nos. 63, 64, 97; *Iri. gen.*, 1st Jō-Shin's son Shigezumi, 2d Akishige's son Atsushige; 6th Shigekado's brother Shigemune; most of the Shimadzu adopted into the Iriki-in family may have been issues of secondary ladies), together with the custom of division among children, caused rapid ramifications of families and pulverization of domains (*cf.* B-I-h-iii-1, iv-1, f-ii; B-III-h-ii).

(4) Intestate division (Nos. 45, 46, 60, 63-65, 71, 72, *cf.* 113).

(b) Growth of primogeniture, and decrease of the father's power of free division (*Int.* pp. 22 and 27 f.): compare Nos. 13, 17, 24, 42, 87, 93, 94, 97, 105, and 114, with 115, 129, and 133 A, B; and the last with 138. What became of the younger brothers? (See the cases in *Iri. gen.* after the 9th.) [What is the difference from the *parage général* (*sans hommage*)? From the *parage particulier* (*avec hommage*)? From such strict primogeniture as obtained in Normandy after the middle of the twelfth century and in Brittany after 1185?]

(c) [Why did primogeniture develop early in France and England, and late in Germany and Italy, and also in Japan (No. 13 *pr.*)? Common reasons: in the customs relative to land immediately before the rise of the feudal tenures, the principle of the indivisibility of patrimony was



either unknown or forgotten; a factor most conducive to an early development of the rule of the unity of the fief and the integrity of service would be an early and sufficiently prolonged and intensive warfare; such warfare obtained in France, but was delayed in Germany, and specially in Japan (cf. B-I-c and d, II-h and c). Particular reasons: specially free and flexible disposition of *shiki* in Japan, which composed the holdings alike of peasant and warrior (A-III); the fief did not descend from a specialized form of *beneficium* which, though of private origin, was under the early Carolingians granted for public military service, but from *shiki* held by the warrior which were generally private, not only in origin, but also in function, exactly like the *shiki* held by peasants, and continued for a long time to be indistinguishable from the latter, except for the holder's service under a military lord (A-IV-h and c, B-I-h-iii-2, B-III-a-i, C-VII-a-v, c-i-1).

(d) Subsequent evolution: [In France, the evasive principle of *feudum vs. fundus* and of the *jeu de fief* facilitated a freer disposition of the fief as property; local *coutumes* and individual agreements further neutralized the rule of the unity of the fief. In Japan, the Iriki documents of the later dates concern almost wholly the great barony of the Shimadzu, and not small fiefs; but it may be surmised that, even with the latter, the law of primogeniture, once attained (as well as inalienability to commoners), was enforced till the end of the régime. Why this difference in the two countries?]

3. Masculinity: (a) Before the civil war, daughters received shares of the father's fief, testate or intestate (Nos. 5, 12, 13 and 17, 14, 18, 20, 29, 33, 44, 45, 46, 71, 72, etc.). The shogunate recognized the right (Nos. 35, 41, 46; cf. 75, 77). In fact, the woman's proprietary and judicial rights, as well as her obligations as a vassal (which were performed by a proxy: No. 20 n. 2; c-i-2, below), were generally admitted (Nos. 56, 68; 36-41, 46, 71, 79, 81; 20. Did she personally appear in court or transact public business? Cf. No. 39. Did she succeed as the chief heir? Cf. Iri. gen., 2d). Hence, parts of fiefs often passed to other families through marriage (Int. p. 21; Nos. 5, 46, 89 A, B, 93 C, 97, 105; Iri. gen., 4th Shigemoto). Questions of marriage (Nos. 46, 93 pr.; Iri. gen., observe the families of the wives) and divorce (Iri. gen., 15th, 24th, 25th) were, therefore, important, and involved the matter of the influence of the wife's family over the husband's (Nos. 63, 89 A); in later ages, when the baron was ascendant, he knew how to give his feminine relatives to great vassals, and thereby to wield a subtle influence over them (many examples in Iri. gen. after the 14th and 15th). It was found advisable to restrict the widow's marriage (Nos. 13, 44, 55, 60, 75, etc.) and sometimes to limit her and other women's support to one life (Nos. 13, 14, 18, 29, 48, 55, 60, 113); [European parallels].

(b) The privilege of strict masculinity was of slow evolution in Japan (Nos. 89 B, 93 C, 97 F, 113, 115); as in England, though much later, it joined with the right of primogeniture. What became of the heir's sisters? (Iri. gen. 9th, 11th, 14th, 15th). Judicial status of women may have been lowered; widows ceased to do military service by proxies (No. 146 A, but see 153 D), but socially held a high place in family councils (Iri. gen. 15th Shigetoki's adopted mother, and 1682).

(c) The question of *dos* and *dotalitium* is implied above in references to the married daughter's proprietary rights.

### iii. Subinfeudation.

Are the following references cases of subinfeudation? Nos. 59, 72, 113, 138 n. 5, 144 pr.; 104, Dō-Ken's grant; 107 A, B, C; 109 B, D, F, *uki-men*; cf. 124. Was the lord's sanction necessary? Relation to the evolution of the true fief (B-I-c-ii, d-ii, c-i-1 and 2, II-c-i and ii). [Our material is too spare for any study of subinfeudation in the Edo period, especially of very small fiefs (B-I-f-ii, II-e-i-2-(f), III-a-ii-2, f-iii-2), in relation to which might be discovered most of the problems of this topic which are significant for comparison with the later fief of Europe.]

### iv. Alienation.

Again the material is wanting for a comparative study. Alienation to other vassals under the same lord (Nos. 47, n. 5; 68 B, n. 7; 76, 79, etc.). Unknown are: the degree of the lord's control, and his right of recovery, of preëmption, and, if any, claim to a part of the profit of the sale. Alienation to religious institutions; *amortissement*? Frankalmoigne? To the commoner (see B-III-a-v, C-VII-c-ii-2).

## v. Conclusion.

[The following may be answered only in part, and only indirectly by inference: 1. Was the Japanese fief, large and small, toward the end of the régime, more really conditioned by homage and service, and less a mere title of property, than the European fief of the later ages? If so, why? (Cf. B-III-a-v, C-I-b-ii-2-(d), C-VII-c-ii-2.) 2. Which—and by what process—succeeded the more, the villein in Europe after the Middle Ages or the peasant of the Edo period, in gaining real economic use and possession of the soil of the fief? Reasons for the difference? (Same references.)]

## c. Mutual obligations and rights.

## i. General.

Even without committing ourselves to the theory that the feudal contract was independent of investiture (C-I-a-v-6), it is possible to treat independently those obligations and rights which were due rather to the mutual personal faith than to the fief.

1. What mutual negative obligations? On the positive ones, do we find in our material such a concise statement of them, as in Europe, as *defensio* on the lord's part (Capitula Francica, c. 8), and *auxilium et consilium* (Sacramentum fidelium, 858; *Hincmari opera*, ed. Sirmont, II, 834), or *exercitus, curtis, et placitum* (*coutume de Bigorre*, c. 38), on the vassal's part?

2. Women's positive obligations (Nos. 146 A, 153 D) and rights (C-I-b); exercised through proxies? Proxies of minors, the aged, and the sick (Nos. 20 n. 2, 62 pr., 86, 99 B, 100, 150 pr.; Iri. gen., pp. 391, 392, 393, 396; cf. C-I-h-ii-1-(f); h-ii-3-(a).)

## ii. Material.

That is, not relating to specific fiefs.

1. Lord's obligation of support (Nos. 13 and 17: "one who has well served the parents"; 65: "loyal and blameless"; 14 n. 5, 16 pr.; 138 n. 3, 145 n. 16 a: *kaku-go*, "to support," also "to hold"; 145: different attitudes of baron and council about the Iriki-in's old vassals and Yamada domain). When the baron became autocratic, he by compulsion or persuasion curtailed the fiefs of great vassals (Int. p. 30; Iri. gen. pp. 401, 403, 405; Nos. 145, 154 pr.).

2. Vassal's financial aids: (a) For the earlier periods, analyze the fiscal obligations in the Nos. referred to in B-I-b-iii-2-(d), to see if they included dues rather of vassalage than of fief. In the later periods, aids on certain occasions were fixed conventionally (No. 145 pr.; Iri. gen. 1616 n. 47; 1709); extraordinary occasions (No. 153 pr.). What were the occasions? Were the aids onerous? [On both questions, compare with Europe.] How may we interpret vassals who were said to be without service (*yaku*) (No. 154 A and B)?

(h) [As in Europe, aids were often levied, not only on vassals, but also on non-feudal and religious classes; peculiarly to Japan, occasional aids were due from all classes including the feudal, not only to the lord, but also to the imperial house and, through the feudal government, to a few religious institutions.]

(c) [The question of the origin and the juridical character of the feudal aids in Europe is more difficult than it appears: most aids were of intimate personal character, and so might be presumed to be of feudal origin, but were ruled more by custom and less by mutual responsibility than the obligations which, like the judicial, were more directly attributable to the contract of vassalage (cf. Magna Carta, c. 12); moreover, in their incidence, the aids often took the form of general levies on all classes; it would seem that it was precisely this character as general dues that made the aids expansive in the hands of French kings from the fourteenth century and pave the way toward a general taxation, and also that it was the ambiguous juridical character of the aids that gave point to the opposition of the nobility and the burghers which the kings encountered. How may the contradictions inherent in the nature of the aids be explained? Were they born in vassalage and then extended beyond, or were they descended from a time when lords of domains levied arbitrarily on servile tenants and later applied in modified forms to vassalage? The case of Japan may be of value for comparison, but our material is inadequate.]

(d) *Gite* and *procuracion*: Material only of the Edo period in the Iri. gen., under 1612, 1630, Shigeyori (d. 1667), 1682, 1696, 1713, 1722, 1792, 1845, n. 58. [Compare the nature and the burden with the European institution. No.]

(e) Presents at marriage, official appointment, etc., whether of lord or vassal (many cases in Iri. gen. in the Edo period).

### iii. Military.

[Perhaps the oldest and, during the greater part of the feudal ages, the central, of all the mutual obligations.]

1. Lord's obligation of protection and succor (Nos. 146 pr., Taka-zhō; 147, alleged cause of war; 148 pr., Hideyoshi and the Ōtomo); consider the lord's self-interest reinforcing his obligation. No. 127 pr. (the two Shimadzu lords at Tsuruda); No. 132 pr. (Iriki-in Shigetoyo and Shimadzu Motohisa: the standpoint of each); define the situation and analyze the reasons for giving aid.

2. Vassal's obligation of armed service: (a) Kinds: (1) Guard service at the imperial palace and Capital (Nos. 8 and n. 53, 13 and n. 17, 77, 80; Int. p. 21; consequently, guard of the lord's quarters at the Capital: No. 80 C). (2) Service at war: Int. pp. 16, 23 n. 130; Nos. 25 n. 23, 45, 74; numerous instances under the rival courts, and rich vocabulary in the original (Nos. 82-86, 88, 90, 92 A, B, 95 A, D, 96 A, 98, 99 C, 101, 106, 110, 112 A, B, C, 113, 116, 118, 121), and during the civil war (Nos. 126 pr., 127 pr., 141 pr., 145 pr., 146 A, B, 147, 148 pr., 151 pr., 152 pr.; Iri. gen., 11th, 13th-15th); the Korean expeditions (No. 150 A, B; Iri. gen., 15th); in the early Edo period (No. 152 A; Iri. gen. 1637-1638) and toward its end (same, 1863, 1868).

(b) History (not of the art of warfare, D-II, hut of the vassal's military service): Was there a differentiation of kinds of the service, like the *exercitus(ost)* and *equitatio(chevauchée)* in Europe, and castle services of guard(*custodia, ostagium*; cf. No. 141 pr.) and rendition(*jurabile et reddibile*)? Was there a unit of or for service, like one "knight's service" or the *feodum militis* or *f. loricae*? (Cf. Nos. 146 A, B, 150 B, 152 A; 155 A, the remark concerning the haron's military obligation.) Did this unit fall through, as in France and northern Italy, by division of small fiefs, with its consequences in fraction of service, *roncin de service*, commutation in money, the lord's financial aid, and the like? Or were they obviated in Japan by special agreement? (Recipients of salaries in rice, Nos. 153 D, 154 A; few knights from *to-zhō*, No. 152 A; partly at the lord's expense, Nos. 146 B, 150 B.) How heavy was the burden in blood (Iri. gen., 3d, 6th, 14th, 15th; Nos. 151 pr., 152 pr.) and in material resources (cf. Nos. 150 A, 152 pr., 152 A; Iri. gen., as above, and 1637-1638, 1863, 1868)? Was the service, or did it tend to be, restricted as to time (Int. p. 23 n. 125; Nos. 146 A, B, 150 B; Iri. gen., 15th, between 1587 and 1600), distance (Nos. 118 B, D, E, 150 A, B; Iri. gen., 14th and 15th, and 1868), and equipment (Nos. 146 A, B, 150 A) or expense (Nos. 146 A, B, 150 B)? [Compare with Europe.] Was there reduction or remission by special agreement or for a special class of men, as in France and oftener in Germany? (Cf. the serviceless, No. 154 A, B, n. 31, and the fiefless, Nos. 146 A, 150 B.) Did there appear, as in Europe, half-feudal warriors, whether (1) temporarily horrified from other lords, or (2) hired from outside, or (3) permanently salaried (cf. recipients of treasury-rice), and non-feudal mercenaries (cf. *no-bushi*, Nos. 125 pr. and n. 1, 127 pr., 132 pr.)? These developments were much less frequent in Japan than in Europe; why? Late but strong law of primogeniture (C-I-h-ii-2) and prohibition of acquisition of fiefs by peasants (B-III-a-v, C-VII-c-ii-2); large application of the principle of rewarding service with rice (B-I-d-iii, e-i-3, f-i-3-a); Nos. 153 D, 154 A); flexible aid by the lord's treasury in war (Nos. 146 B, 150 B); etc.

(c) Conclusion: Was the military service feudal in origin and in character?—Chiefly, but not wholly. (1) The service did not accompany every fief: there were fiefs without this service (cf. *taka* for office in No. 153 A, D, n. 31), vassals without fiefs (Nos. 146 A, 150 B), and stipends not fiefs (Nos. 153 D, 154 A). (2) Nor was the service due from every vassal (cf. "*in non faciendo*" in G. Durand, *De feudis*, ii, c. 21-22; No. 154 A, B). [These conditions may in part have come down from the time when military and agricultural classes were not fully differentiated (cf. the early Frankish *vassi* and Japanese *hyaku-shō*), which continued much longer in Japan than in France (B-III-a-ii, C-VII-c-i-1, ii-1 and 2); and in part been due to the rise of non-feudal factors in the later régime, which took different courses of evolution in the two countries (B-I-d-iii, e-i-3, II-c-iv, d-ii, D-I-a and b, C-I-c-vii).] (3) Some phases of the military service were either of public origin or for public purposes, and, when performed by feudal agents, never lost the public character of their function: consider the guard service at the imperial capital, and defense of the state

against the Mongol invaders (Int. p. 23 n. 130; Nos. 25 n. 23, 45; Iri. gen., 3d); at the imperial restoration of 1333 and under the rival courts, an anomalous situation developed (B-II-h-i); after the dark ages of the civil war, some orders by Hideyoshi were issued by imperial authorization (No. 148 pr.), and the Tokugawa *shō-gun* claimed imperial delegation of full political powers of the state (Nos. 155 A; D-I-a-i and ii). [On these points, compare with the different conditions which obtained in France, Germany, Italy, and England, relative to military service during the feudal periods.]

#### iv. Judicial.

Judicial obligations, not judicial system (D-V). [These obligations were, for France, the most peculiarly feudal of all feudal obligations, and are, in any feudal régime, a most significant index to its essential character as a system.]

1. Lord's obligation: [In European feudalism, it was a chief obligation of the lord to maintain a court where justice would be done as between vassals and between them and himself; he could neglect this obligation only at the risk of the gravest consequences (C-I-c-vi). The origin and the juridical basis of the obligation probably was that part of the feudal contract which bound the lord to give to the vassal "defensio" (in the broad sense; cf. c-i-1, above). In Japanese feudalism, justice was granted by the lord acting as a general ruler, rather than maintained by him as an essential part of the feudal contract.] The Shogunate of Kamakura had special, not contractual, reasons to be a dispenser of good justice (No. 16 pr.); the vassal even claimed that a loyal and blameless fief-holder should not be dispossessed (No. 65), and that there should be no investiture to either party pending a judicial decision of a suit waged between him and another vassal (No. 39). Even in that age, however, judicial decisions were "decrees" and "sanctions" (Nos. 16, 39, 41, 46, 58, 65, 71, 79) granted "by command" of the *shō-gun* (Nos. 16, 41, 46, 71). [Later suzerains did not keep as high a standard of justice; still later, from the sixteenth century, the haron and the supreme lord were more clearly than ever general rulers, besides being feudal lords, and wedded to the traditional doctrine originally adopted from China, according to which the ruler was the sovereign, and government was the privilege of his delegated officials]; justice was only a phase of this official government (Nos. 42 pr., 142 pr., 143 pr., 145). Hearing was a favor (Nos. 136 B, C, 137); in taking a step involving a fundamental right of a vassal, the lord might give no hearing, nor the vassal claim it (Nos. 143 pr., 145); the law being regarded as the lord's law, he might enforce it arbitrarily or lay it aside for a special case as a mark of favor (Nos. 143 pr., 145). Further see B-I-f-i-4, C-I-c-vii, D-I-a and h.

2. Vassal's obligations: (a) In Japan, as in Europe, these were twofold: the vassal, as a party to a suit, should be subject to the jurisdiction of the lord's court, or would be contumacious (Nos. 39-41, 62, 66); and, as a judge, should take part in the judicial conduct of the court, if he would not be in "default of faith." The double obligation represented the vassal's part in the feudal contract which implied deference and aid.

(h) [Despite the presence of these common aspects and their common legal ground in European and Japanese feudalism, a closer examination reveals in the two systems differences of great importance.

(1) [The vassal's judicial obligation as a party to a suit had two aspects: external and internal, or, the extent to which the feudal law and feudal court replaced the public law and public court, and the degree of control which the feudal court exercised over the juridical life of lord and vassal. a. External: In European feudalism, the feudal law succeeded in replacing the public law sooner and more completely in parts of France and in the kingdom of Jerusalem than elsewhere, the lord taking the position as regards the vassal which the king had done as regards the *vassi dominici* in the capitularies (compare Lex Rihuarua, 69, 1, with the *Étab. de Saint Louis*, I, c. 36, and Durand, II, c. 3 and c. 33); in Japan, the same result was attained in the period of the civil war. The main cause was the same in each case: the incapacity of the central public authority and the relative success of the feudal forces to cope with social unrest. The difference was that this came about early in France, and meant the success of the feudal group in attaining self-government, while, in Japan, the civil war was late, and the result was rather the success of the lord in excluding other powers from the control of his sphere (D-I-a and h). b. Internal: First, that the vassal should be



subject to the lord's court for an offense he committed against him or his family, was natural from the former's obligation of deference and respect, and was therefore common to Europe and Japan; however, Japanese feudalism placed the greater emphasis on the virtue of obedience and loyalty (B-III-e-ii). Secondly, it has been said above that the European lord, by reason of the feudal contract, was obliged to maintain justice as between vassal and vassal; and that the Japanese lord in such cases granted justice as a general ruler. Thirdly, likewise, the European lord, for the same reason, deferred to his court a case brought against himself by a vassal; the Japanese lord did not admit the vassal's right to sue him; the vassal might petition the lord's council for redress as a favor, but not bring a case against him at his court. Thus far, the differences point to the weaker degree of mutuality of the Japanese feudal contract in comparison with the European (vii, below). Fourthly, in France alone, the feudal contract at its full development was characterized, not only with strong mutuality, but also with so great a degree of irrevocability and of binding power over the juridical status of lord and vassal (vii, below), that the decision of their court was final and should be either accepted or rejected as a whole, without an opportunity for appeal or amendment (*Étab. de S. L.*, I, c. 83); and that the rejection which was legitimate involved challenging the peer-judges to a duel and possibly the repudiation of the lord and a consequent war with him,—the situation which was later somewhat mitigated by permitting the dissatisfied vassal to attach himself to a higher lord or the king (see C-I-vi-2-(a)). In Japan, the binding power of the judgments of the feudal court upon the vassal was final and exhaustive, not because of the character of her feudal contract, but because the lord was his general ruler; when the lord's power was not yet as autocratic as after the late sixteenth century, or where he held a minor place in a well-controlled feudal hierarchy, amendment and appeal were not totally excluded (Nos. 16, 76); else the vassal had no choice but to abide by the lord's decision, and there could be no *désaveu* but was *mauvais* and a treason (see vi-2-(3), below).

(2) [The vassal's judicial obligation as a judge illustrates what has been said. What is the history of the meaning of the word "peers" (*pares*) in the Frankish and early and late feudal periods? Are there similar words in Japanese feudalism, and what is their exact meaning (cf. *bōhai* in No. 39)? If the judgment by peers in European feudalism originated partly in the system of the *rachimburgi* and *scabini* of the public court in the Frankish period, Japan lacked a similar antecedent both in her old customs and in Chinese law. How did the judgment by peers progress in the feudal period, and how far, in Germany and Italy?] In Japan, also, vassals of the same lord participated in trial and judgment (No. 16 pr.), [but not as a right, but as a duty and in the capacity of appointed agents of the lord, who as a general ruler gave, not rendered, justice through their assistance (vii-2, D-I-a and b)]; in the Edo period, the judiciary of the lord were definitely organized and in some cases received emoluments for the special work with which he charged them (Nos. 154 A, abridged in the translation; Iri. gen. 1701). [In France and in the kingdom of Jerusalem, the competence of the peers was complete and exclusive (see vi-2-(a), below); in the latter, all peers who judged a suit were co-vassals of its parties, and no special jurists were included. This again shows the complete reciprocity between lord and vassal and the exhaustive control over their mutual relation which the feudal contract attained in these two countries (vii-1-(a), below); the feudal group was a veritable body of "allied sovereigns," a state of things foreign to Japanese feudalism.]

3. Later history: Material is wanting.

#### v. Domestic and administrative.

The obligations which are generally classed under the heading of "council" (*curtis, cour*) may be divided into two kinds: those which were chiefly personal, domestic, or ceremonial, and those which concerned the administration of the affairs of the seignior. The relative confusion of these two aspects was natural to any feudal régime, which was largely personal in origin and character (cf. 3, below, and D-III). [The lord's part in the mutual relation consisted mainly in his obligation to consult his vassals and to observe the decisions arrived at by common council and agreement (see 4, below).]

1. Chiefly personal: Personal attendance on the lord and his family was a mark of the vassal's having entered into his homage: the attendance might be periodical or irregular or on occasions of special domestic import, like coming of age, marriage, and funeral (Int. pp. 17 and 21; Nos. 13

and 17, 16, 39 and 40, 80 C, 145, and the many instances in Iri. gen. after the 13th). Youthful vassals served terms of attendance upon the lord's household as a species of apprenticeship (see the *ko-shō* in Nos. 152 A, 154 A; B-III-a-ii-3, f-iii-1). Immediate vassals of the *shō-gun* maintained mansions near his seat and resided there during their periods of attendance (Nos. 13 nn. 22, 28; 17, 80 C, 148 pr., 152 pr., 155 A; Iri. gen. 1640, 1693, 1704, 1708, etc.), a system which, as it was adopted and elaborated under the Tokugawa suzerain, entailed upon rear-vassals the onerous duty, in turn, of escorting their lords in their retinue (Iri. gen. 1601, 1605, 1610, 1625, 1640, 1661, 1693-1695, 1704-1705, 1708, 1748-1749, etc.), and otherwise visiting Edo and attending upon them (No. 154 A; Iri. gen. 1633, 1647, 1679, 1693-1695, 1805, etc.). Likewise, the baron's greater vassals maintained expensive establishments at Kagoshima (Nos. 152 pr., 154 pr.; Iri. gen. 1612 and 1613). (Cf. vi-(h)-(3), below.) The attending vassal was formally released by leave (No. 145; Iri. gen. 1597, 1601, 1638, 1648, 1661, 1705, 1784, etc.).

2. Chiefly administrative: [If there existed more or less common councils of vassals in the early feudal ages, they are not borne out by our texts.] They only reveal elders, councillors, and administrative officials, limited in numbers, and acting in the capacity of the lord's bureaucratic agents (see D-III; Nos. 132 pr., 154 n. 1; Iri. gen., after 1695); some of them received additional emoluments for their official services (Nos. 153 A, 154 A). Vassals also served as *jī-tō* of *to-shō* (Nos. 152 pr., 152 A, 154 pr.; Iri. gen. 1598, 1648, 1689, 1699, 1701, 1705, 1752, 1780, 1816, etc.). Service as envoys of the lord (No. 152 pr.; Iri. gen. 1598, 1599, 1640, 1641, 1651, 1652, 1675, 1677, 1691, 1693, 1751, 1758, 1781, 1847, etc.).

3. Probable origins: The personal and domestic services may have issued from the vassal's general obligation of reverence, and some of them may be due to his original status as a household retainer. The administrative services may be an expression of the vassal's general obligation of aid and counsel, and were doubtless confirmed, when the central public authority was feeble, by the warriors' consciousness as the ruling class and by the fact that the harony or seignior had become a self-governing unit (D-I-a and h).

4. Peculiarity: [The peculiarity of this class of feudal obligations in Japanese feudalism was of the same nature as that of the judicial obligations: apart from exceptional circumstances, the lord did not consider himself bound by the feudal contract to consult the vassals in changing old usages and making new rules, or, if he did consult them, to follow their counsels (Nos. 132 pr., 145), much less to regard himself as a party to a common convention sanctioning the changes or the legislation, and to allow his vassals to demand him, much less coerce him, on the strength of the feudal contract, to redress his infraction of the agreement (D-IV-c).]

#### vi. Sanction of obligations.

1. The vassal: (a) Offenses: Against the lord, his agents, and his orders (Nos. 40, 41); breach of fealty (Nos. 15, 16, 107 A, B, C); default of service (Nos. 39-41, 92); unmanly conduct (No. 39, slander); breach of the general peace (No. 39). Further, see under Penalties.

(b) Penalties: (1) Revocation of fiefs (Nos. 121, 142 pr.): was the origin of this penalty the lord's ownership of the fief? or, in Europe, the Carolingian king's right in the *beneficium* he gave? How explain the early example of the revocation of a fief of *reprise* (Nos. 15, 16)? What was the offense? Later leniency in cases of default of service (Nos. 92, 96 B); why? Severity against defection (Nos. 107 A, B, C, 118 C, 121 C-G). Still later, apparently lenient but really harsh: rumors of secret designs, no hearing (Nos. 142 pr., 145); the tendency is thus the reverse of the European, being severe and rigorous toward the end; why? (2) Are there examples of the *saisie féodale*? (3) Surety, hostage (No. 148). The custom of maintaining residences near the lord's castle (see C-I-c-v-1) was a polite form of hostage. Temporary custody of the offender (Iri. gen. 1593). (3) Suspension of the privilege of attendance, for a rumor of rebellious intention (No. 142 pr.).

(c) Peculiarity: As said under (b), the general tendency was severity toward the end of the régime (for reasons, see B-II-c-i, d-i, C-I-c-vii, D-I-a and h). E.g., there was hearing in the Kamakura period (Nos. 15, 16, 39, etc.), and some leniency in the age of the rival courts (Nos. 92, 96 B); but, from the late sixteenth century, often hearing was neither claimed nor granted, and the lord judged according to his own law (Nos. 142 pr., 143 pr., 145), which he applied in any manner he pleased, and even enforced or waived at will (No. 145); the vassal would obviate an

arbitrary punishment by surrendering a fief; the earlier legal sense had so degenerated that the vassal dared not assert innocence, still less claim his right to a trial (No. 145). Death penalty (Iri. gen. p. 303, in 1592), even of the whole family (*ibid.*, p. 394 in 1599).

2. The lord: [Together with the judicial rights and obligations, the sanction which a feudal system provided against the lord's breach of faith and his denial of the vassal's rights affords a clear index to the character of the system.]

(a) [There would seem to be a marked difference in this respect between countries which were under the European feudal system, and also between feudal Europe as a whole and feudal Japan. (1) In Germany and Italy, in the early feudal ages, a way was open for an appeal to the court of a higher lord (Conrad II's const., 1037, c. 2 and 3; *Lib. feud.*, vulg., II, 22), apparently without *fausser le jugement* and without a duel and the fief in dispute might be peaceably kept by the vassal (*Lib. feud.*, II, 22; cf. Frederick II's confed., 1220, c. 5). (2) In the kingdom of Jerusalem, if the lord denied the vassal's right, the latter might, after due declaration, break the fealty and refuse services for life, and retain the fief (Jean d'Ibelin, c. 80, 202, 206, 208, 210, 224, 236, 243, etc.). He might invoke justice of a superior lord or the king (Phil. de Navarre, c. 40-42, 53). These acts might lead to war. (3) In France, since the fief should not be returned, and since there could be no appeal to another court, where one had no peers, it would seem that, originally, the only way of getting redress was openly to disavow the unjust lord, carrying away the fief, and, as a consequence, to engage him in a judicial combat or defy him, come what might (Boutillier, *Somme rural*, I, c. 39 and 83; *Étab. de Saint Louis*, I, c. 56 and 86; *Très ancien coutumier de Normandie*, 30, c. 1; Beaumanoir, c. 1426; etc.). The extreme rigor and peril of this probable procedure was gradually mitigated by permitting the aggrieved vassal to hold the fief of another or a higher lord and accuse at his court his former lord (*Étab. de S. L.*, I, c. 7, 8, 86; Beaumanoir, c. 1761, 1740, 1419-1421; etc.); by allowing the vassal, if he lost his case, to pay a fine, instead of surrendering the fief (*Étab.*, I, c. 7 and 8; Beaumanoir, c. 1421); by distinguishing between the disavowal of person and that of fief (Beaumanoir, c. 1425 and 1426); and by finally gathering all the benefit of the *désaveu* in the king's hands (*Étab.*, I, c. 7 and 83; *Grand coutumier de France*, p. 505; *Ordonnance*, Avr. 1667, tit. 25, arts. 1, 2, and 4). Only these later forms occur in the *coutumes*, but it may perhaps be said that the earlier state of *désaveu* was retained longer in the method which a baron might pursue when he wished to disavow his lord king; for there was no higher lord of whom the baron might hold his fief and before whom he might denounce the king. The only recourse was an open defiance and the consequent risk of an appeal to arms, and the only possible chance of success was to enlist the military aid of vassals and peers. This is the right of armed resistance implied in the *Assises de Jérusalem (la cour des bourgeois)*, c. 26 and declared in part in the *Étab. de Saint Louis* (I, c. 52).]

(h) Much different was the sanction in Japan, both in its initial state and in its subsequent evolution. (1) In the Kamakura period, the *shō-gun's* court heard appeals (Int. p. 24) from a lower court or from rear-vassals (Nos. 15, 16 pr., 76 n. 3), a fact indicating the bureaucratic conception which influenced the lord's justice in Japanese feudalism (C-I-c-iv-1). Not only there was no rightful disavowal of a bad lord, as in France, but also it is doubtful whether his vassal could in some way, as in Milan, take away his fief ((a)-(1), above). (2) In the age of the rival courts, when the true fief was not yet matured, the vassal lightly deserted the lord and went to his enemy (Nos. 74 pr., 82 pr., 83 pr., 84 pr., 86 pr., 88 pr., 92, 95 pr., 98 pr., 101, 102 pr., 106 pr., 110 pr., 112 pr., 116 pr., 118 pr.), but this was oftener the defection of a disloyal vassal than a protest against an unjust lord; not an open repudiation of the lord, but a silent desertion of him; hence, no explicit declaration of disavowal was held necessary for a legitimate disavowal, or, rather, no disavowal was considered legal. (3) During the civil war, rebellions of vassals, whether attempted singly or in concert, were frequent (Nos. 127 pr., 130 pr., 131 pr., 136 pr., 137 pr., 141 pr., 143 pr., 145 pr.) [who probably kept their fiefs or received them back at the hands of other lords; but such acts were not always due to the injustice of the former lord; when they were, they should scarcely be regarded as a legal sanction, for new developments quickly neutralized the possibility of such conduct to be established as a right]. (4) [As the grantor of true fiefs, and as the conqueror of his sphere, the rights of the baron or the supreme suzerain in the next age over the vassal and his fief had been increased and secured (B-I-d-i-2, e-i-2, II-c-i-, d); in the age of Hideyoshi, the lord recognized no sanction



against himself, and was strong enough to suppress any act resembling one.] (5) [Under the Tokugawa shogunate, the judicial autonomy of the lord was complete; the only party who could, if ever, exercise any sanction against the lord's failure in obligation toward his vassal was the *shō-gun*.] [In sum, formulate the initial difference both from the German and Italian and from the French system, and the later difference from the evolution of the French.]

#### vii. The feudal contract.

[The foregoing topics in this section (C-I-c-i to vi) all relate to the various aspects of the working of the feudal contract (cf. C-I-a-iii to v). It is the character and the history of this contract that more than anything else determine the quality of the whole feudal system and even of its effects upon the post-feudal ages. Summarize the characteristics and differences thus far seen of the European and the Japanese feudal contract. Now, we shall consider them together and view each contract as a whole.]

1. The European: [The European contract between lord and vassal was characterized everywhere by strong mutuality, the obligations of the two parties being considered reciprocal; but two other qualities of the contract, namely, its irrevocability, and its juridical control over the relations of vassalage, saw the highest development in France (cf. C-I-c-iv-2); and principles of the developed contract were, in England, extended and applied to the relation between the king and the nobility, and ultimately between the king and the nation, and so made indirect but fundamental contributions to the political freedom of the human race. The general course of this long evolution might, in part, be suggested as follows:

[(a) The relation of the German *Gefolgschaft* might be regarded as contractual, but was probably not fully reciprocal, and was limited in duration and revocable. (b) The qualities of a personal contract would seem to have gained through the growth of the Gallo-Roman *patrocinium* and the Frankish commendation, in that the mutual faith was greater and of longer duration; but the relation was still unstable and readily broken. (c) In the Carolingian vassalage, with its military service and its support by the *beneficium*, the contractual elements of mutuality and coherence made a notable advance. Still the contract was imperfect: the vassal's choice of the lord was restricted; the lord not seldom broke the bond; there still remained a degree, though decreasing, of public sanction. This would seem to be the kind of feudal contract which more or less persisted in Italy and Germany, at least during the early Middle Ages. (d) In France, from the ninth to the eleventh century, a prolonged, widespread, and intensive warfare gave to the feudal contract an impact sufficiently strong to bring to the greatest development its mutual, irrevocable, and exhaustively controlling character: the central public authority was broken down and the feudal groups were self-governing; the feudal warriors developed their consciousness as nobles and peers; the society was obliged to fall back for its sole salvation upon the personal contract of faith between lord and vassal; the lord needed vassals, who accordingly won a greater freedom of choice and infused into the contract a more developed sense of their rights; the frequency of fiefs of *reprise* which characterized this period could not help reacting upon the proprietary rights of the vassal in these fiefs, and consequently in fiefs in general; on the other hand, the increasing instances of the grants, as distinguished from return-investitures, of fiefs may have served to stabilize the qualities of the contract which had been gained, and also to make more difficult than ever the wilful returning of the fief by the vassal and any one-sided breaking of homage. The resulting contract, whose aspects have been touched upon in this section, was buttressed, not created, by the adaptation of convenient elements of the Roman law. (e) This French feudal contract was, before it began to be seriously attenuated by the royal authority, by the growth of the cities, by the solvent power of money, and by the deterioration of feudal services, carried into England, and was there enabled by circumstances to make contributions of the greatest import to history. For, there, the effort of the king to enforce, not only his rights as the suzerain, but also his prerogatives as the monarch who had won his realm by conquest, led him to infringe the most fundamental principles of the feudal contract when that contract was at the prime of its vigor; viewed in that light, the conflict waged between the barons and John and Henry III is hardly comparable with the frequent troubles which the French kings experienced with nobles and burghers after the early fourteenth century. The issues involved in



the English upheaval were, on the harons' side, feudal in the fullest meaning of the word; and the feudal law prevailed to the extent of having its principles solemnly recorded in the law of the land. The king was compelled by the harons to recognize, as regards taxation, the principle of common counsel and agreement, except in case of the customary aids (*Magna Carta*, c. 12), and, as regards judicature, the principle of judgment by peers, save the observance of the laws of the realm (c. 39; cf. Jean d'Thelin, c. 193); and to submit himself, if he failed to observe agreements, to a measure of temporary armed coercion (c. 61). Of these provisions, the principles, the classes of men involved, and the organ and method of sanction, are traceable directly to the French feudal contract, though more or less extended beyond the usual forms of its application in France. Thus extended, and applied to national affairs, and subsequently reinforced by a fortunate combination of classes and by the growth of parliamentary institutions, the feudal law ultimately entered into the texture of the most exemplary system of constitutional monarchy (G. B. Adams).]

2. The Japanese: (a) [In the Kamakura period, the mutuality of the feudal contract was vitiated by the age-long habit of the rulers' political minds, feudal rulers as they now happened to be, to comprehend all government as a rule by means of bureaucratic delegation (C-I-c-iv-1, D-I-a and h): there was no great lord who was not also a prince, and no vassal but was also a subject (Nos. 142 n. 2; 146 n. 10; 149 B and n. 16); justice was not so much the lord's obligation and the vassal's right, as the former's official duty as a general ruler (C-I-c-iv-1). Nor was there in Japanese customs or in Chinese law a clear idea of contracts between equals, or an instance of a judgment or trial by one's neighbors (D-V-h-i). Sanction was heavier as against the vassal than against the lord (vi, above). Mutuality was thus weaker than in the German or Italian feudal contract. Nor was it possible for the Japanese contract to attain an irrevocability and an exhaustive juridical validity, for the true fief with its stabilizing influence upon vassalage was still a rare matter (B-I-h-iii); there existed the non-military domainial lord, and the judicial system lacked a judgment by peers but permitted appeals to the *shō-gun's* court (C-I-c-iv).] Hence, fealty was sometimes taken for a mere act of conciliation (Nos. 15, 16 and n. 14 a); and a man might give up his holding and go to another lord (Nos. 13, 17). [In order to offset the difficulties due to the want of the material tie of the true fief and the legal defect of the contract, the lord had recourse to the moral principle of loyalty which was largely based upon the ethical teachings of the civil and bureaucratic China (B-III-c-ii).] (b) After the age of the rival courts and during the civil war, the reciprocal character of the feudal contract increased: rival lords would vie with each other to induce a local warrior to become a vassal (No. 127); one would do homage if a substantial military aid was given him (No. 132 pr.); and after homage, mutual dependence continued more or less (Nos. 132, 136 B, C, 137). [This resulted from exigencies of warfare. The same cause, added to the establishment of the true fief (B-I-d-i), also served to increase the degree of the irrevocability of the feudal contract and of its juridical control over the relation of vassalage: appeals to higher lords were largely forgotten; the lord dealt even with the vassal's domains which were not his own grants (No. 127 pr., D-I-d-i-2). However, these gains were neutralized by the losses which were due to the same causes: the establishment of the true fief contributed to the power of the lord, which at the same time was tested and trained by fire and sword, and greatly increased through conquest and persuasion (B-II-d, pr.). He was now strong enough to check the growth of the mutuality of the feudal contract and thrust the vassal down to a lower juridical status than in the Kamakura period, and to interpret in the interest of his own power as a ruler the increased validity and strength of the ties of the contract (cf. C-I-c-iv-1, D-I-a-iv); the improved coherence and self-sufficiency of the feudal group, instead of redounding to a better protection of the vassal's rights, played into the hands of the autocratic lord. (c) The same tendency gained a tremendous impetus, and was quickly generalized for the whole of feudal Japan, toward 1600 (B-I-e and f, B-II-d and e). The military despotism of Hideyoshi (Nos. 149, 150); the feudal-bureaucratic régime of the Tokugawa (No. 155 A); the haron's emulation in his own sphere (No. 153 pr.). The juridical domain of the feudal contract was narrowed and attenuated by the overweening influence of the *shō-gun* and the haron upon their vassals and their fiefs and the semi-public powers (Nos. 152 B, 155 A, B, C, 155 pr., nn. 13, 32, 37; Iri. gen. 1725, 1737, n. 69, n. 73) which these lords assumed in their respective spheres. The haron showed no scruple in curtailing the fiefs of the great vassals whom he feared, though, it is true, oftener by diplomacy than by command (Nos. 145,

154 pr.; pp. 30 n. 185, 401, 403, 405); when in financial distress, he even called upon his men, repeatedly, to return a part of their fiefs (No. 153 pr., n. 7). [The lord generally sought to buttress his political domination, more deliberately and systematically than his predecessors, by inculcating the teachings of Confucianism, especially that of loyalty (B-III-e-ii). The feudal régime of Japan had thus fallen into the keeping of the paternalistic lord-prince and the loyal vassal-subject.] (d) [As for the possible influence of this state of things upon the status of the peasantry, see C-VII-c-ii-3.] (e) [Neither of the two most important contributions of Japan's feudal régime to her new national life (C-VII-d-v; Concl., end) has issued from any aspect of the feudal contract; and the services each has rendered in the new age, though very great, have thus far hardly attained more than purely national import.]

## II. BETWEEN LORDS

### a. War.

i. [Private warfare might either be family or personal quarrels between warriors or be political wars between lords leading their vassals. The former might develop into the latter, but here we are concerned only with political struggles; besides, our documents furnish little material on individual combats and feuds.]

ii. Phenomena: The pre-feudal ages (Int. pp. 14-17; Nos. 4; o. end; 12 A, B, C, 25 n. 19). Private wars in the Kamakura period (Int. p. 22); much more frequent during the ages of the rival courts and the civil war (Nos. 74 ff., 84 pr., 123 pr., 125 pr., 126 pr., 127, 130 pr., 131 pr., 132 pr., 141 pr., 142 pr., 143 pr., 145 pr., 146 pr., 147 pr., 148 pr.); the Ashikaga *shō-gun* and his agents even utilized local commotion for their own ends, or else themselves caused some of it (No. 123 pr.; cf. Iri. gen. 1494). In the general disturbance not only vassals, but also adventurers (*no-bushi*, Nos. 125 pr., n. 1; 127 pr., 132 pr.) and pirates (No. 95), even from remote places (No. 95), participated. No reference to sufferings of peasants and merchants. What other notable phenomena?

iii. Causes: Complicated, scattered, and intermingled rights in land (B-I; Int. p. 22); political rivalry among neighboring lords (Nos. 123 pr., 125 pr., 126, 130 pr., 132 pr., 141 pr., 146 pr., 149 pr.); the more developed were true fiefs and contiguous seigniories, the more clearly articulated were the struggles for ascendancy (follow all references in this paragraph between Nos. 123 and 151); personal enmity (Nos. 123 pr., 126 pr., 127, 131 pr., 142 pr.); mutual succor among lords a fertile cause for further quarrels (Nos. 127 pr., 132 pr., 143 pr., 145 pr., 146 pr., 147, 148 pr.); war of conquest (Nos. 147 pr., 148 pr., 150; Iri. gen. 1494); rebellion (No. 152 pr.; Iri. gen. 1598-1599, 1637-1638); contest for the control of all Japan (Nos. 151 pr., 152 A).

iv. Juridical aspects: Study all the references in this section down to 1637-1638, and answer the following questions: Was there a *droit de guerre*, that is, was private warfare ever lawful; under what law, feudal or public, and under what circumstances? ("Rebellion," *mu hon*, in the Kamakura period: No. 4 pr.; private mobilization in the Edo period: No. 155 A.) Is it probable that the general point of view on this matter may have changed in the succeeding ages?

v. Restrictive measures: [Was private warfare more common at first and then gradually restricted, as in France; or did it grow worse later? Sudden and effective suppression toward 1600; why? (Cf. B-I-e-i, II-d-i, e-i, C-I-c-vii-2, D-I-a). Any reference to judicial settlements, to mutual agreements of suspension or cessation, to movements for "peace" and "truce" initiated by the Buddhist church or secular power, to special legislation, to popular measures of self-protection and of localization of war, or to the utilization by the rulers of measures according to private law (like the French *asseurement*)?]

### b. Peace.

Coöperation among independent lords for judicial aids is rare (No. 149 A). Marriages and social amenities between them (Iri. gen. 1641, 1693).

## III. LORD AND *shō-gun*

The study of this relation was largely anticipated in B-II and C-I-c.

a. The Kamakura period: Baronial lords non-existent (B-II-a-iii), all *go ke-nin* owing services to the *shō-gun* (C-I-c) and the guard-service at the imperial Capital (Nos. 8, 13, 17), accepting his

investitures and confirmations of fiefs (Nos. 21, 23, 24, 34, 35, 43, 45, 46, 71), and following his jurisdiction (Nos. 12, 13 and 17, 16, 36-41, 57, 58, 62-66). The *ji-tō* (No. 6 C) and *shu-go* (Nos. 6 D, 12 D, E, 25, 57) merely transmitted the *shō-gun's* orders; his deputy for Kyū-shū did the same (No. 25), and sometimes heard judicial cases at the first instance (No. 50).

b. The restoration and the rival courts: The *go ke-nin* system was broken, and then reconstructed under the Ashikaga *shō-gun* on an unstable basis (B-II-h-i). With the beginnings of the true fief (B-I-c), the *shu-go* aspired for a baronial position, but was contested by local chieftains (B-II-b-ii); the *shō-gun's* agents commanded the *go ke-nin* more closely than before (Nos. 116, 118, 125 pr., 126 pr.), and even made the strongest among them transmit their orders to the *shu-go* (No. 118 C).

c. The Muromachi period: For a time the *shō-gun* was a real suzerain and gave direct command to *shu-go* and *go ke-nin* (Nos. 130 pr., 136 pr.; Iri. gen. 1494). Gradually the Shimadzu won the position of harons; [the old distinctions between *shu-go*, *ji-tō*, and other official *shiki*, lost meaning; with the waning of the *shō-gun's* influence, even *go ke-nin* became an obsolete term]; a local feudal hierarchy under the baron was well-nigh complete (B-II-c).

d. Hideyoshi: With the sudden rise of a supreme suzerain of feudal Japan, the baron was reduced to the position of the former's vassal in a country-wide feudal hierarchy (B-II-d); for the time being, the baron even acquiesced in Hideyoshi's interference in regard to the larger phases of the disposition of the baronial land (No. 149 D): Hideyoshi regarded the harony as his conquest and fresh grant (No. 148 pr.). Moreover, the haron was not only a vassal, but also a species of a bureaucratic agent, for, it would seem, Hideyoshi added a larger measure of public authority as a ruler to his power as a feudal suzerain than any *shō-gun* had done (*kwan-paku*: No. 149 n. 29; see B-II-d, C-I-c-vii-2-(c), D-I-2); the haron acted similarly in his own sphere (same and D-I-h): the feudal régime, as soon as it perfected itself, had also begun to transcend itself.

e. The Edo period: [The same tendencies were developed and organized with care and with much rigidity (B-II-e, C-I-c-2-(c), D-I-a and b). The *shō-gun* was a suzerain and an autocrat, as was the haron likewise a lord and a prince: their rule was at once feudal and public, a hierarchical vassalage and a centralized bureaucracy; the baron was a vassal of the *shō-gun* and a provincial governor.] His feudal obligations to the *shō-gun* were fully exacted (Iri. gen. 1638-1639, 1640, 1653, 1656, 1674, 1677, 1691, 1768, etc.). The relation is described in the unsophisticated language of No. 155 A (also cf. No. 151 pr.): a liberal autonomy within the barony, but a stern, almost superfeudal supervision and control over the haron's conduct as a fief-holder. [This system broke down at the advent of foreign Powers after 1853: the *shō-gun* was obliged to consult harons]; the latter established direct relations with the imperial government; and all sought "public opinion" (*kō-gi*), and a new era dawned (D-I-c; No. 155 B, C).

#### IV. LORD AND THE IMPERIAL COURT

a. [Three aspects of this relation: i. between the lord in the capacity of a warrior, a ruler, and a holder of honorary office and rank, and the emperor as the sovereign; ii. between the lord as a tenant of land and *shiki* in a private domain and a member of the imperial house or a court noble as a domanial lord; and iii. between the lord as an admirer of the ancient culture of Kyōto and the court and nobility as its depositories. Our material offers no data on iii; ii may be relegated to C-V; and our attention here will be confined to i.]

b. The term *Mikado* inaptly applied to the emperor: No. 155 A and n. 1.

c. Relation between the *shō-gun* and the emperor: i. Imperial sovereignty (D-I-a-ii). The *shō-gun's* successive lines (No. 155 n. 17). The *baku-fu* (No. 155 n. 39). His public capacity: its evolution (B-II, C-I-c-vii, D-I-a). His justification as ruler (No. 155 A, n. 11): the theory of delegation (No. 155 A, n. 13), and the acquiescence therein by the imperial government (No. 155 B), the additional justification of the Tokugawa (No. 155 A, n. 21); an opposite view (No. 155 C); both based upon the theory of imperial sovereignty (B-II-e-i, D-I-a). iii. The status of the *shō-gun* at Kamakura (B-II-a-ii). The anomalous relation of the Ashikaga *shō-gun* to the emperor (Int. p. 10; Nos. 74 pr., 83 pr.). How did the Tokugawa shogunate regard the throne as a political organ (No. 155 A), and how did it really treat it (*ibid.*; Iri. gen. 1780, 1847)? Toward the end of the Edo period, the *shō-gun's* exclusive political power was overridden by the emperor



and ignored by harons; the *shō-gun's* return of power, his revolt, his surrender, and the emperor's gracious treatment (No. 155 pr., B; D-I-c).

d. Non-feudal relations of the warrior to the emperor, i. as a guardsman (Nos. 8, 13, 17, 80), ii. as a holder of honorary office and rank (No. 155 A), and iii. as a *shiki*-holder in a domain granted by the imperial house to a religious institution (No. 25; cf. No. 9), were indirect: *go ke-nin* and lords should deal with the imperial court through the medium of the *shō-gun*. The latter's control over the baron's honorary titles and over his political relation was relaxed during the civil war, but was tightened as never before during the Edo period (No. 155 A), until this control broke down after 1853 (B-II-f, D-I-c; Iri. gen. n. 77).

e. Did the presence of the emperor as the sovereign of Japan throughout the ages have any effect on the continuance of the office of the *shō-gun*, on the formation of feudal hierarchies, on the public aspects of the authority of the *shō-gun* and the baron, and on the very character of the Japanese feudal contract? Cf. B-III-f-i, D-I-a.

#### V. LORD AND DOMANIAL LORD

a. The Kamakura period: When a *go ke-nin* was invested with a *shiki* in a *shō* by its domanial lord, the *shō-gun* announced the fact to other *go ke-nin* in the *shō* (No. 6 A, which may not be authentic; cf. No. 12 A, B, where this procedure is not followed, probably because the appointee was not yet a *go ke-nin*). As for a *ji-tō*, he was the *shō-gun's go ke-nin* whom he imposed upon the *shō* or the public district; the *ji-tō* held his *shiki* and appurtenant land and income by heredity and subinfeudated them, eclipsed the revenue of the domain or district, and rendered the balance (Int. pp. 7-8, 9; Nos. 6 C, 18, 22, 47). The *shu-go*, another of the *shō-gun's* vassal-agents, sometimes transmitted the domanial lord's orders to other *go ke-nin* (No. 50). Both *ji-tō* and *shu-go*, like all *go ke-nin*, received the *shō-gun's* confirmations and judicial decisions regarding their holdings under domanial lords (Nos. 16, 41, 50). The latter could seek redress for wrongs committed by these warriors in the *shō* only through their suzerain, who fortunately aimed to render strict justice (Int. pp. 18, 20; C-I-iv-1; No. 16 pr.).

h. The age of the rival courts: In 1330 the Ashikaga *shō-gun* somehow took hold of that part of the Shimadzu *shō* which was in central Hiuga, and in 1352 gave 850 acres of it as fief to a Shimadzu. In the same year, with the death of Konoé Tsunetada, the long line of the domanial lords of the *shō* came to an end; the *shō* no longer existed, nor any *ji-tō* living upon it, except in name only (Int. pp. 10-11; No. 136 A); the *shō* had in reality been non-existent for some time as a unitary domain, for the Iriki and other local warriors had ceased to recognize any obligation to the domanial lord, and had already begun to carve true fiefs out of its dead body.

#### VI. LORD AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

[Many Shintō temples (see No. 154 n. 17; Int. p. 35) and Buddhist churches (Int. p. 35) were older than feudalism; and, throughout the feudal ages, the religious institutions had wider contacts than the feudal with national life, for the organization of the former was in part independent of the division of seigniories, and the religious acts of warriors were hardly different in motive and expression from those of other persons.]

##### a. Older institutions.

Important temples and churches which either were official or had won official recognition of the imperial or *kuni* government: Niita Hachiman and Go-dai *in* (Int. p. 10; Nos. 1, 3, 9, etc.); Shō Hachiman (No. 9, etc.); Koku-bun *zhi* (Int. pp. 10 and 27; Nos. 8, 9 n. 3, 25 n. 18, 47 n. 6, 50 pr.); etc. Many private institutions. Partial intermixture of Shintō and Buddhism (Int. p. 23 n. 126; Nos. 1 pr., 9 n. 3, 25, 50 pr., 127 D, 132, 136 B, C, 137, 144, 153 A, 154; sudden separation of the two and hostile outburst against Buddhism, Int. p. 31; No. 1 pr.; Iri. gen. nn. 75 and 76, and under 1873, 1880, 1897). Organization of *zhi* and *in* (Nos. 1 n. 7, 14 n. 5), and of main and branch institutions (Nos. 1, 3 n. 9, 9, 25). Prayers and rites for the state (No. 25). Immunity and other privileges (Nos. 10, 25, 68 A, B). Domains (Nos. 1, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 18, 25, etc.). Priests (Nos. 25, 47); dependent people (No. 108).



*b. Contacts with feudalism.*

i. Historic domains and *shiki* therein: These, and even whole institutions with appurtenant land (No. 10), were often held by local warriors (Nos. 1, 3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 18, 25, 50, 55, 68, 69, 100, etc.), exactly in the same manner as were lands and *shiki* in *shō* and public districts (A-III-d, A-IV-c-i and ii, B-I-h-iii, C-VII-a-v). A few families held by heredity high posts connected with great temples and derived revenues from lands attached thereto (the Koku-hun: Nos. 8, 9 n. 3, 25, 50, 69; the Shū-in: Nos. 3, 50 pr., 68, 97; the Gon-shū-in: No. 86); heing of distinguished descent, and holding at the same time other positions and lands, they were among the stronger warriors of South Kyū-shū. [Their function as protectors of religious houses might be likened to that of the later *advocati* of feudal Europe. If these warriors subinfeduated their boldings to their armed followers, the results might well be considered as among the earliest examples of true fiefs (A-III-d). It is presumed that most of the more prominent of the warriors, great and small, who held domains of religious institutions became the *shō-gun's go ke-nin* (B-II-a-i).]

ii. Religious institutions founded by warriors: The devotional acts of warriors, like those of other classes, were: assuming Buddhist names as *nyū-dō* (Nos. 12 n. 6, 13 n. 38; Iri. gen. pr.; examples are found throughout our documents down to the sixteenth century, when they begin to decrease perceptibly); invoking deities in oaths (Nos. 15, 25, 67, 127 D, 132, 136 B, C, 137); prayer (No. 125 pr.); deifying the spirits of distinguished deceased (Int. p. 22 and n. 120; Iri. gen., 3d lord, 1600, 1650, 1822; Nos. 45 n. 5, 148 pr., 152 pr.); taking the tonsure (Iri. gen., a brother of the 6th); protecting and supporting old institutions (Nos. 1, 154 A); establishing branch temples or shrines for deities well known elsewhere (Int. pp. 22, 26; Nos. 127 n. 11, 132, 154 n. 19, etc.); founding new churches (Nos. 10, 32, 45 n. 5, 59, 70 B, 105, 127 n. 11, 154 nn. 19-21, 155 A, etc.), and endowing them with land and income (Nos. 10, 44, 59 n. 11, 104 A, 113, 139 n. 3, 144, 152 A, 153 A, D, 154 A, B) and exempting them more or less from the usual burdens (Nos. 139, 144, 152 A). It is not improbable that some of the church domains included warriors, but their tenurial condition is not clear (Nos. 152 A, 153 D).

*c. Under the feudal régime.*

i. Except at unusual times (see the order of 1286: Int. p. 23), the control of the feudal rulers over religious institutions of which they were not founders, and their domains, would seem to have been partial and indirect (No. 32). From the period of the civil war, the baronial rule tended to embrace all churches and temples under its protection and support (Nos. 152 A, 153 A, D, 154 A, B); the lord disposed of religious domains with more or less freedom (Nos. 107, 125); some priests assisted the lord in civil capacities (Nos. 136 C, 145); churches and temples owed laborers in war-time (Nos. 147 A, 152 A; cf. 153 D, under the *to-zhō* of Takaoka). [Our material does not show whether the lord still accorded a different treatment to historic institutions from that of his own creations, nor furnishes data regarding the method of his control in general.]

ii. Hideyoshi, in his autocratic way, determined for the baron the amount of *taka* that should be devoted to the support of religious institutions (No. 149 D); this applied only to those which were under the baron's own jurisdiction, and did not comprise the churches and temples under the control of the *shi-ryō* and the *to-zhō*; these for the next period are seen in No. 153 D without explanatory comments. For the same period, Hideyoshi's assignment should be compared with No. 153 A; also see 154 B. The *shō-gun's* confirmations of religious domains in the Edo period (No. 155 A).

## VII. LORD AND PEASANTRY

[The peasantry, being as it was the economic support of the feudal society and forming the bulk of the population under its political control, is necessarily a subject of utmost importance and with a wide range of problems. In order to discover these problems, one must delve below the surface of our scanty material. A decisive factor of the whole subject is the nature of agriculture.]

*a. Agriculture.*

i. [The agriculture of western Europe and England, on which feudalism was built, differed widely from that of northern and central Italy, Egypt, and a large part of the Eastern Roman Empire:—

animal husbandry; extensive cultivation; two or three field system; joint management or control. When a great landlord was superposed upon the community, there would often result a distinction between a home-farm(*demesne*) and tenures; the cultivation of the former by the holders of the latter; and profound effects which this system would have upon the status and the class division of the tenants. In an age of social unrest, these elements would often form a coherent manorial organization.]

ii. In Japan, little pastoral life. Rice culture the mainstay of the economic life of the nation (*cf. ta* and *hata*: No. 1 n. 6; simple secondary industries of villagers: Nos. 18, 49, 52, 55, 56, 70, 78, etc.): [intensive cultivation; human labor; small cultivating capacity of a family, and sufficiency of a small holding; small lots, small plots, and small culture; little meadow and no pasture; relatively dense population made possible thereby. Irrigation needed, but readily secured from the many small streams; no extensive *Bewässerungskultur* as in Egypt and in parts of western Asia and China. No evidence of joint ownership or joint husbandry, and of equal allotment of rice land, in ancient native records; very tenacious individual use, if not ownership, of rice-land.] (*Cf. p. 3 n. o.*)

iii. [The *mura*, from ancient times, was a hamlet of neighboring peasant families possessing arable land in severalty. *Mura* might combine or split, might be simple or composite, but the typical *mura* always remained, so far as its general arrangement of house and land was concerned, as a group of farms which were composed of irregularly formed plots of extremely small culture, were irregularly scattered, and were cultivated and used by individual families or persons. No landlord, not even a military lord in a warlike age, has succeeded in converting this loose *mura* into a compact manor (A-IV-c-i, B-I-b-iii-1-(b), d-i-1-(b).)]

iv. [The radical reforms attempted by the Japanese state in the latter half of the seventh century contravened these fundamental characteristics of national economy: the registered rice-land was placed under a state ownership and was allotted equally; and the natural *mura* was replaced by artificially organized groups of fifty families. Reactions came promptly: the *mura* reappeared; the state ownership of rice-land was soon relinquished. Both the reforms and the reactions were peaceful, unlike the division or devastation of villas in the last days of the Western Roman Empire, and the general reorganization of estates which followed in Gaul; in Japan, old habits relative to land returned in new forms, and slowly undermined the reformed system:

1. [Public districts consisted, economically, of hamlets of scattered farms in individual ownership or possession.

2. [Private domains generically called *shō* appeared in increasing numbers: these were owned by their domanial lords, but were loose conglomerations of scattered farms of individual use or of their hamlets,—loose bodies made up of individual farms, the difference from the public districts being in the matter of control and the destination of the peasants' renderings. The normal *shō* contained no large *demesne* (Nos. 15 n. 3, 18 and n. 4, 59 n. 10, 70 nn. 6 and 14, 72 n. 14, 104 n. 18, 139, 140), no pasture as a common integral part, no servile tenants without civil rights; the juridical status of the peasants and their customs regarding land were identical with those in the public districts (A-II-e).

3. [Both in public districts and in private domains, the instrument whereby the peasants sought to mitigate the evils of natural economic pressure and to facilitate economic transactions in this age of scarcity of currency, was the newly developed idea of *shiki*: men held on to the soil of the land, but divided and disposed of parts of the income from the land under this name; *shiki* acquired remarkable differentiation and flexibility (A-II-e; *Int. pp. 2-3*).]

v. [It was these popular customs in land under public and private control—individual lots and divisible *shiki*—which enabled the new private warriors to squat upon land; they initiated no new land customs, created no radically new tenure; there was no devastation and no subsequent reorganization of land as in France of the ninth to eleventh centuries (A-III-d, IV-c-i and ii, B-I-b-iii-1).]

vi. [The individual warriors thus settled on land like non-warriors, but the feudal system as a collective force could not in course of time help exerting profound influence upon land and peasantry; the feudal rule, because of its warfare and its piecemeal governance, was costly and wasteful; the feudal population was excessively large from the standpoint of the economic productive power of the people (study Nos. 59, 104, 128, 140, 144, 153 C, D, 154 A); the warriors as rulers threw the

weight of taxation on the peasantry; and the civil war, when it came, bore heavily upon the cultivators. Let us observe the effects of feudalism upon the *mura*, upon the classes of peasants and their status in private law, and upon their position in public law.

*b. The mura.*

[From a-ii and iii, it will be seen that no manorial system could emerge as a general phenomenon even in the feudal ages (No. 15 n. 3; see B-I-h-iii-1-(h), d-i-1-(h).]

i. The Kamakura period (*cf.* B-I): Most holdings consisting of scattered and intermingled lands and *shiki* (B-I-h-iii-1, iv-1); it may be doubted that there were many extensive *mura* existing as entities (Nos. 2, 4, 5, 12, 14, 20, 21, 23, 28, 34, 35, 37, 41, 43, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 55, 59, 65, 68, 70). The chief, though not exclusive, sources of *shiki* would seem to have been (B-I-h-iii-1-(b)): the house and the land attached thereto (*zai-ke* or *ya-shiki*), and the *myō*-land, which probably originated in new cultivation (Nos. 59, 70, etc.); [the former paralleled the *masmagium* (*mesnage*, *messuage*), and the latter, *apprisio* (*bifanc*, *essart*), of medieval western Europe. Probably, the *mura* saw its cultivated part crystallizing as distinct *zai-ke*, its wild lands and border-lands converted into *myō*,—(No. 13 nn. 21 and 25), and the latter also gradually splitting into *zai-ke*. The general tendency would seem to have been toward the cohesion of the small lot; why this phenomenon?] ]

ii. The civil war period (B-I-d-i-1-(h): The *myō*-land had in some cases grown to *mura*, and usually was formed of separate peasant lots (*kado*, No. 104 n. 22). The lot probably was on the whole larger than the *zai-ke* of the earlier ages, though essentially of the same composition; and now usually had less divided *shiki* derived from it (see c-ii-2). The chief features of this period would seem to be a parallel growth of this tendency toward further cohesion and of the revived importance of the *mura* as an administrative entity (B-I-e-ii; Nos. 77, 81, 87, 89 A, 93 A, B, 97 A, D, 105, 111, 114, 115, 122, 127 A, 131, 138, 149 pr., D, nn. 24 and 25); the latter aspect saw its perfection in

iii. The Edo period: The *mura* (No. 154 pr.) was composed of individual *kado*, and both were evaluated in *taka* (B-I-f-i); the former was naturally the more elastic and expansive, but was nevertheless charged with responsibilities as a definite administrative and fiscal unit (d, below). The *mura* was administratively a community, but economically a composition of lots in individual possession and husbandry (c, below; No. 151 pr.).

*c. The classes and the private status.*

i. The Kamakura period: 1. Lower warriors and upper peasants were still not fully differentiated (B-III-a-ii): their holdings were largely separate, specially at first, whether in land or in *shiki*, but their personal and real status in private law was the same, both having families, inheriting, acquiring, and bequeathing landed properties, and disposing of them with equal freedom (Nos. 1-6, 13, 17, 70, 72); in fact, even the holdings themselves tended to be intermixed and interwoven between persons of the two classes (No. 70). The distinction made at a time between "granted" (*kyū*) and *hyaku-shō* lots (No. 59) could not have endured long. 2. "Landholders" (*ji-su*, No. 18 n. 8) and "cultivators" (*saku-nin*, Nos. 55 n. 17, 59 n. 7, 70 nn. 2, 3, 9)<sup>4</sup> soon became a distinction of *shiki*, instead of persons, and, as *shiki*, were held promiscuously by both classes (*cf.* Nos. 49, 59, 70), though they did not yet completely coalesce. [These phenomena were due to the mobility of *shiki*, a circumstance which made an abiding fixity of tenures impossible; with the prevalence of rice culture, the *shiki* could be consolidated only under a strong social pressure, which did not exist.] 3. A trend observable was toward a natural cleavage between possessors and tenants (*ge saku-nin*, No. 59).

(a) [The possessors were the *hyaku-shō* (No. 59), a term which was applied to both the lower warriors and the upper peasants, but tended more and more to designate the latter; they comprised holders of various *shiki*, including *shiki* of "landholders" and "cultivators."] The status of the *hyaku-shō* was higher than that of the French *roturier* of the eleventh century: the former's holding, like the latter's censive, not only rendered dues which were fixed early (Nos. 13, 17, 18, 42, 49, 51,

<sup>4</sup> Cultivatorship for life occurs once (No. 70).

52, 56, 59 n. 14, 60), but also, unlike it, was hurdened only with light, if any, *corvée*, and was capable of being sublet and disposed of with considerable freedom (Nos. 50, 70); as a matter of fact, the lower warrior's holding bore even military obligations.

(h) The position of the tenants is not clear, but [they apparently were lessees of the possessor's land under unknown terms, not bondsmen tied down to lots or to a domain whose chief function was forced labor. Without antecedents corresponding to the slaves, freedmen, and colons, in the Roman and Frankish villa, and without the lord's demesne which would exact the labor and control a large part of the life of the tenants, the Japanese land system never produced serfs in the European sense.]

Thus, the chief peculiarities were: a poor differentiation between warriors and peasants, the fluidity of tenures, a gradual formation of the possessor and the tenant classes, and the absence of serfs. What were the reasons?

ii. The period of the civil war: 1. As classes, the warriors and the peasants were, as a rule, widely separated (Nos. 104 pr., 146 A, 149 A, B); as a class, the peasants were considered socially ignoble and sometimes reduced to a low juridical status: their land might be demanded (No. 104; cf. 72 A), their holdings might be regarded as grants (Nos. 128, 144), and otherwise be smaller than those of the warriors (No. 144; cf. 59). [These facts remind one somewhat of the position of the *roturier*, not of the same time, but of the France of the eleventh century, for there the distinction between him and the vassal and the semi-serf status of the censive had developed early; in Japan this was delayed, as the civil war was late.]

2. This sharp division obtained in relation to persons and their private rights, not to holdings in land. In these, the basic soil of the peasant tenures was now common with the fiefs. [Only *shiki* and rights were consolidated and broadly divided into two kinds, the peasants, generally speaking, having won the real use and possession of the soil (cf. No. 18 n. 10, 68, 70 B, 115 n. 2), and the warriors having gathered the superior political and fiscal control of land (B-I-d-iv). The peasantry, though reduced lower as a class, rose higher in economic life, than in the Kamakura period. War and political condition brought this about; through them, the peasant attained what the intrinsic character of rice culture demanded, the real rights of land. It has already been shown (B-III-a-v, C-I-h-iv) that peasants did not, as the French *roturier* and burguer in the late Middle Ages, acquire fiefs. So the Japanese peasant of the sixteenth century reminds one, in his juridical status, of the French *roturier* of the eleventh century, but, in his economic position, of his European counterpart of the sixteenth, with a difference.]

3. [The most significant point of difference between the peasant and the *roturier* and serf is that the latter were enabled to rise in status, individually and collectively, by making mutual agreement with the lord or the king; in Japan, society was not so strongly imbued as in feudal France with the habit of making contracts and reciprocal concessions. Is there any connection between this difference in the non-feudal classes with the difference relative to the feudal contract? However that may be, the difference here mentioned is of far-reaching importance (cf. d).]

4. [The parallel movement begun earlier was now completed: the "landholder" and the "cultivator" *shiki* were usually combined in the normal *hyaku-shō*] (No. 109 n. 7),<sup>5</sup> while the latter and the lessee-tenant were generally differentiated (No. 104 pr.). This tenant was never a serf of a lord, but a tiller of another's land under lease and rent (No. 130). As for the usual domestic menials, whether doing agricultural labor or not, they existed throughout the feudal ages (*ge-nin*: Nos. 13, 22, 31, 36, 48, 55; *tono-bito*: No. 108), and possessed no resemblance with the European serf.

iii. The Edo period: The division of warriors and peasants as classes was wide and rigid (B-III-a-iv; No. 151 pr.); few peasants were permitted to bear family-names (No. 154 n. 23) and to wear two swords. In Satsuma were small warriors who tilled their tiny fiefs (No. 154 pr.), but nevertheless were immeasurably superior to peasants with larger holdings (No. 152 B). [The lord strove to prevent inequalities among peasants (see d).]

<sup>5</sup> See the editor's "The Life of a Monastic *shō*" and "Some Aspects of Japanese Feudal Institutions."



*d. Position in public law.*

[The word "public" relative to the feudal ages is necessarily used in an elastic sense. The Iriki documents throw little light on the judicial and administrative aspects, and yield but scanty data on the fiscal position, of the peasantry of the early feudal ages.]

i. In the pre-feudal ages, the fiscal burdens of the tiller of the soil in a private domain were sometimes still poorly defined (No. 1).

ii. The Kamakura period: A distinction, apparently temporary, obtained at a place between inheritances of peasants and grants for vassals and artisans, the former alone paying dues to the military lord (No. 50); dues to the domanial lord and the *kuni* government must have been borne by both (Nos. 18, 22, 25, 49, 51, 52, 53, 56, 72). The advent of the *ji-tō* and other military masters increased the burden of the peasants (Nos. 13, 17, 18, 55, 58-60, 78, 104 A, C, 121); the latter also sometimes gave slight labor-services to the former (Nos. 13, 17). A *ji-tō* was seen to take peasants with him to another domain (No. 37). The fiscal obligations of the lessee-tenant is little known.

iii. The period of the civil war: 1. [As in private law (c-ii), so in the public, singular developments may be looked for in these singular ages: the peasants would have to be placated, for their economic position had improved, or else the lord could not obtain from them the increased revenue needed for warfare, but might drive them to give their loyalty to his competitor; the discontent of peasants would be expressed in pilage (*no-bushi*: Nos. 125, 127 pr., 132 pr.) and mob action (No. 155 A, n. 30; Iri. gen. 1637-1638, even so late) [for they and the lord knew little how to strike a peaceful bargain (c-ii-3)]; then suddenly rose a puissant suzerain of all feudal Japan, while the haron also had at last unified his regional control (B-II-d); [both *shō-gun* and haron adopted the policy of treating the peasantry at once with stern repression as a class and with a benevolent consideration of their rights and interests in the limited sphere in which they confined them.] A general land survey (No. 149), a heavy taxation (No. 149; cf. Nos. 104, 146 A), by a truly despotic order, but with careful regard to the material interest of the peasant (No. 149 B), and admission of his right of commuting labor services (cf. No. 139), and of appealing directly to the higher authorities (No. 149 B).

2. [The stern but paternalistic policy was inspired by the exigencies of warfare and fiscal pressure, and by a desire for the ease of administration; though the lord heeded the altered position of the peasants, his policy was dictated primarily by his interest and that of the feudal classes. Legal and philosophic principles and usages corresponding to European manners of making reciprocal agreements (c-ii-3) and to the idea of *justitia* (righteousness, rather than justice) inculcated by the Church and accepted as a theory by secular rulers, were lacking in feudal Japan except as general, natural concepts. Instead, the lord fell back upon the Chinese doctrine of sovereignty and bureaucracy (D-I-ii), and the Chinese principles of paternalistic rule of the agrarian population. The difference has had the most significant effects upon national life, though they may be traced very partially in our documents only by a careful search.]

3. [The policy of the lord is well reflected in his utilization of the revival of the *mura* as an entity (h-ii and iii): he gave to the *mura* a large measure of self-government, while holding it as a body to strict accountability for its administrative and fiscal obligations to the feudal government (No. 149 A, B).]

iv. The Edo period: The warriors as the ruling class and the peasants as the ruled were divided rigorously (B-III-a-iv, C-VII-c-iii). [The *mura* was made even more self-governing and more responsible than before (Nos. 152 pr., 153 D, 154 pr.). At the same time, a relative equality of peasant holdings was maintained by high taxes, which made undue aggrandizement of land unprofitable, and by a deliberate restriction of the division and alienation of the peasant estate (No. 151 pr.). These points do not appear in our material.]

v. [The peasantry hequeathed by the feudal régime to the new age were well disciplined and docile, and were provided with fairly equalized but secure holdings of land, of which they had won the real use and possession. (What difference from the agrarian classes in France, Germany, Italy, and England?) This condition greatly facilitated the transition to the new age; why? The imperial government gave the peasants the legal ownership of their landholdings, and gave them full civil rights as citizens, but retained the historic class distinction between them and the nobility (No. 155 pr.), which has slight juridical significance. Under this régime, important developments are

taking place which might have been expected: economic inequalities among the agrarians, and the consequent awakening of the self-consciousness of the tenants.]

## VIII. LORD AND BURGHERS

[It is impossible to obtain from our material any connected idea of the institutions relating to cities in South Kyū-shū and their relation to feudalism. Nor does the subject vitally touch Iriki, which was rural. Below are a few references to such topics as would be usefully studied if our documents were more abundant along these lines.]

i. General economic life: 1. Use of currency or hillion: Nos. 13, 14 n. 5, 17, 36, 49, 52-54, 68, 72, 78, 104, 128, 139, 140, etc. 2. Prices: Nos. 49, 68, 150.

ii. Possible origins of commerce and cities: 1. Secondary occupations and by-products of hamlets: Nos. 18, 49, 52, 55, 56, 70, 78, 104, 128, 140, 149 B, 151 A, C. 2. Places on the coast: Nos. 145 (Yoshida), 145 pr. (Kyō-domari), 152 A, 153 C, D, 154 A. 3. Towns near fortresses and castles: Nos. 153 C, D, 154 A, B. Foreign trade: Nos. 154 B, nn. 37-38, 155 n. 31.

iii. Privileges and obligations of burghers: Nos. 149 B, 152 A.

## D. THE RÉGIME

## I. GENERAL

a. *Theory of the shogunate.*

i. Two rival theories: 1. The shogunate's own justification of its exercise of governing powers; the Tokugawa shogunate's additional justifications: (a) virtue and force, the former emphasized but the latter implied, and (b) formal delegation of power by the emperor (Nos. 149 n. 29, 155 A and n. 13). 2. The opponents' interpretation of the feudal rule as a horrowing and usurpation of sovereign powers (No. 155 C and n. 37).

ii. [Both theories agreed, the first one implying and the second declaring, that the emperor was the sovereign, and that the business of government should be conducted by his responsible agents. The theoretical foundation of this doctrine was the Chinese political philosophy, which taught that the ruler was the sovereign, and the people were not sovereign but the chief object of his rule; and that government should be carried on by officials to whom he delegated powers and who were responsible ultimately to him for their official acts. This Chinese doctrine was adopted in Japan by the reformers of the seventh century, in order to fortify her own polity, namely, the hereditary succession of sovereigns in a single dynasty.]<sup>6</sup>

iii. On the common basis of these principles, the *shō-gun* "returned" his "delegated" political powers in 1867 (No. 155 B), and barons in 1869 surrendered their fiefs (No. 155 C), to the emperor. The new imperial government was, therefore, regarded by both and by itself as a "restoration" of the national polity of the seventh century (No. 155 pr.).

iv. [From this, it is seen that the *shō-gun* had, whether by usurpation or by imperial consent, been exercising public political powers to a greater or lesser extent.] That had been progressive, as was recognized by the Tokugawa shogunate (No. 155 A and nn. 24 and 25). At first (*cf.* Int. p. 27) the *shō-gun's* three capacities, domanian, feudal, and official, were more or less distinct, and his private, public, and quasi-public powers were not harmonized, and were together incomplete; through the civil war, as the rule of the country was more completely feudalized, his feudal and public powers largely coalesced; in the Edo period was consummated the union of vassalage and bureaucracy, the emperor being content with a modest income, a power to bestow honors, and a deep social reverence, which the *shō-gun* chose to leave with him (No. 155 A; B-II, C-I-c-vii-2, C-IV-c-iii). This evolution through the ages is reflected in all the more important aspects of the feudal régime, military, administrative, judicial, and financial (D-II to VI).

b. *The barony.*

The progressive assumption of public powers by the *shō-gun* was paralleled by the rising position of the regional lord. Our documents show how gradual and painful was the upward course of his career till the end of the period of the civil war; only then, and particularly after 1600 (Nos.

<sup>6</sup> See the editor's *Early Institutional Life of Japan*.

151 pr., 154 n. 30, 155 A, n. 28), the harony became a perfect replica of the whole of Japan, a largely contiguous territory, whose organization and governance were at once feudal and bureaucratic (No. 151 pr.; B-II, C-I-c-vii-2). The haron as a vassal was under a strict control of the *shō-gun*, and as a ruler was virtually autonomous in the double capacity of lord and prince (No. 155 A; B-II, C-I-c-vii-2).

*c. The passing of the régime.*

i. Trace the stages of this passing: The *shō-gun* "returned" his powers, and, his secret desire for a partially continued authority being frustrated, effaced himself politically (No. 155 B and n. 36); for a time, vassalage and harony persisted under the emperor; even after the surrender of the haronies (No. 155 C, D), the harons held momentarily an ambiguous status as partial feudal lords and as local governors (No. 155 E, F, G, and n. 51); only with the total abolition of the *han*, and the issue of the redemption bonds, the anomalous situation ended, and the remnants of the old régime passed away, a class nomenclature and ranks of nobility adopted by the new age being the only social vestiges of the seven centuries of Japanese feudalism (No. 155 pr.). Cf. B-I-g.

ii. A "unity of control" and "public opinion" succeeded the feudal rule. The striking evolution of the word *kō* illustrates the history and the quality of this remarkable transformation (No. 155 B, C, and n. 35; cf. Nos. 107 n. 5, 142 n. 2, 146 n. 10).

## II. MILITARY AFFAIRS

See C-I-c-iii. On the evolution of the public authority of the lord, see D-I-a and h; consider its bearing on military affairs. On private war, cf. C-II-a.

*a. Equipment.*

i. Weapons: The bow and arrows the chief arms at first; individual combat; the warrior's defended house (Int. p. 20, No. 70 n. 12). The lance and the sword increasingly important (Int. p. 25; Nos. 123, 125 pr., 127 pr., 147, 150 A; Iri. gen. 1600 and n. 44), though the bow and arrows were never discarded (Iri. gen. 1598; Nos. 127 pr., 147, 150 A, 152 A, 153 C). Then firearms slowly but surely prevailed (compare Nos. 147 and 150 A with 152 A and 153 C). Helmet and armor (Nos. 117 pr., 147) and shield (No. 152 A) are barely mentioned.

ii. Fortresses and castles: [Different from feudal Europe, substantially built castles were very late in Japan.] More or less temporary fortresses of the fourteenth to early sixteenth century (Nos. 85, 86 A, 90, 92 A, 95 A, 117, 118, 123, 125 n. 4, 131 pr., 132 pr., 141 pr., etc.); temporary encampments (No. 118 D, etc.). From the latter part of the sixteenth century, permanent castles of stone, earth, and wood, built on defensible spots, often supported by secondary castles or outposts (Int. p. 26), and continually guarded (Nos. 141 pr., 146 pr., 147, 148 pr.; Iri. gen. 1587). [Material is lacking to show the composite character of chief haronial castles, with their donjons, multiple enceintes and moats, Buddhist and Shintō houses, and quarters for resident vassals (B-II-d-ü, III-a-iv, C-VII-ii-2) and merchants (C-VIII).] The castle of Kagoshima, the seat of the Shimadzu haron, was protected by elaborate circuits of outer defenses called *to-zhō* (see B-I-f-i-3, II-e-i-1, D-III-h). Hideyoshi initiated, and the Tokugawa completed, the policy of demolishing all but the central castles of each harony and strictly controlling the extension and repair of the latter (No. 152 pr.).

iii. Ships of war: Nos. 150 A, B, 152 B.

*b. Combatants.*

i. Mounted and foot: Nos. 147 (proportion?); 150 A (knights' equipment), B (proportion, provision), 152 A and 153 D (note the distribution of knights among *shi-ryō* and *to-zhō*); stud farms and horse-pastures (No. 145 pr.; Int. p. 10); draught-horses (No. 146 A).

ii. Light foot: Nos. 150 B, 152 A; Iri. gen. 1580, 1598, 1600. These were temporarily classed apart from the former warriors under the new régime (No. 155 pr.). See B-II-e-ii-1(f), III-a-ii-3, f-iii-2.

iii. Mercenaries: Nos. 95 A, 125 pr., 127 pr., 132 pr. Who were they?

iv. Size of armies: Nos. 126 pr., 127 pr., 130 pr., 141 pr., 145 pr., 146 pr., 147, 148 pr., 150 A, B,

152 A, 153 D, 154 A, B; Iri. gen. 1580, 1587, 1592-1593, 1598-1599, 1600, 1868. How many warriors could the Shimadzu baron send to the field, and also the Iriki lord?

c. *Warfare.*

i. Summons and arrivals: Nos. 82, 84, 85, 88, 96 A, B, 98, 99, 101, 110, 112 A, B, 116 A, C, 118 A, B.

ii. Organization and leadership: Analyze the principles of organization, and trace their gradual development, in Nos. 82, 86, 90, 92 A, 112 A, 116 pr., 117 pr., 118 D, E, 125 pr., 126 pr., 127 pr., 130 pr., 141 pr., 146 pr., A, B, 147, 148 pr., 152 A, 154 A. Family emblems, and banners (Iri. gen., under Jō-Shin).

iii. Study of tactics: Iri. gen. 1661.

iv. Combat: Attack and defense of a castle (Nos. 131 pr., 132 pr., 141 pr., 146 pr., 147; Iri. gen. 1598-1599); close combat (No. 127 pr.); burning and pillaging (Nos. 86 A, 92 A); on water (Iri. gen. 1595, 1596, 1597). New tactics applied (Iri. gen. 1863, 1868).

v. After the combat: Treatment of enemy combatants; surrender and non-surrender (Int. p. 16 and n. 72; Nos. 126 pr., 127 pr., 132 pr., 146 pr., 148 pr.; Iri. gen. 1598-1599, 1638). Reports on the progress of war by combatants and commanders (Nos. 92 A, B, 118 E); reports of one's own service (Nos. 74, 86 A, B, 90, 95, 102), accompanied by heads taken (Iri. gen. 1597, 1598 and n. 39, 1600); recognitions of service (Nos. 83 C, D, E, 84, 86 pr., C, D, 99 C, 110, 112 C, 117, 118 D, 142; Iri. gen. p. 396).

### III. ADMINISTRATION

The organization of feudal administration began with a simply improvised machinery of Yoritomo, in whose operation the *shō-gun* personally participated (Nos. 14 n. 5, 21 pr., 155 n. 39); but gradually was differentiated, and adapted features of the elaborate bureaucracy of the imperial civil government; the feudal rulers even affected with the latter the conventional impersonal dignity and the moral platitudes characteristic of the Chinese officialdom copied in Japan (see Iri. gen. in the Edo period).

a. Central organization: The extreme simplicity of the government at Kamakura (Nos. 14 n. 5, 21 pr., 25, 155 n. 39). [The organization of the later shogunate does not appear in the Iriki documents, nor that of the baronial government of the earlier ages.] The baron's council gradually reveals itself from the fifteenth century, and gains in fulness of description as we approach and enter the Edo period (Nos. 132 pr., 145, 147, 148, 152 B, 153 A, D, addition to 147; 154 A, abridged in the translation; 155 G); a certain degree of confusion of the lord's governmental council with the management of his family (C-I-c-v). From similar confusion, the vassal showed deference to members of the lord's family (examples in Iri. gen. in the Edo period). A minor lord's council (Nos. 145, 148, 152 pr., 154 pr.; Iri. gen. 1574, 1580, 1592).

h. Local organization: i. Under the *shō-gun*: In the Kamakura period: Int. p. 23 and n. 128 ff.; cf. No. 25; B-II. In the Edo period: No. 155 A; cf. B-II. Few data on the intervening ages: the *tan-dai* for Kyū-shū, Nos. 92 B, 96, 116 pr., 118 pr., 121, 123, 125 pr., 128 pr.; special agent Hatakeyama Naoaki, Nos. 84 pr., 85, 88 pr., 90, 98 pr., 106 pr. ii. Under the baron: An early organization of *kura-iri*, *shi-ryō*, and *to-shō*, No. 147; compare this with the system in the Edo period, Nos. 152 pr. and A, 153 B, C, D, 154 pr. Administration of the islands, Nos. 151 C, 153 D, 154 A, 155 n. 31. For the government of the peasantry, see C-VII-d.

### IV. LEGISLATION

Cf. D-I. a. The *shō-gun* at first legislated in his capacity as suzerain, in regard to the *go ke-nin* (Nos. 39, 40, 62, 64, 65) [and, in his capacity as domanial lord, in regard to peasantry]. As he assumed more extensive powers from the end of the civil war and through the Edo period, he exercised a full legislative function, not only as suzerain, but also as the actual supreme ruler of all Japan (Nos. 149, 155 A).

h. Likewise, the baron, in his own sphere, from the latter part of the sixteenth century (No. 145).

c. [Neither the *shō-gun* nor the baron, even as a feudal lord, was bound, whether by contract or by custom, to consult his vassals in changing old laws and making new enactments; to accept their advice, much less to regard their resolutions as agreements with himself; or even to observe his own



laws.] The lord and his council made laws (Nos. 39, 58, 64); he was at liberty to enforce or waive them (No. 145; Iri. gen. 1599). Cf. C-I-c-v-4, vii-2.

#### V. JUDICATURE

Judicial system, not judicial obligations (C-I-c-iv, vi, and vii).

##### *a. Fief and justice.*

[This time-honored question of French feudalism is simply the judicial aspect of the question of the relation between feudal and public authority. From that relation in Japan (D-I-a and b, C-I-c-vii-2), it is seen that, while in France the royal judicature overtook the feudal before fief and justice coincided completely, in Japan the two were combined in the period of the civil war, and the combination was perfected after the unification of the country by the supreme suzerain.]

Unfortunately, our documents throw little light on the judicature after the fourteenth century (Nos. 83 D, 100, 107 A; no hearing, No. 145; arbitrary judicature of peasants, No. 149 A), and we have to be content with the period when the feudal and public powers were still largely distinct. Fortunately, that was the age in which the assertive and disputatious spirit of men ran high (Nos. 36-41, 46, 57 ff., 74, 93 B), and the mutual conciliation of the parties (Nos. 46, 51, 52, 67, 76, 79) was less frequently resorted to than later.

##### *b. Comparison with European feudal judicature.*

i. [Difference in antecedents: 1. The emperor was more frankly the sovereign of the state than in the early Roman empire; justice was never popular as it was, to some extent, with the Franks, but purely official (D-I, C-I-c-vi). Justice was not, as with them, a source of income for the ruler; nor was the procedure chiefly accusatory or arbitral. 2. Ideas of judicature were more advanced than with the Franks; penal law was written; written documents, not oral forms, were used in procedure; proof was the burden of both parties, not of the defendant only. These phases were not forgotten during the Kamakura period. 3. What little judicial power was exercised by the domainial lords (cf. Nos. 2, 4, 5) does not seem to have influenced the feudal judicature, to the extent that the *mithum* of the *potentes* would appear to have done.]

ii. [On the advent of feudalism, 1. more or less retrogression was observable in judicature, which brought it nearer to the European feudal justice: justice became, though slightly, a source of income; the procedure became largely accusatory (see c, below)]; and, new legislation being spare, men were prone, following lines of the least resistance, to fall back more than before upon precedents and examples (Nos. 16, 65, 74), and upon the principles of actual possession (Nos. 12, 67, 75, 77 A, B, etc.; see C-I-a-v-4), prescription (No. 120 B), and heredity (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 12, etc.; C-I-b-ii).

[2. The effects on justice of the relatively weak character of the Japanese feudal contract have already been dwelt upon (C-I-c-iv, vi, vii); even in the Kamakura period, the Chinese-Japanese doctrine of sovereignty and bureaucracy (D-I-a-ii) was already lodged in the mind of the feudal justiciar], whose penal law included capital punishment (Nos. 39, 149 n. 13; Iri. gen. p. 394; cf. the striking case in Iri. gen. p. 393 in 1592, which, however, was a wartime event).

##### *c. Conduct of judicature.*

i. Organization: Kamakura, Rokuhara (Nos. 15 n. 6, 16 pr., 22, 25 n. 6, 37, 38 pr., 42), and the Chin-zei (Nos. 25 n. 8, 37, 38, 50, 55 n. 11, 58 n. 3-4, 63 n. 4, 66, 75 n. 2, 76). Regional commissioners on a special occasion (Int. p. 23; No. 45 pr.).

ii. Procedure (see No. 16 pr.): 1. Accusatory (Nos. 16, 41, 57). 2. Accusations and refutations exchanged in writing (Nos. 5 n. 5, 16 pr., 36-41, 57, 58, 65, 76, 93; cf. 70 A, B). 3. Summons of parties (Nos. 36-41, 58, 62), and confrontation (Nos. 40, 58); default (Nos. 62, 66). 4. Written documents as the principal proof (Nos. 16, 36-41, 46, 57, 58, 62, 63, 65, 70; cf. 25); 5. Other proofs (No. 39: fact, not admitted), and witnesses (Nos. 40, 41, 58, 64, 65). 6. Admission and confession (Nos. 58, 63). 7. Judgments and decrees (Nos. 16, 39, 41, 46, 58, 62, 65, 71, 79, 100: note the original phraseology and implied ideas). 8. Revisions and appeals (Nos. 16 pr., 76; Int. p. 23; C-I-c-vii-2-a) and (b). What difference between civil and criminal procedure?

iii. Offenses (Nos. 27, 32, 36-41, 58, 62 n. 5, 63, 65, 81; classify) and penalties (Nos. 32, 39, 40, 58, 149 n. 13; Iri. gen. pp. 393, 394; coördinate penalties with offenses). Cf. h-ii-2, above.

## VI. FINANCE

On this subject, concrete data are not wanting, but hardly sufficient for a satisfactory understanding.

## a. General tendencies.

i. The lord's hurdens (cf. C-I-c-ii): 1. In the Kamakura period, an item of the lord's expenditures was his fiscal obligations to the *shō-gun* (Nos. 13, 14, 17, 60, 87, 94?, 97?, 109) and to either the domanial lord or the *kuni* government or both, according as to whether the place was a *shō*, a public district, or a *yose-gōri* (Nos. 12 A, B, 13, 17, 18, 22, 25, 42, 44, 47, 50-56, 70 B, 72 A, 73, 87, 121, etc.). The last two ceased to exist, and presently the first also became shadowy (B-II-c-iii, C-V-b); when the supreme suzerain was reestablished, with greater powers than ever before, the baron's obligations to him had already been greatly conventionalized and, except requisitions on unusual occasions, simplified in kind and much reduced in amount (cf. C-I-c-ii-2). The fiscal obligations of the sub-lord to the baron after the formation of the regional feudal hierarchy were of a similar character (see Iri. gen. in the Edo period); besides, the autocratic baron freely recalled a part of the fief he granted and exacted contributions at needs (No. 153 pr.). 3. [It is needless to add that the obligations of the warrior classes were ultimately borne by the peasantry (cf. No. 80 pr.).]

ii. The peasants' hurdens: 1. At first, small warriors owed dues to the domanial lord and the *kuni* government side by side with the peasants (see i-1, above), but, at least in some instances, were exempt from the dues to the lord *ji-tō* (Nos. 49?, 59) which the peasants bore (Nos. 49, 55, 58, 59, 107 A, etc.). After the *shō* and the *kuni* government disappeared, the classes were widely differentiated; [and the warriors shifted their hurdens more completely than before to the tillers of the soil, who at the same time tended to gather in their hands the real rights of the soil (C-VII-c-ii-2).] 2. Considering this trend for a simplification of the fiscal situation, it is not difficult to see that the rates of the peasants' dues must have risen, at least in so far as their obligations to the lords were concerned, for the main cause of this simplification was the civil war and the unified control by the feudal authorities resulting therefrom (C-VII-d-iii-1 and iv). Leaving aside the warrior's hurdens (C-I-c-ii), therefore, we shall make a few references to the obligations of the peasantry.

## b. The peasant's dues.

Study the evolution of the kinds, destinations, amounts, and rates (Nos. 13, 17, 18, 22, 49, 50-56, 59, 70, 72, 73, 78, 104 A, C, 128, 139, 140, 149 B, 151 A, C, 152 A, B, 154 A, n. 24). Fiscal survey: reasons, extent, methods (Nos. 9, 18, 49, 59, 70, 72 B, 104, 139, 140, 144, 149 B, 151 pr., C, D, 152 A). Evaluation of resources in *koku* (B-I-e-ii-1, f-i; Nos. 149, 151 C, D, 155 pr. and n. 28). Financial officials of the baron's central government in 1756 are enumerated in the portion of No. 154 A which has been omitted in the translation, as follows: 2 commissioners, both of the Shimadzu family, whose *taka* were 630 and 255 *koku*, and 7 assistants, with *taka* 164 *koku* or less.

## CONCLUSION

[In order to obtain a more organic view of the whole subject than is possible by following the outlines of this Summary in its four divisions, the student may evolve his own plan of topics and organize his data in accordance with it. The following scheme, which is at once dynamic and comparative, would suggest greater possibilities of more comprehensive schemes.

[For comparison with the Japanese, we shall take French feudalism as the best material for the purpose.

[What general points are common to both in origin and organization? In origin: mutual reaction between three factors—culture and institutions of two sources (Germanic and Roman; Japanese and Chinese) and changing social conditions. In organization: personal (vassalage), economic (land), political, and moral elements.

[Divergence of the two systems in evolution may be considered as follows:

## ANTECEDENTS.

[Political: Rulers: The two Frankish dynasties followed by the Capetian, with changing grounds of royal power; the single imperial house of Japan, which was to persist throughout (A-IV-b-i, B-II-e-i, C-IV-c-i, D-I-a). The seat of sovereignty, and the conception of the state, the public powers, the officialdom, the government of the people (A-IV-b-i, C-I-c-vii-2-(a), C-VII-d-iii-2, D-I-a, D-V-d-i-1).

[Economic: Western European agriculture, the villa, the manor, demesne, tenures and classes. Japanese rice-culture, scattered farms, the *mura*; the reforms of the seventh century (C-VII-a, A-II-a).

## ORIGINATION.

[Land: France: sudden growth of the military *beneficium* fostered by the state for public needs; followed by further wars causing general devastation and a radical reorganization of land. Japan: gradual peaceful reorganization after the reforms, public districts and private domains (*shō*) alike composed of scattered farms; *shiki* in both, no village community, no demesne, no serfs; real holders (A-II, C-VII-a-iv, b, A-IV-b-ii).

[The warrior and land: France: military vassalage and military *beneficium* united under public pressure; the *senior* succeeding in seizing land which he then subinfeudated in his own title. Japan: private warriors rose slowly under social unrest, which was not sufficiently prolonged and intense to create a radically new tenure; the essential sameness of the warriors' and peasants' holdings, both held in *shō* or public districts under domanial lords or civil government; ties of vassalage to private military lords, who generally were not personal grantors of the vassals' holdings (A-III-a, IV-c-i and ii, C-VII-a-v, c-i-1).

## THE KAMAKURA PERIOD.

[Vassalage: The struggle for ascendancy between the military families, Minamoto and Taira, and the rise of Minamoto Yoritomo, the first *shō-gun*, caused a great progress of the vassalage relation (A-III-b, B-II-a-i). The feudal and public powers of the *shō-gun*; the *go ke-nin* under unitary feudal control, but no well-formed general hierarchy (B-II-a-ii, iii).

[Land: *Shō* and *shiki* increased (B-I-b-i). Also the *shō* was loosened by the growth of scattered and intermingled holdings of warriors and peasants (B-I-h-iv-1-(a)), caused by opportune grants, division among children, and marriage (C-I-b-ii-2 and 3), primogeniture being slow to develop (why?—C-I-h-ii-2-(c)). The units *zai-ke* or *ya-shiki* and *myō-land* (B-I-h-iv-1-(h)). Domanial lords and district governments were still the warriors' fiscal lords (B-I-h-ii).

[The feudal contract (C-I-c-vii): (1) Weak mutuality: reasons, effects. (2) Incomplete irreversibility and juridical control: reasons; recourse to a moral principle; effects on the warriors' code; lord's favor, vassals' loyalty (B-III-e-ii). Sanction heavier against the vassal than against the lord (C-I-c-vi).

[The warrior's code; difference from the French (B-III-e).

## THE CIVIL WAR.

[The warrior and the fief: The Japanese civil war from the fourteenth to sixteenth century corresponded to the warfare in the France of the tenth and eleventh centuries; the coming of the latter at the beginning, and of the former toward the end, of the feudal ages, produced significant difference in results. In Japan, the true fief was evolved (B-I-d-i); primogeniture was established (C-I-h-ii-2); contiguous territories, also castles and surrounding land, became more common as fiefs (B-I-d-i-1-(c) and (d)); the barony was at once a fief and a principality (B-I-d-i-2); local feudal hierarchies and a country-wide truncated hierarchy developed (B-I-d-ii).

[The peasantry: Classes of people and rights of land distinctly differentiated between warriors and peasants (B-III-a-ii and iii, C-VII-c-ii-2). Recapitulate the evolution of land since the pre-feudal ages; two root causes, rice-culture and war. The peasant-estate(*kado*) as a coherent unit (B-I-d-i-1-(h), C-VII-b-ii) and the *mura* as a social entity, though economically a loose group of scattered estates (C-VII-h-ii, d-iii-3). No manor; no serfs (C-VII-b pr., c-ii-4).

## THE AGE OF UNIFICATION.

[The three men of genius, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iéyasu (Tokugawa), successively carried forward the work of pacifying and unifying Japan, and extending to the rule of the whole country institutional developments attained simultaneously in the various regions (B-I-e-i, f-i, B-II-d-ii, e pr.).

[The warrior classes: A complete hierarchy of feudal Japan (B-II-d-ii, B-I-e-i-1). Fiefs and the lord's domains, in the whole of Japan and in each harony (B-I-e-i-3, f-i-1 and 3). Barony (*han*) not a "clan" (Nos. 151 pr., n. 3, 155; B-I-f-i-1). The *shō-gun* and the haron were autocratic princes, as well as feudal lords; wielded feudal and public powers (C-I-c-vii-2-(c)).

[The feudal contract was further weakened: the vassals' frequent self-assertion during the preceding period was a fact, not a right, and was in this age suppressed by the strong *shō-gun*; the establishment of the true fief, instead of strengthening the contract, contributed to the lord's power over the vassal; the *shō-gun* sought to treat all the fiefs he granted as results of conquest or gifts of grace; the fief, which in France, beginning as the military lord's revocable grant, tended to become less and less precarious, started in Japan under a domanial lord in a remarkably free status, but ended as a more or less precarious favor; Confucianism was taught among warriors for the interest of the existing social order. The vassalage was composed of the paternalistic lord-prince and loyal vassal-subjects (C-I-c-vii-2-(c)).

[The peasantry: The *mura* self-governing and responsible; a relative equality of peasant-estates carefully guarded (C-VII-h-iii, d-iii-3, iv). Both in France and in Japan the feudal classes had largely been detached from the soil, and its real rights descended into the hands of the peasants; but the result had come about in peace in France, while in Japan war had occasioned it; in France many a *roturier* had acquired fiefs, as fiefs seldom carried the old feudal services, but in Japan the peasants had gathered the economic *shiki* of land, and did not obtain fiefs as such (B-III-a-v, C-VII-c-ii-2); in France many a landlord employed tenants, but in Japan the vast majority of peasants practically owned their lands; and, generally, the results in France had been due to natural economic processes, but in Japan largely to a deliberate policy of the feudal rulers. As a consequence, the agrarian population which came down to the new régime was in very different condition in the one country from the other (C-VII-d-v).

## RELATION TO THE NEW AGE.

[Land and people: France in 1789 and Japan in 1871 abolished by law fiefs and tenures which had already decayed in fact; particularly, the non-nobles had long been the real possessors of land and now the law recognized their ownership of it. But in France many fiefs had been acquired as such by non-nobles, and all fiefs were abolished without indemnification, while in Japan many fiefs were voluntarily surrendered by their lords, the remainder were taken over by the state, and all were redeemed with public bonds (No. 155).

[Feudalism proper: The feudal contract in Europe may have influenced the general habit of the people to secure liberty by agreements (C-VII-c-ii-3); and, by its strongly mutual character, contributed to the abstract idea of justice as at once a right and a duty to claim and to observe. Especially the exhaustive juridical control over the relation of vassalage which the feudal contract attained in France was, in England, carried into the national law, and became a foundation of political freedom, and so has made a great contribution to humanity. Japan has had to learn the principles of justice and of political freedom largely from Europe, not from her own feudalism. The contributions of Japanese feudalism to the new age have not issued from the feudal contract, but from the disciplined loyalty of the warrior and the docility and the relative economic equality of the peasant,—the former a moral asset, the latter a material; the one was a product of a peculiar feudal polity, and the other, of a peculiar economic life. These contributions, though of great moment for the nation, can hardly be said to be of more than temporary and national significance (B-III-e-ii, C-I-c-vii-2-(d), C-VII-d-v).]



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It is hoped that the reader will not regard the following as an exhaustive, systematic catalogue of the extant sources for the study of the Shihuya and the Shimadzu; it is simply an alphabetical list of such works as have been used in the preparation of this volume. The references, however, to the Iriki documents and allied sources are, we trust, complete.

All works in Japanese and Chinese are listed by their titles, while the works in European languages appear under the authors. Practice has demonstrated the convenience of this arrangement.

The names of the works that are given in Roman letters are not, as are those in italics, the original titles: the works of the former class usually do not bear specific titles.

The brief descriptions following the names of works are not transactions of the titles, but mere indications of the nature of the chief contents.

The names of works which consist wholly or chiefly of primary source-material are printed in capital letters. For the rest, it is not practicable to make a typographical distinction in the titles between the secondary sources—such as contemporary records and notes, and abstracts of documents—and literature, for many works are mixed in character and are not classifiable; the brief explanations given will be of some service in making a rough discrimination in this regard.

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Naohisa nushi ichi-ryū reki-dai no fu, narabi ni sai-yū Miya-no-zhō ki, historical notes on Ketō in and on Shimadzu Naohisa and his successors, lords of Miya-no-zhō; compiled about 1716. In Japanese. Manuscript. A copy owned by Mr. M. Kozhima.

NEZHIME SEI-ROKU, the same as *Shin-pen Nezhime uji sei-roku sei-tō kei-dzu*.

NEZHIME UJI MON-ZHO, documents of the Nezhime family. Mostly in Chinese. Manuscript, in 4 vols. A copy at the Historiographical Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo.

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*Ryō no shū-ge*, official and private comments on the same code, compiled by Koremune Naomoto (fl. 885). In Chinese. 36 chaps., 5 chaps. being lost, in 2 vols. Edited chiefly by Professor Miura Hiroyuki. Tokyo, 1912-1913.

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*SK. SK*, 2d series. *SK*, supp. See *Sappan kyū-ki*, etc.

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*TEN-YŌ KI*, ten original documents dated between 1134 and 1146, relative to the domain at Ōba, Sagami, belonging to the Great Temple at Ise. In Chinese. Manuscript, in 1 roll. In possession of the Great Temple.

*TERAO DOCUMENTS*, contained in *Kiyoshiki ki-kan*.

*TŌ-FUKU ZHI MON-ZHO*, documents of the Buddhist monastery Tō-fuku zhi, Kyōto. Mostly in Chinese. Manuscript, in 7 vols. A copy at the Historiographical Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo.

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# DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI

## 1. ORDER OF THE HEAD OF GO-DAI *IN*, 1135

(SK, I; originally a Gon-Shūin doc. now lost.)

THIS is the oldest document extant in which the place Iriki appears. Poor as the copy in SK is, the document affords grounds for inference regarding certain important phases of the institutional history of this locality prior to the advent of the Shibuya warriors.

The order was issued by the head(*in-su*) of the Buddhist house, Go-dai *in*, which was closely related to the Shintō temple, Niita Hachiman, both situated by the river Sendai not far from its mouth. As it was customary in those days for Shintō temples to have near them Buddhist houses which were associated with them and which transacted their worldly business for them, so the affairs of Niita Hachiman were managed by Go-dai *in*.

Niita Hachiman is supposed to have been dedicated to the spirit of Ninigi-no-Mikoto, the mythical grandfather of the first emperor of Japan, Jimmu. Ninigi is said to have sojourned for a time at Kasasa (often identified with the present Kaseda, further south in Satsuma) on his descent from "High Heavenly Plain," and then moved to the site of this temple; his supposed tomb is situated directly behind the temple. The latter was established at an ancient date at the side of a hill known as E-no-yama, and, after the fire of 1173, rebuilt on its summit, where it stands to this day, enjoying the high reverence it has always received from all classes. The temple was once a great institution, with a considerable number of Shintō, Buddhist, and lay persons devoted to its service,<sup>1</sup> who lived on both sides of the straight road leading to the river and in the immediate vicinity of E-no-yama. During the period of the civil war, the fortune of the temple, like that of many another religious institution in Japan, declined greatly, but its prestige was such that, in the sixteenth century, the Shibuya lords, who then dominated this region, repaired the edifices and provided for their maintenance. On the surrender of the Shibuya to the Shimadzu, the latter bestowed upon the institution a solicitous care, regarding it as the first temple in Satsuma.<sup>1</sup>

Go-dai *in* was built at an unknown time a mile and a half west of the temple; and, as the chief Buddhist house connected with Niita Hachiman, wielded great powers during the first feudal ages. Then it decayed, probably during the period of the civil war, leaving merely the foundation stones of its edifices. The annual rites for the five Buddhist deities that were originally revered at Go-dai *in*, however, continued to be performed at the temple throughout the ages,<sup>2</sup> till Shintō was stripped of its Buddhist associations immediately after the downfall of the feudal régime of Japan.

Returning to our document, we should infer from it that Masanobu resided, in 1135, near Go-dai *in*, while the title of the latter's *in-su* was held by a priest at the Buddhist church connected with another greater Hachiman temple established far away at Iwa-shimidzu, near the imperial capital, Kyōto. This great temple was then considered chief among the numerous temples in Japan which the people inaccurately thought to be all dedicated to the same deity Hachiman, who had come to be identified with the ancient emperor Ō-zhin. So were the Niita temple and Go-dai *in* subordinate in an ill-defined manner to Iwa-shimidzu, receiving its orders and following its jurisdiction. Cf. No. 3 below.

The first Hachiman temple in Kyū-shū, and indeed perhaps the oldest in Japan, was the one at Usa, in Buzen, some one hundred miles in a straight line to the northeast of Niita; the Buddhist church connected with the temple at Usa was Mi-roku *zhi*. Mi-roku *zhi* stood to Usa Hachiman in a relation similar to that which obtained between Go-dai *in* and Niita Hachiman. At the time of this document, the latter two are found to have been in some respects subject to the former.<sup>3</sup> Some of Niita's domains were, therefore, also Usa's, or, in other words, the domains of Go-dai *in* also belonged to Mi-roku *zhi*, as both drew revenues from them (see No. 9).

Our document reveals the fact that Mi-roku *zhi* and Go-dai *in*, or, Usa and Niita Hachiman, held domains in the fertile basin of the lower course of the river Sendai; this is precisely the country which more than a century hence fell into the hands of the Shibuya after their descent from Kama-



kura. Since we shall be concerned throughout this volume with this and neighboring regions, it is well to take note of its early condition as seen in this document.

It will be observed that the financial control, at least, of these domains had still been poorly organized. From the brief statement in the text, one may infer that people had been allowed to settle freely on the land, and to cultivate it into vegetable or grain fields or to irrigate it and turn it to rice paddies; there had been little system in the assessment of the taxes, and naturally their evasion had been common. Such a state of things will not surprise us, if we recall how peculiarly free the condition of arable land had been in Satsuma for many a century. How much greater financial control resulted from the present order may not be known, but we presume that the general laxity must have continued more or less, and facilitated in this locality the establishment of warriors' power that was soon to follow, if it had not already begun.

It now remains for us to consider who Masanohu, the manager of the Go-dai *in* domains and recipient of this order, might be. We suspect that he was of the Tomo family, which had long been settled in this neighborhood, and of which we shall hear often, beginning with the next document. This surmise receives some support from the genealogy of the Miyasato family (*cf.* No. 11), in which one Tomo Masanohu appears as successor to Ki Masatō and father of Ki Masa-ié. Masa-ié is conspicuous in the cadaster of 1197 (*cf.* Nos. 9 and 11).

"ORDERED to Masanobu, the *man-dokoro*<sup>4</sup> of Go-dai *In*,

"That, in accordance with the order, the *man-dokoro* shall at once assign<sup>5</sup> for cultivation the *ta*<sup>6</sup> and *hata*<sup>6</sup> held by the *Zhi*,<sup>7</sup>

"[which lands are] situated at

"Tōgō,<sup>8</sup> of Taki;<sup>8</sup> Chūgō,<sup>8</sup> of the same; Iriki *in*,<sup>9</sup> Satsuma *kōri*<sup>9</sup> and Miyasato *gō*,<sup>9</sup> —among [the places given] in lieu of Ada *kōri*.<sup>10</sup>

"The aforesaid *ta*<sup>6</sup> and *hata*<sup>6</sup> are in Spring cultivated at will by individual [persons], without letting the officials<sup>11</sup> know; the crops in Autumn are unexamined, and the [payment of the] fixed dues is evaded. These are exceedingly perverse acts. Hereafter, inasmuch as the term of office of the *in-su*<sup>12</sup> is limited, while the *man-dokoro* Masanobu is a perpetual man,<sup>13</sup> the *man-dokoro* is commanded at once to assign<sup>5</sup> for cultivation the aforesaid *ta* and *hata* held by the *Zhi*.<sup>7</sup>

"Of these, as regards [the lands at] Iriki *kōri*,<sup>9</sup> though [they are accompanied by] legal documents defining their divisions in detail, heretofore it has been neglected to make report of them to the officials; which is no light offence.

"It is ordered that the command shall be immediately executed in accordance with this order. No error or omission shall be made. For these purposes, the order is hereby issued.

"Hō-en 1 y. 19 m. 25 d.<sup>14</sup> [1 December 1135].<sup>14</sup>

"The *In-su*, Iwashimidzu gon *zhi-su*,<sup>15</sup> [of the rank] *dai hosshi*."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, XIII, 10-11. A report dated 1331 of the functionaries connected with the temple enumerates 319 persons: *Gon Shūin mon-zho*, VII.

<sup>2</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, XIII, 20.

<sup>3</sup> In an undated list, also, of the holdings of Ki-ta *in*, of Mi-roku *zhi* (the *Iwa-shimidzu mon-zho*, II, 146-147), which probably is about a hundred years later than the present document, appear Niita *shō*[?] and Go-dai *in*. *Cf.* also No. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Man-dokoro*. This term is ordinarily used in the sense of the administrative office of a high personage; the first *shō-gun*, Yoritomo, used the term in designating his executive office. Here, however, *man-dokoro* refers, not to an office, but to the official of a managing office; it means the manager of Go-dai *in* and its domains. This usage of the term is uncommon.

<sup>5</sup> To whom is not stated; probably to cultivators who had settled here and had been cultivating

the lands in question. The *man-dokoro* was now commanded, it would seem, to charge each cultivator, in definite terms, to be responsible for the cultivation of the land he was exploiting and for the payment of the dues from it.

<sup>6</sup> *Ta* are wet fields, level and terraced, and flooded for the cultivation of rice. *Hata* are upland fields, either for grains other than rice, or beans, or for vegetables; sometimes gardens planted with fruit-trees are called *hata*. *Ta* and *hata* are terms that continually recur in our texts.

<sup>7</sup> *Zhi* and *in* are Buddhist churches or monasteries, *in* being sometimes but not always subordinate to *zhi*. Here Mi-roku *zhi*, at the Shintō temple Hachiman at Usa, in Buzen, is referred to. Cf. No. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Tōgō and Taki, both situated further north than Niita Hachiman on the same side of the river Sendai, are usually regarded as two distinct places. But here Tōgō (originally meaning "east *gō*") and Chūgō ("middle *gō*") would seem then to have been districts within the *kōri* of Taki. For the units *kōri* and *gō*, see the following note.

<sup>9</sup> The largest administrative territorial unit was *kuni*, often translated as "province," of which there were more than sixty in Japan in this period. Each *kuni* was composed of several *kōri*, their numbers in the *kuni* and their sizes varying considerably. The *in* was an equivalent of *kōri*; the two terms were sometimes used interchangeably. In its origin, the *in* and the proper name by which it was designated had been largely unofficial; and it occurs but rarely out of southern Kyū-shū. The *gō* was a unit within the *kōri* or *in*, consisting of a number of *mura*, hamlets. Since these terms frequently occur, their original forms are preferred to arbitrary translations.

<sup>10</sup> This phrase shows that formerly the temple held domains in Ada *kōri*, further south, due probably to the tradition of the earlier residence of the deity Ninigi in that locality. These domains had apparently been exchanged for those in the north, some of which are mentioned here.

<sup>11</sup> *Sa-da nin*, officials for the domains acting under the *man-dokoro*.

<sup>12</sup> Head of the *in*, the Buddhist house. This *in*, though written in the same character, should not be confused with the territorial division of the same name. See notes 7 and 9.

<sup>13</sup> It is probably meant that the place was held for life or by heredity, while the tenure of the *in-su* office was temporary.

<sup>14</sup> In reducing the dates of the lunar calendar to those of the solar (Julian) calendar, Mr. Ernest W. Clement's *Japanese Chronological Tables*, a highly valuable work, has been followed. The *San-sei sō-ran* has also been consulted.

Throughout this volume, the abbreviations y, m, and d, will be used for, respectively, year, month, and day; thus, Hō-en 1 y. 10 m. 25 d. stands for the twenty-fifth day of the tenth lunar month of the first year of the year-period Hō-en.

<sup>15</sup> Buddhist ecclesiastical office.

<sup>16</sup> Buddhist ecclesiastical rank.

## 2. PETITION OF TOMO NOBUFUSA, AND MARGINAL SANCTION OF THE DOMANIAL LORD,<sup>1</sup> 1147

(Nagatoshi docs.; also *KK*, XI, and *SK*, I.)

TOMO NOBUFUSA, the author of this petition, was of the illustrious family that traced its ancestry back to a "heavenly deity" who is said to have accompanied Ninigi, the progenitor of the imperial house, when he descended upon Japan in the mythical age. The successors of the former for a long period served the court as chiefs of guardsmen and councillors of state, but in the ninth century were ousted from their high place by the Fujiwara, who gradually gained control over nearly all the important posts in the central government. Members of the Tomo family then scattered in remote parts of the country, where they, like men of other old families from Kyōto, served as minor provincial officials. Their descendants multiplied in an increasing number of branch families, and maintained their local prominence with more or less success.<sup>2</sup> Their presence on the basin of the lower Sendai is revealed in this document and many others following.

It will be seen that, at the time of his writing this petition, Tomo Nobufusa was an agent of a *shō*, being its financial commissioner (*ben-zai shi*) for the lands it held in Iriki *in* and its administrative official (*ji-tō*) of its lands in neighboring districts in Satsuma and Taki *kōri*. That *shō* was

Shimadzu, the origin and character of which were described in our Introduction. In the cadastral survey of the *kuni* of 1197 (No. 9), we note that the *shō* held *yose-gōri*, that is, districts the taxes from which were divided between itself and the *kuni* government, in both Iriki *in* and Satsuma *kōri*, and it is assumed that a similar condition existed fifty years before, at the time of this document. It was, then, in one of the *yose-gōri* in Satsuma *kōri* of Shimadzu *shō* that Nobufusa had been and now wished to continue to be the *ji-tō*.

It is one of the most important events in the institutional history of Japan that, early in 1186, Yoritomo, the first suzerain of Kamakura, was authorized to appoint from among his own vassals *ji-tō* in a majority of the districts, public and private, in Japan. It has, however, been known that before that date there had been occasional instances of agents in *shō* designated by this title; and, therefore, it is of special interest that we here meet a *ji-tō* forty years before Yoritomo, in a district in far Satsuma which was half public and half private in its financial status. His function as a local agent probably consisted largely in receiving and forwarding the taxes that were due to the domanial lord of the *shō*.

As *ji-tō* of Yamada *mura*, Nobufusa was responsible to the domanial lord of the *shō*, who was at Kyōto; as *be-zai shi* of Iriki *in*, he was presumably accountable to the *kuni* government of Satsuma, whose offices were located half a mile northwest of the Niita temple. Another district, Kuruma-uchi in Taki *kōri*, over which also he had been granted *jitō*-ship was, however, administered at present by the deputy of the domanial lord. Such diversity of control was not unnatural, when we consider that a *yose-gōri* was, in its financial obligation, neither wholly public as part of the *kuni* nor wholly private as part of the *shō*.

It will be noted that for his *jitō*-ship Nobufusa owed to the domanial lord a "fee for appointment."

"TOMO NOBUFUSA, *bettō*,<sup>3</sup> the *ben-zai shi*<sup>4</sup> of Iriki *in*, petitions, appealing for decision by the *man-dokoro*<sup>5</sup> of the *shō*,<sup>6</sup>

"That, in accordance with the repeated orders, a renewed marginal sanction<sup>7</sup> be granted him, concerning [the office of] *ji-tō* of Yamada *mura*,<sup>8</sup> of Satsuma *kōri*.  
"On respectfully examining the records,<sup>9</sup> [it is found that] Nobufusa, though personally poor and incapable, has, with utmost effort and to the fullest capacity, rendered to Kyōto his fees for appointment,<sup>10</sup> and received orders appointing him *ji-tō* of Yamada *mura* and Kuruma-uchi. As for Kuruma-uchi, it is at present controlled by the deputy,<sup>11</sup> and is therefore beyond [Nobufusa's] power. It is petitioned that, as regards Yamada *mura*, a marginal sanction that [his *ji-tō* office thereof] is assured, be granted him, so that [the document] may be preserved as testimony for all time. Thus does he respectfully petition.

"Kyū-an 3 y. 2 m. 9 d. [12 March 1147]. Tomo Nobufusa, petitioning."

[Marginal order]:<sup>12</sup>

"Following precedents, [the petitioner] shall be [the holder of] the *ji-tō shiki*,<sup>13</sup> so ordered.

"Nakahara,<sup>14</sup> *u e-mon no zhō*,<sup>15</sup> (monogram<sup>16</sup>)."

<sup>1</sup> The domanial lord was Fujiwara Tadamichi, regent for the emperor, descendant in the fourth generation of the premier Yorimichi, the first lord of Shimadzu *shō*. Later, Yorimichi's successor, Motozane, assumed the family-name Konoé.

<sup>2</sup> See the Tomo genealogies in *Zoku gun-zho rui-zhū*, VII, 787-821, and *Kei-dzu sō-ran*, II, 299 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Bettō*, a term of Sinico-Buddhist origin, was usually a title for the chief of an office; its usage, however, had become irregular. Here its connotation is not clear, but the *bettō* probably was, if one may infer from Nos. 4 and 12 C, an official connected with the central administration of the *shō*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ben-zai shi* was vulgarly pronounced *be-zai shi*, *be-zasshi*, *ben-za shi*, etc. The term implies

the rendering of taxes (*ben-zai*, clearance; *shi*, commissioner). We suppose that *ben-zai shi* in Satsuma *kuni* were financial and administrative officials in districts; they seem to occur usually in those districts whose taxes were partly due to a *shō*.

<sup>5</sup> Here the use of the word is regular, referring to the executive office of the domanial lord. See n. 4 to No. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Shimadzu *shō*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ge-dai* (literally, marginal heading), marginal order, a sample of which is found in this No. This was an informal procedure, which would hardly be used at the first appointment.

<sup>8</sup> *Mura*, hamlet.

<sup>9</sup> A conventional beginning of formal statements.

<sup>10</sup> A fee was paid to the domanial lord at appointment and reappointment.

<sup>11</sup> The deputy of the lord of Shimadzu *shō*, who might be a Toyama; cf. No. 5 n. 3.

<sup>12</sup> The marginal sanction by the domanial lord, like most *ge-dai* from whatever source, is written usually on the first margin—i.e., on the right-hand side of the paper, as Japanese writing proceeds from right to left,—instead of at the end, as is done for convenience in this translation.

<sup>13</sup> *Shiki*, literally, office, hut usually meaning the income incident upon the office. See Introduction, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> An official of the domanial lord's *man-dokoro*.

<sup>15</sup> An official title, originally in the imperial palace guard hut now nominal.

<sup>16</sup> Monograms originally grew out of signatures; personal names were at first done in cursive form into single abridged characters, and then more or less purely fanciful monograms were devised.

### 3. LETTER OF PROMISE OF KUWADA NOBUKANE, 1164

(SK, I; originally a Gon Shūin doc., now lost.)

THE Kuwada formed a branch of another distinguished family, the Ōkura, which, as will be seen in No. 5, became later related by marriage to the Tomo. The Ōkura had descended from the Han imperial stock of China, some members of which were naturalized in Japan toward the end of the third century;<sup>1</sup> their descendants continued worthily to serve the central government; a branch of the family is said to have migrated to Satsuma in the latter half of the eighth century, and held for several generations the post of *gun-zhi*, or *kōri* magistrate, at Ichiku,<sup>2</sup> there finally marrying and being merged into a Koremune family.<sup>3</sup> The Ōkura also flourished, as we shall see, further north in Satsuma under the names the Kajiki, the Kōriyama, the Oyamada, the Tazhiri, etc.<sup>4</sup> It is not strange, therefore, to see an Ōkura serving the Niita temple in the capacity in which we find Nobukane. It should be added in this connection that the powerful families of the Harada, the Akitsuki, and the Takahashi, whose warriors became conspicuous later in northern Kyūshū, were also of the Ōkura stock.

It is of interest to find that a layman living apparently in Satsuma held the headship of Go-dai *in*; twenty-nine years before, it will be recalled (No. 1), the same post was being held by a Buddhist priest at Iwa-shimidzu. Probably the *in-su* in 1164 had a function similar to that of the *man-dokoro* in 1135; it is even not impossible that Nobukane was a successor to Masanohu.

Nobukane had been, it is said here, the *shū-in* of the Shintō temple of Niita. The *shū-in*, keeper of the seal, of this institution is said to have at first been changed annually at the festival of the temple, when a special envoy was despatched from Kyōto—some say from the Hachiman temple at Iwa-shimidzu—who was vested with the exclusive power to use the seal. This inconvenient custom had now been discontinued and a permanent *shū-in* had been appointed, as we may infer from the present document. Soon the office, together with the headship (*in-su*) of Go-dai *in*, was to pass into the hands of a Koremune, whose successors, making Shū-in their family-name, wielded great power in and out of the temple; of them we shall read more anon.

We saw above (No. 1) that the temple held domains in Iriki *in*; we now see that one of them was at Ichūno, an old district in the *in* known for its hot springs.

It would appear that some dispute had arisen about this domain—not unlikely between the Niita temple and the Iwa-shimidzu temple, the latter of which claimed control over the former (cf. No. 1); and that, in order to defend its claims, the Niita temple had sent the *shū-in* Nobukane to Kyōto



with the legal documents relating to the domain. The judicial decision which had been anticipated was not taken. Probably supposing that the documents might yet be needed at Kyōto, he left them with "the priest in charge during absence" (probably of Iwa-shimidzu), and returned home. This conduct did not please the officials of the Nūta temple, and Nohukane was made to promise that he would go and bring back the documents.

"KUWADA NOBUKANE, formerly *shū-in* of the Niita temple, respectfully presents

"A letter of promise.<sup>5</sup>

"The origin of this letter of promise is as follows:—The official documents relating to Ichiino-Ura,<sup>6</sup> the domain of the temple, were about the middle of the fifth month of last year [June 1163] carried personally [by me] to Kyōto, in anticipation of an official action;<sup>7</sup> but, as there was no special action, the aforesaid official documents of Ura were presented to the reverend priest who was in charge in absence.<sup>8</sup> As it is said that [I] cannot escape an accusation by officials for returning without personally carrying back the documents [I] will repair to the *hon-ke*<sup>9</sup> at Kyōto [and recall the documents] and restore them, as before, to the temple. Thus [do I promise].

"Chō-kwan 2 y. 6 m. 1 d. [21 June 1164]

" . . .<sup>10</sup>

"Kuwada, formerly *shū-in*, at present *in-su* of Go-dai  
*In* (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> *Ni-hon sho-ki*, X. Even so late as 731 some Ōkura had retained *Ikimi*, the honorary title of a Chinese origin. For a genealogy, see *Zoku gun-zho rui-zhū*, VII, 911-925.

<sup>2</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, I, etc. Ichiku should not be confused with Iriki; the latter is situated inland, northeast of the former, which faces the sea on the west coast.

<sup>3</sup> The Ichiku genealogies.

<sup>4</sup> The Kawakami genealogies; *Sho-ke kei-dzu*; etc.

<sup>5</sup> This is one of the not many examples of the class of documents called *oshi-gaki*. The origin of the term is not definitely known. An *oshi-gaki*, as in the present example, is a letter containing a promise of the performance of an act under a stated condition; not a contract, because purely one-sided, and yet not so formal and solemn as needed to be accompanied by an oath.

<sup>6</sup> The present name is Ichūno, not Ichiino-Ura; it was a larger district of the latter name split into the later Ichūno and Ura-no-myō.

<sup>7</sup> Presumably a judicial act. If a dispute lay between Nūta and Usa, or Go-dai *in* and Mi-roku *zhi* (see No. 1), or between Nūta and Iwa-shimidzu itself, it would be adjudged at Iwa-shimidzu; if between the temple and the *shō*, at the imperial court.

<sup>8</sup> *Ru-su*, "in charge in absence," sometimes, as in this instance, refers to official headquarters established in or near the capital, whose business, however, was local and was actually managed at a given locality by a deputy. The *ru-su* office merely directed and supervised his work from Kyōto.

<sup>9</sup> *Hon-ke*, literally, the principal house, meant either the main house or institution from which branches had sprung, or, more commonly, the high personage who lent his influence to a domain as its titular lord, thereby giving it an immune status and deriving from it an income. Here the term is used in the first sense, as the temple at Iwa-shimidzu had come to be considered the chief and center of many a Hachiman temple in the country, including those at Niita and Usa, though, in origin, neither of these was its offshoot.

<sup>10</sup> The four characters that appear here are not legible in SK.

## 4. PETITION OF TOMO NOBU-AKIRA, AND MARGINAL SANCTION OF THE DOMANIAL LORD, 1183

(Nagatoshi docs.; also *KK*, XI, and *SK*, I.)

THOUGH this and the next document do not relate directly to Iriki, it is presumed that the writers held, as did their predecessor, Nobufusa (No. 2), the post of the *ben-zai shi* of Iriki *in*, besides that of *ji-tō* in Satsuma *kōri*. In other respects, also, the documents are of sufficient institutional interest for notice.

After the rise of Minamoto Yoritomo from the peninsula of Idzu in 1180, the Taira warriors, who had usurped the civil government at Kyōto, rapidly lost control over Kyū-shū. Of their kinsmen who had come from Hi-zen and settled down in southern Satsuma, one Taira Tadakage had become strong, and, together with his son-in-law, Fujiwara Nohuzumi, extended his aggressive operations northward into the lower Sendai basin.<sup>1</sup> This is the "rebellion" referred to in the text: the word *mu-hon* (literally, rebellion) was in reality used to designate any disturbance of peace by a body of armed men. Taking advantage of the restless state of the region, Sō Kanemune, another Taira, when he was appointed the *ben-zai shi* of Satsuma *kōri*, arbitrarily seized the *ji-tō shiki* that belonged to the petitioner.

"PETITION by Tomo Nobu-akira, *san-i*,<sup>2</sup> *bettō* of the *shō* of Shimadzu, supplicating for decision of the central offices,<sup>3</sup>

"That, specially in accordance with the petition and in pursuance of the principle of hereditary succession,<sup>4</sup> permission<sup>5</sup> be granted; [this petition] being a statement of the grievance that, although the domain belonging to the *shō*, [namely,] Yamada *mura*, of Satsuma *kōri*, in Satsuma *kuni*, is Nobu-akira's hereditary possession,<sup>6</sup> yet unexpectedly, at the time of Nobufusa, father of Nobu-akira, when Tadakage, the *jū-nin*<sup>7</sup> of the same *kuni* contrived to rebel, [the said *mura*] was seized, and since has, unreasonably, not been in [Nobu-akira's] possession.

"On respectfully examining the records, [it is found that] the aforesaid domain is Nobu-akira's hereditary possession. It was therefore held for generations without interference, and consequently there was no one who disputed it. When, however, the late Tadakage, the *jū-nin*<sup>7</sup> of Satsuma *kuni*, contrived to rebel and seize *shō* held by noble persons and taxes owed to the government of the *kuni*,<sup>8</sup> Tadanaga, younger brother of Tadakage, seized the aforesaid domain. Owing to this rebellion, an envoy was despatched thither.<sup>9</sup> Subsequently, Sō Ni-rokurō *Dai-bu* Kanemune, becoming the *ben-zai shi* of the said *kōri*, wilfully seized the well-defined<sup>10</sup> *ji-to shiki*, without special error [on my part as *ji-tō*], without sanction of the *hon-ke*,<sup>11</sup> and without notifying the *ji-tō*; it is an unspeakable act. Special grace is hereby solicited to stop Kanemune's unreasonable procedure, and to grant judgment in accordance with the principle of hereditary succession.<sup>4</sup> [For these ends], the facts are herein presented, and the petition made.

"Zhu-ei 2 y. 8 m. 8 d. [27 Aug. 1183]. *Bettō*, *san-i*,<sup>2</sup> Tomo Nobu-akira, petitioner."

[Marginal order]:

"As regards the said Yamada *mura*, it should, in accordance with the principle of hereditary succession,<sup>4</sup> be held by Nobu-akira.

"Former *kami* of Yetchū, Taira,<sup>12</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Shigeno, in the *Sappan shi-dan shū*, 63-64; *Ko-zhō shu rai-yu ki*; *Shimadzu koku-shi*, V. The tale of Tadakage marrying his daughter to Tametomo, the Herculean uncle of Yoritomo, and guid-

ing the former in his round of conquests over all Kyū-shū, need not, even with the late Shigeno's endorsement, be credited.

<sup>2</sup> *San-i*, often pronounced *sammi*. *I* was rank, as distinguished from *kwan*, office, in the imperial system of government. The *kwan* which men of each *i* might hold were in a general way defined by law. If a holder of an *i* served in no official capacity befitting the rank, he was called *sammi*, which meant unemployed rank[-holder].

<sup>3</sup> The original term is *ru-su*, the same word which occurred in No. 3 (n. 8) in connection with another domanial relation.

<sup>4</sup> Note that this *ji-tō shiki* was admittedly hereditary.

<sup>5</sup> Permission to resume the *jitō*-ship of the *mura*.

<sup>6</sup> What was really in the Tomo's hereditary possession was not the *mura* in its entirety, but its *ji-tō shiki*. *Shiki* was commonly identified, in language, with the area of land from which it was a revenue.

<sup>7</sup> *Jū-nin*, "residents"; they were principal inhabitants, usually armed.

<sup>8</sup> The four characters are wrong in the original, and are apparently meant to be *koku-ga kwan-motsu*, taxes for the *kuni* government.

<sup>9</sup> A probable reading of three wrong characters.

<sup>10</sup> *Yū-gen*, definitely fixed, a phrase frequently occurring, usually in connection with taxes and dues.

<sup>11</sup> *Hon-ke*. Cf. n. 9 to No. 3. Here is meant the Konoé lord of Shimadzu *shō*.

<sup>12</sup> This may be Taira Moritoshi, who had been governor of Yetchū. He served in the household of the Konoé and signed this marginal order in behalf of the domanial lord. Was he in charge of the *shō* office of Shimadzu in 1183?

## 5. PETITION OF ŌKURA TANE-AKIRA, AND MARGINAL SANCTION OF THE DOMANIAL LORD, 1187

(Nagatoshi docs.; also *KK*, XI, and *SK*, I.)

"PETITION by Ōkura<sup>1</sup> Tane-akira,<sup>2</sup> the *jū-nin* of Satsuma *kuni*, supplicating for decision of the deputy,

"That, specially in accordance with the purport of this petition and in pursuance of the principle of hereditary succession, permission be granted; [this] being a petition that, since the domain belonging to the *shō*, [namely,] Yamada *mura*, in Satsuma *kōri*, was the late Nobu-akira's hereditary possession, and whereas Tane-akira's wife is Nobu-akira's eldest daughter, to whom he has devised all the *ta* and *hata* in his possession, and the documents are clear, it is begged that a marginal sanction be granted.

"On respectfully examining the records, [it is found that] the aforesaid domain was the late Nobu-akira's hereditary possession. It had been held for generations without interference, and there has been no person who disputed it. Since Ni-roku *Dai-bu* Kanemune became the *ben-zai shi* of the said *kōri*, he seized for a brief time the well-defined *ji-tō shiki*. [The right of Nobu-akira's ancestors to] the *ben-zai shiki* of Kuruma-uchi *mura*, in Taki *kōri*, is evident in letters of [the Domanial Lord's] orders. It is an unspeakable outrage that recently one by the name of Toyama Shirō *Dai-bu* Noritada<sup>3</sup> has, without any letter of command [from Domanial Lord], seized [the *shiki*]. If in accordance with the principle of heredity, the aforesaid *shiki* be [restored] by a marginal sanction, . . .<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the circumstances are herein recorded and presented, and the petition made.

"Bun-ji 3 y. 7 m. — d.<sup>5</sup> [about August 1187]. Ōkura Tane-akira, petitioner."

[Marginal order]:

"Precedents should be followed. If there are circumstances [that need to be considered], they should be reported. So ordered.

"Miyoshi, *dan-zhō no chū*, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> For the origin of the Ōkura family, see the prefatory note to No. 3. The relation of the Tomo and Ōkura families will be seen from the following genealogical table that occurs as a note to the report of land survey of 1197 (*cf.* No. 9 below). This note was derived from an Iriki-in document, but its original is not extant in the present collection.

"Tomo Nohu-fusa,  
*ben-zai shi bettō* of Iriki in, *ji-tō* of Yamada, in Satsuma *kōri*;  
 petition Kyūan 3 y. 2 m. 9 d. [1147].

Tomo Nohu-akira,  
*san-i, bettō* of Shimadzu *shō*;  
 } petition Zhu-ei 2 y. 8 m. 8 d. [1183].

The eldest daughter,  
 } married Ōkura Tane-akira;  
 } inherited Nobu-akira's possessions;  
 } Tane-akira's petition Bun-ji 3 y. 7 m. [1187].

Ōkura Tanenobu

Daughter,  
 } married Minamoto Munehisa;  
 } Munehisa inherited domain in Yamada *mura*;  
 } petition Ken-po 5 y. 8 m. [1217]."

(The first three petitions mentioned in this table are our Nos. 2, 4, and 5. The last, of 1217, is given below, as No. 12 A.)

<sup>2</sup> About Tane-akira, see the report of 1197 below (Nos. 8 and 9), in which he is seen as holding *shiki* in several places, and also serving in the *kuni* government.

<sup>3</sup> The original Toyama in Satsuma, of the Fujiwara descent, who had been an official in the household of the premier, came early in the history of Shimadzu *shō* as the deputy of its lord (Introduction, p. 4). His descendants became noted warriors in middle Hiuga beside the Kimotsuki, the hereditary lords of parts of the original *shō*. (*San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, lviii, 43.) In 1185 Toyama Zhirō *Dai-bu* Yoshinaga was a *go ke-nin*, whose domain was secured by the suzerain (*Adzuma-kagami*, IV,—Kikkawa ed., I, 133). Documents relative to members of this family as distinguished local chieftains exist down to the first half of the fifteenth century (1333, in the Ihusuki documents; 1375, in *San-goku*, etc., lviii, 50; 1345, in *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ix, 518; 1375, 1394, 1412, and 1433, in *Shimadzu koku-shi*, vii, 4; viii, 4; ix, 3; x, 3). It is seen in the present document that a Toyama had already in 1187 extended his power so far north as Kuruma-uchi, in Tōgō; that was undoubtedly owing to the high position his family was holding in the administration of Shimadzu *shō*, for Kuruma-uchi appears to have been its *yose-gōri*.

<sup>4</sup> This clause, in nine characters, is not clear, owing to wrong writing. The meaning probably is that the restoration here prayed for, if granted, would be greatly to the convenience of the petitioner.

<sup>5</sup> The character meaning "day" appears with a vacant space above it, where the ordinal number showing the place of the day in the month might be written. This form of omitting the day is frequent in petitions. Probably the draft, like the present one, was made with the expectation that the petition would be presented sometime during the month, when the figure indicating the day would be inserted.



## 6. APPOINTMENTS OF SHIMADZU TADAHISA, 1185-1187

(Copies in Shimadzu docs.; SK, I.)

Two events of prime importance need to be recorded of the years 1186 and 1187, which respectively mark a new era in the history of Japan in general and of Iriki in particular—the first establishment of a feudal rule in Japan under Minamoto Yoritomo in 1186, and the alleged installation in the following year of his immediate vassal, Shimadzu Tadahisa, as military commissioner of southern Kyū-shū.

Yoritomo, who had in 1185 earned real control of only limited portions of Japan, succeeded early in the next year in moving the imperial government to permit him to appoint, from among his own vassals, new “protectors,” or military governors, *shu-go*, in all the *kuni*, or provinces, and new stewards, *ji-tō*, in all the taxable areas, whether public districts or private domains, in the country (see Introduction, 7-8). The appointments then made were probably not complete, and in fact some domains were later relieved of the unwelcome *ji-tō* who had been imposed upon them and whom they had been compelled to support. Nevertheless, it was a fact that the political situation in all of the *kuni* and most of the districts and domains into which they were parcelled, had now at least fallen under the supervision of persons owing direct allegiance to the suzerain (*shō-gun*) at Kamakura. It was thus that feudal rule forced its entering wedge into the government of the whole of Japan. A way was now opened for partial interference in the affairs of the civil government of the provinces and of the financial administration of non-feudal estates, by a military chieftain whose own domains were relatively limited. This was, for most of the domains which were not really possessed by Yoritomo and his vassals, an obnoxious intrusion. Friction occurred continually between *shu-go* and civil governors in *kuni* and between *ji-tō* and residents or officials of *shō* and other domains.

If we turn to the *kuni* of Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga, we find their political condition as complicated as in many another section of Japan in this period.

In 1187 the mechanism of the government of Kyū-shū typified the lack of unity that characterized the rule of the whole nation. (1) There still lingered the old government-general, *Da-zai fu*, now much attenuated and merely holding its ancient title. (2) There remained some of the regular official posts in the civil government of the *kuni*, but the political power of their holders had steadily receded before the advancing encroachment by private domains and their lords; in fact, the historic titles now usually signified hereditary estates with which they had become identified, rather than indicating, as of old, real administrative functions. (3) Nominally under these titular rulers there lived men hearing the time-honored office *gun-zhi*, that is, magistrates of *kōri*; according to law, they should be public civil servants, but in reality had become, like their nominal superiors in the *kuni* government, hereditary warriors possessing lands, deriving revenues from them, and disposing of their offices as *shiki*. There were variants of this title such as *in-shi*, *gō-shi*, and the like—all originally created by public authority, but alike become private *shiki*. (4) In a similar state were officials, bearing diverse titles, like *ben-zai shi* and others, who lived upon the areas of land which had been made partially immune from public taxation in behalf of some private domanial lords. The creation of these areas, so anomalous and transitional in nature, indicated the successful eclipsing of public districts by (5) private domains; these, themselves immune in whole or in part, were gradually expanding by absorbing men and land in their neighborhood. And they were largely autonomous, as well as immune, under the domanial lords, who were either royal personages or court nobles of high rank, religious institutions of influence, or, latterly, great warrior chiefs. It was in these private or half-private domains and public districts that Yoritomo, from 1186, placed beside their officials his own vassals as *ji-tō*, and in the *kuni* as wholes that he likewise appointed *shu-go*, without displacing the old civil governors. Nor did he hesitate to utilize and distribute among his men some of the other diverse titles which he found there. On the whole, thus, it may be seen that Yoritomo did little to simplify or supersede the incongruous systems of administration which, here as in all parts of Japan, had grown up gradually to subserve heterogeneous interests; and that, on the contrary, he added thereto a mechanism controlled directly by him, which was at once a partial copy and an effective counterpoise of the old machinery.

The complexity of the situation was aggravated by the fact that Yoritomo, as soon as his rivals,

the partisans of the Taira, had fallen, invited the local chieftains of Kyū-shū who had followed them to accept him as their liege.<sup>1</sup> These formed the bulk of the very warriors who controlled *shiki* in all *kuni* and *shō*, and held in their hands the sole power either to maintain peace or to create disorder. Upon them Yoritomo now imposed *shu-go* and *ji-tō* with limited authorities. The anomaly of the arrangement was that, while, as *shiki*-holders, those men were subordinate to the new officials, they stood on a parity with them as immediate vassals of the *shō-gun*. How could these vigorous warriors be expected always meekly to uphold the authority of the intruders who were at once their chiefs and their peers? Troubles immediately arose, and followed in an unbroken succession. It was largely in view of this difficulty that the suzerain at first appointed, following historic precedents, a general deputy over the whole island, a sort of an overseer of all its *shu-go*, *ji-tō*, and other direct vassals;<sup>2</sup> and then, realizing the excessive magnitude of the charge, divided Kyū-shū into three circuits, and placed over each a great vassal, in the capacity of either a commissioner or a general *shu-go*.<sup>3</sup> Characteristically to feudal politics, these great posts became hereditary with the families of the three initial incumbents: the Shōni in the north, the Ōtomo in the middle, and the Shimadzu in the south part of Kyū-shū.

Much of what has been said above of the whole island of Kyū-shū applies to its three southern *kuni*, except in one important respect, that is, the enormous extent of one of the *shō* in the latter. Among the larger private domains in the provinces may be mentioned: Kutomi *shō* under the princess Hachijō-In, Shimadzu *shō* under the successive heads of the Konoé branch of the Fujiwara family, and Arata and other domains belonging to the Shintō temple, Shō Hachiman. Besides these, there were smaller areas marked out as under the control of the Tenman temple (and the church An-raku *zhi*) at Da-zai Fu, Hachiman temple (and Mi-roku *zhi*) at Usa, Nūta Hachiman temple (and Go-dai *in*) at Midzuhiki, and others. Of these, by far the most important, both in size and in power, was naturally the *shō* of Shimadzu. Its core, called *hon-shō*, or the original *shō*, which apparently was largely autonomous and completely immune, was situated in the southwestern part of Hiuga, and at this period probably measured some 2,020 *chō*. The *shō* had, however, already assimilated to itself in the three *kuni* domains covering an aggregate extent of 3,400 *chō*. To this totally immune area had also been added half-public and partially immune cultivated lands, called *yose-gōri*, or "added," or "contributed districts," to the extent of over 4,700 *chō*. The magnitude of these areas may be realized when we note that the wholly immune parts alone exceeded the entire cultivated land in the *kuni* of Ōsumi by nearly 400 *chō*; that the *yose-gōri* together were larger by 700 *chō* than all the arable land in Satsuma *kuni*; and that the whole territories composing the great *shō* of Shimadzu more than equalled the tilled land in the large Hiuga *kuni*, were twice as large as that in Satsuma, and in fact formed nearly fifty-four per cent of that of three *kuni* put together.<sup>4</sup> And behind this vast domain and its steady expansion one should recognize the driving power carried by the name of the puissant head of the Fujiwara family. It supplied the state with prime ministers and imperial consorts, all but monopolized the high civil officers of government, and lorded over numerous *shō* and their armed inhabitants in all parts of the country.

A *shō* so immense as Shimadzu naturally comprised within it cultivated areas of diverse origins and tenures, for it had become what it was by a gradual process of accretion in the course of a century and a half since its creation. Many of the old possessors of the lands that they had commended to the *shō* were allowed to retain in hereditary succession the positions they had held therein; and sometimes by their side were appointed agents of the domanial lord, most of whom also must have been residents in the localities or their vicinity. Both classes of officials bore titles of considerable diversity, for it is a fact that often posts were made for men and titles given them whom it was politic for one reason or another to maintain with part of the fruit of the land. So these holders of *shiki* gradually multiplied, causing friction among themselves. Still in addition to these the suzerain appointed in some places *ji-tō* and other officials. It is true that relatively few of these were despatched hither from Kamakura, for a sufficient number of his immediate vassals (*go ke-nin*) resided in the three *kuni* from among whom appointments could be made, and many of whom had in fact been holding similar posts under the domanial lord. None the less were increased, through the advent of the *ji-tō*, the confusion and friction which had already been in evidence. It was at this juncture that Tadahisa was appointed the *jitō*-general and an agent in the *shō* of its domanial lord.

We are little concerned here with the much debated question regarding Shimadzu Tadahisa's parentage, which the editor hopes to examine elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> We may merely observe that the weight of evidence seems somewhat in favor of the view that the Shimadzu are a branch of the Koremune.<sup>6</sup> The latter descended from a Chinese fugitive naturalized in Japan in ancient times.<sup>7</sup> If this be correct, then the Shimadzu were remotely related to the Shūin,<sup>8</sup> the Kokubun,<sup>9</sup> and the Ichiku,<sup>10</sup> all derived from the same Koremune family.

The authenticity of the documents that follow, which is otherwise doubtful, may perhaps be conceded by some, only if the supporters of the orthodox story of Tadahisa's life are willing to forgo their assertion that he was born on 28 January 1180, that is, the last day of the third lunar year of Ji-shō,<sup>11</sup> for that would make him hardly six years old when he received so important posts as are said to have been assigned to him by the following orders.

A<sup>12</sup>

“(Yoritomo's monogram.)

“ORDERED to the officials of the *shō* of Shimadzu

“That forthwith, in accordance with the order of the *ryō-ke*,<sup>13</sup> *Tai-fu san-mi*,<sup>14</sup> Koremune Tadahisa, *sa hyō-e shō-zhō*,<sup>15</sup> shall be appointed the *ge-shi shiki*<sup>16</sup> and manage<sup>17</sup> the affairs<sup>18</sup> of the *shō*.

“It is hereby ordered that, as regards the aforementioned *ge-shi shiki* of the said *shō*, Tadahisa shall, in accordance with the order of the *ryō-ke*, be appointed to that *shiki*, and manage<sup>17</sup> the affairs<sup>18</sup> of the *shō*. The officials of the *shō* shall know this and shall not be remiss. Wherefore, [this] order.

“Gen-ryaku<sup>19</sup> 2 y. 8 m. 17 d. [13 September 1185].”

## B

“ORDERED<sup>20</sup> to the officials of the *shō* of Shimadzu

“That forthwith, in accordance with the order of Kamakura, Koremune Tadahisa, *sa hyō-e no zhō*, shall be appointed *ge-shi shiki* and administer<sup>21</sup> [the affairs of the *shō*].

“The aforementioned person shall, in accordance with the import of the order of Kamakura,<sup>22</sup> be appointed *ge-shi shiki* and manage the affairs of the *shō*. It is ordered thus. Wherefore, [this] order.

“Bun-ji 1 y. 11 m. 18 d. [7 December 1185].”

## C

“(Yoritomo's monogram.)

“ORDERED to the *shō* of Shimadzu

“That forthwith others shall cease to commit outrages and shall obey the commands of the *ji-tō* Koremune Tadahisa, and he shall give security to the inhabitants of the *shō*, and administer its annual taxes and other affairs.

“The control of the *ji-tō* in the various *kuni* and the various *shō* is within the powers of Kamakura.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the aforementioned Tadahisa was at a recent date<sup>23</sup> appointed to the said *shiki*.<sup>24</sup> Now, since the Premier has changed,<sup>25</sup> there is no *ryō-ke* [of Shimadzu *shō*];<sup>26</sup> but, as regards Tadahisa's *ji-tō shiki*, it is to be entirely undisturbed. He shall give security to the people, and without negligence administer the annual taxes. Moreover, it is reported that *bu-shi*<sup>27</sup> and *kuniudo*<sup>28</sup> commit wilful outrages, obstructing [the collection of] the annual taxes, or disobeying Tadahisa's com-

mands and yearly refusing [their own payments of the taxes]. These are exceedingly wrong acts. Henceforth their outrages shall be stopped, the inhabitants shall be given security, and Tadahisa's administration shall not be contravened. It is commanded thus. Wherefore, [this] order.

"Bun-ji 2 y. 4 m. 3 d. [23 April 1186]."

## D

"(Yoritomo's monogram.)

"ORDERED to Shimadzu *shō*

"That forthwith the intrusion of envoys of Tō-nai *Min-bu* Tōkage<sup>29</sup> shall be stopped, and Tadahisa, the *moku-dai*<sup>30</sup> of the *shō*, shall be made *ō-ryō shi*<sup>31</sup> and act accordingly.

"It is reported that, claiming order of Tōkage, the *sō tsui-ho shi*,<sup>32</sup> his envoys have been let loose, and have maltreated officials of the *shō*. If this is true, it is exceedingly unreasonable. Henceforth, the entry of Tōkage's envoys shall be stopped, and the aforesaid Tadahisa be appointed *ō-ryō shi* and be made to act in that capacity. It is commanded thus. Wherefore, [this] order.<sup>33</sup>

"Bun-ji 3 y. 9 m. 9 d. [12 October 1187]."

On the same day, according to the official history of his family,<sup>34</sup> Tadahisa was made the military commissioner, *shu-go*, of the three *kuni* of Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga. Though no document confirming this important appointment exists, it is certain that it really took place sometime before 1203.<sup>35</sup>

If we are to consider these various appointments of Tadahisa—not necessarily the copies of documents cited in their support—as genuine, as subsequent developments would seem to indicate that they were, we observe that he thereby combined in himself several different capacities, each having its own status. (1) As an official of the *shō*, he represented its domanial lord, and was accountable to him. (2) As chief *ji-tō* of the *shō*, he was responsible to the same lord only so far as his duty of collecting his dues from such parts of the domain as were in his charge was concerned; even in this respect, if the *ji-tō* was at any default, the lord could only complain of it to the *shō-gun*, who appointed the *ji-tō* and who alone had judicial control over him. (3) As *ō-ryō shi* of the *shō*, Tadahisa was a police commissioner serving at least nominally under his chief Amano Tōkage, but really amenable to the *shu-go*, who was himself. (4) For Tadahisa was the military governor of all of the three *kuni* over which the domains of the great *shō* extended. The first capacity was private in character, the third and fourth public, and the second half private and half public. And, in all these capacities, Tadahisa was the *shō-gun's* own "man," direct vassal, paying homage to him alone,—a peer of Amano, and beyond the immediate reach of the Konoé lord.

It may be readily seen how the sum of these multiple conditions made Tadahisa's position singularly strong. An immediate vassal and favorite of the feudal overlord of all Japan, and a representative of the sovereign's regent in the largest of his great domains, Tadahisa compelled the respect of all his peers in the *kuni*, of whom he was president as *shu-go*, though equal as a vassal. Besides, Tadahisa's sphere of influence lay far from the center, free from its direct control and supervision. Here he could wield the many weapons which had been placed in his hands in such wise as to make one reinforce the effectiveness of another. So we find in later ages that Tadahisa's descendants had assumed the family-name Shimadzu after the *shō*, and grown so great as to have overshadowed the influence of the domanial lord at Kyōto; that they had become so strongly entrenched in the three *kuni* that the very *shō-gun* feared their power; and that, still ungratified, they were continually striving from their vantage ground as *shu-go* to subdue their political rivals in this region, so as to reduce them from peers to vassals. This last phase of the struggle was beset with difficulties so immense that, by 1587, when the power of the Shimadzu swayed the widest area in their history, their success still remained incomplete. It was, in fact, those rivals of the Shimadzu lord—his peers



as the *shō-gun's* direct vassals—that formed the chief obstacle to the realization of his high hopes. And his contest with them was, as will be seen in later documents, bitter and prolonged.

<sup>1</sup> See *Adzuma-kagami*, iv, Bun-ji 1 y. 1 m. 6 d., and 7. m. 22 d.

<sup>2</sup> First, Yoritomo's brother Noriyori; then, two of his vassals the one after the other.

<sup>3</sup> About 1191 Mutō (Shōni) Sukeyori was made the deputy in Chikuzen, and in 1223 Ōtomo Yoshinao was appointed commissioner in Bungo. The installation of Shimadzu Tadahisa as *shu-go* of the three *kuni* in South Kyū-shū is shown in the text.

<sup>4</sup> These figures are based upon the cadastral reports of the three *kuni* of 1197. See No. 9.

<sup>5</sup> The question will be discussed in the editor's forthcoming work on the feudal régime of South Kyū-shū.

<sup>6</sup> The Yoshimi genealogy in *Zoku gun-zho rui-zhū*, V, 438; *Ji-moku tai-sei shō* documents of the first generations of the Shimadzu relating to the *shō*.

<sup>7</sup> The Koremune descended from the Hata whose ancestor was a Chinese prince, who came to Japan and claimed that he was a descendant in the fifth generation of the "First Emperor" of Ts'in.

<sup>8</sup> See the prefaces to Nos. 3 and 50.

<sup>9</sup> See the preface to No. 50.

<sup>10</sup> The Ichiku and Kawakami genealogies.

<sup>11</sup> The date of Tadahisa's birth, according to the chronology of his orthodox biographers, is 28 January 1180, but he is found in the *Ji-moku tai-sei shō* to have been made a local official in 1155. The official date of his death is 19 April 1226, but the *Adzuma-kagami*, a contemporary and highly trustworthy work, gives the date 1 August 1227.

<sup>12</sup> The original copies of this and the following documents, if they exist, have not been shown by the Shimadzu.

<sup>13</sup> *Ryō-ke*, literally, the possessing house, meant the domanial lord of a *shō*. Of the *ryō-ke*, members of the imperial house, nobles of high rank, or religious institutions of influence, might be specially called *hon-ke* (see No. 3, n. 9), but the domanial lord of all private domains could be called *ryō-ke*, in distinction from the *koku-shi*, civil governors of the public districts.

When used in a narrower sense, a *ryō-ke* was a person who held an intermediate position between the *hon-ke* and the officials of a *shō*, and had a more immediate control than the *hon-ke* over the actual exploitation of the land. In this usage, the term *ryō-ke* stood in distinction from *hon-ke*. It was not all *shō* that had *ryō-ke* in this sense. And the prevailing tendency was for such *ryō-ke shiki* to become merely a fixed income from the *shō*.

It would seem that the term is used in this document in the narrower sense as defined above.

<sup>14</sup> If the term *ryō-ke* is taken in the narrow sense, we must infer that this noble person (*san-mi* meaning the third rank) held the post of *ryō-ke* under the *hon-ke* Konoé Motomichi. A note in *SK* suggests that this person probably was Takakura *san-mi tsubone*, sister of Motomichi's mother and mother of Prince Mochihito. (The use of the word *tai-fu* in this connection is not altogether clear.) Whoever the person was, this is the only place where we are compelled to surmise the existence of a *ryō-ke* of Shimadzu *shō* under its *hon-ke*.

If, on the contrary, we took *ryō-ke* in the wider sense, and so identified it with the domanial lord, we should then have to suppose that the *san-mi* issued an order in behalf of the domanial lord.

<sup>15</sup> *Sa hyō-e* was one of the left guards of the imperial palace, and *shō-zhō* a lower post in the organization. The title, however, was honorary in this period.

<sup>16</sup> *Ge-shi*, literally, lower official. In the face of the great diversity that generally prevailed of the titles and the functions of the domanial officials of this period, we can only try to infer from our documents what was the nature of the *ge-shi* office of the particular *shō* of Shimadzu alone. It had to do with the administration, probably mainly financial, of the *shō*, and was therefore of important responsibility. It will be seen below that the new incumbent was presently made the *ji-tō* of the greater part of the vast estate.

<sup>17</sup> *Itasu*, to do.

<sup>18</sup> *Mu*, affairs; *shō-mu*, affairs of the *shō*. They referred largely to financial affairs. See No. 115, n. 10.

<sup>19</sup> The year-period had been changed by the Kyōto government to Bun-ji three days before this

date. The official history of Shimadzu suggests that the news had not yet reached Kamakura (*Shimadzu koku-shi*, I, 1).

<sup>20</sup> The domanial lord's order, though the copy of the document does not, as an order should, bear his monogram or his agent's name.

<sup>21</sup> *Sa-da wo itasu*, to do the [business of] managing.

<sup>22</sup> That is, the *shō-gun*, who resided at Kamakura.

<sup>23</sup> This is the first intimation in the extant documents of Tadahisa's appointment as the *ji-tō* of the *shō*. In *Hishizhima mon-zho*, I and IV, occurs an order dated 1213 whereby the *shō-gun*'s government renewed its appointment of Tadahisa to the same post.

<sup>24</sup> The *ji-tō shiki*.

<sup>25</sup> Yoritomo had recently succeeded in having Konoé (Fujiwara) Motomichi, the domanial lord of the *shō*, replaced as regent (*Sesshō*) by Kujō (Fujiwara) Kanezane. This is not a place to narrate the circumstances of this change.

<sup>26</sup> Shimadzu *shō* was one of the hereditary domains of the premiers, and it had been necessary that their lord should be the actual regent or grand councillor (*Kwan-paku*). Yoritomo considered, but Motomichi would hardly agree, that with the latter's loss of office his lordship of these domains also lapsed. Motomichi held on to them, and Yoritomo's effort to make him surrender some of them to the new premier was opposed by Motomichi and his patron, the ex-Emperor Go-Shirakawa.

<sup>27</sup> *Bu-shi*, warriors, armed gentry.

<sup>28</sup> *Kuniudo*, literally, "men of the *kuni*"; they were the more distinguished among the resident warriors. They had nearly all come themselves or in former generations from regions further east, and, being settled in Satsuma, had become chiefs of warriors (*cf.* No. 8). We have already met with a few of them in earlier documents, such as men of the Tomo and the Ōkura families. In fact, the Iriki-in warriors, after their advent in 1247, proved to be among the *kuniudo* most to be feared by the Shimadzu lord.

<sup>29</sup> Amano Tōkage, the well-known vassal of Yoritomo, was made general commissioner of Kyū-shū, on 21 January 1187. *Adzuma-kagami*, vi.

<sup>30</sup> Probably *moku-dai* (deputy) was not an official title but rather general in its meaning as the domanial lord's representative.

<sup>31</sup> Constable.

<sup>32</sup> Constable-general.

<sup>33</sup> This was a singular order: it did not purport to disturb Amano Tōkage's authority as chief constable of the whole of Kyū-shū, but withdrew from his power the *shō* of Shimadzu, in which Tadahisa was made constable; the sphere of the subordinate was made immune from the visitation of his chief. Strange as it may seem, such an arrangement was in conformity with the spirit of a feudal age.

<sup>34</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, I; *Shimadzu sei-tō kei-dzu*, I. The date given in the Yoshimi genealogy, 13 September 1185, is clearly a confusion with the appointment to the *ge-shi shiki* already cited.

<sup>35</sup> *Adzuma-kagami*, xvi (text Kikkawa, I, 519), records the fact that in that year Tadahisa was for a brief space suspended from the office.

## 7. MYŌ IN NORTHERN SATSUMA, 1193

(A Gon Shūin doc., now lost, in *Miya-no-zhō ki*.)

FORTUNATELY there are lists of domains and their holders in Satsuma—given in this and the next document (Nos. 7 and 8)—which throw light upon the situation in which Tadahisa found himself on his arrival in the *shō* about 1196, and which awaited the descent of the Iriki-in family a half-century later. The following list of *myō* in northern Satsuma is probably incomplete, and should be studied together with the next number.

A *myō*, or, more fully, *myō-den*—"name[-hearing] rice-land"—was rice-land bearing a name, usually personal, by which it was known, despite changes of hands through which its title might pass. The origin and history of the *myō* have not been adequately studied. It probably arose from allodial lands which were newly opened to cultivation or acquired from previous holders and to which names were affixed in order either to individualize or to commemorate them; these names

may not always have been, as is generally assumed, those of the first cultivators, but of any persons, and even of impersonal matters, which the givers of the names took a fancy to select. At first allodial, the *myō-den* were often commended to *shō* or otherwise incorporated into them. In their further evolution, the *myō-shu*—*myō*-holders—were in an increasing number of instances recipients of *shiki* of the *myō* granted conditionally by the domanial lord, instead of being successors by inheritance or alienation to the earlier holders. That is, the *myō* and its holding had changed more and more frequently from being allodial to tenorial. This is the brief history of this institution down to the time of these documents; it is unnecessary to trace here the course of the subsequent development.

Whether allodial or not, the important point about the *myō* is that it generally formed one of the two kinds of units of the warrior's holding in the early feudal ages. The other unit was the *ya-shiki*, which meant a residence and its appurtenances, often with a piece of land attached thereto; if a warrior held several *ya-shiki*, one of them was his chief domicile. A typical holding of a small warrior consisted of one or more *ya-shiki* and *myō-den*; to these might he added *shiki* of various kinds. Cf. similar instances in the seignior of Montfort d'Amauri, about 1284, in Morice, *Mém. pour servir de preuves à l'hist. . . de Bretagne*, I, col. 1102.

The peasant's house and house-land were usually differentiated from the *ya-shiki* by the term *zai-ke*, literally, rural house. Despite their difference in status and importance, *zai-ke* and *ya-shiki*, like the *mazure* and the *manoir* in medieval France, were essentially the same in composition, for both consisted of a house and appurtenances and land dependent upon it. See the *maison* and the *mex* in Burgundy in documents quoted in Seignobos, *Rég. féod. de Bourgogne*, 366-370. Further see No. 13, nn. 21 and 25.

"REPORTED from various *kōri* in the 4th year of Ken-kyū, [1193].

"Ke-tō in:—own<sup>1</sup> *myō*; Tarō-Marū *myō*;

Satsuma *kōri*:—Kore-eda *myō*; Mitsutomi *myō*; Nari-eda *myō*; Nagatoshi *myō*;

Yoshida *myō*; Tokiyoshi *myō*;

Taki *kōri*:—Saburō-Marū *myō*; Man-toku *myō*; own<sup>1</sup> *myō*; Masasué *myō*; Waka-yoshi *myō*; Yoshi-eda *myō*;

Izhū in:—Kiyofuji *myō*;

Tō gō:—Tokiyoshi *myō*; Yoshi-eda *myō*;

Yamato in:—Mitsunaga *myō*; Mototake *myō*."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To whom or what the word "own" refers is not clear; sometimes it might mean a *myō* bearing the same name as the general district, like Ketō-in *myō* and Taki *myō*, if, indeed, such *myō* existed.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequent Iriki documents often refer to several of the *myō* here enumerated.

## 8. THE SHŌ-GUN'S VASSALS IN SATSUMA, 1187-1198

THE *go ke-nin*, literally, "men(*nin*) of the household(*ke*)" of the suzerain (*go* being an honorific),<sup>1</sup> was the term by which the warrior-chiefs in immediate vassalage to the *shō-gun*, feudal overlord of Japan, were called. Shimadzu Tadahisa was a *go ke-nin*, but when he came from Kyōto, where he had sojourned awhile, to Shimadzu *shō*, probably about 1196, he, as deputy of the domanial lord of the *shō* and military governor of the three *kuni*, naturally enjoyed a certain degree of precedence of his peers who had already been established in southern Kyū-shū. It was precisely these, however, who made his position one of extreme delicacy, for many of them were reluctant to submit at once to the new lord, who was, after all, their equal as regards their common status as vassals. Here are three lists of the names of *go ke-nin* who lived in Satsuma at this time.

### A.

The first list occurs in the *Ko shō-shu rai-yu ki*, an anonymous work in manuscript compiled more than five hundred years later. An avowedly incomplete catalogue of *go ke-nin* in all the three provinces is there given, of which those of Satsuma only are transcribed below. It will be seen that

most of the warrior-families had assumed the names of the places of their residence. The compiler evidently assumed that Tadahisa went south as early as 1187; and some of the names in the list are, by error, even older than that date.

Yamato *Saémon* Hidetada;<sup>2</sup>  
 Beppu Gorō Tada-akira;<sup>3</sup>  
 Kawanabe Hei-zhirō Michihira;<sup>4</sup>  
 Masuyama Tarō Kanezumi;<sup>5</sup>  
 Wada Hachirō Chikazumi,<sup>6</sup> at Isaku;  
 Ada Hei-zhirō Nobuzumi;<sup>7</sup>  
 Ichiku Zhūrō Iéfusa;<sup>8</sup>  
 Ei Hei-ta;<sup>9</sup>  
 Samezhima Shirō Mune-ié;<sup>10</sup>  
 Satsuma Tarō Tadatomo,<sup>11</sup> at Nari-eda;  
 Kushikino Tarō Tadamichi;<sup>12</sup>  
 Izhūin Shirō *nyū-dō* Kō-Sei;<sup>13</sup>  
 Zai-koku-shi Tarō Michi-akira,<sup>14</sup> at Tōgō;  
 Iguchi Tarō Kaneyasu,<sup>15</sup> at Idzumi;  
 Satsuma Shirō Motohira,<sup>16</sup> at Ushikuso;  
 Ibusuki Gorō Tadamoto;<sup>17</sup>  
 Chiran Shirō Tadanobu;<sup>18</sup>  
 Uéno Hei-zhirō Tadayori;<sup>19</sup>  
 Ono Tarō Iétsuna;<sup>20</sup>  
 Yagami *Uémon-no-zhō* Morizumi;<sup>21</sup>  
 Haseba Kagoshima-gorō Iézumi;<sup>22</sup>  
 Kiire Zhirō-*zaémon*;<sup>23</sup>  
 Nan-gō Man-yō-*bō* Gaku-Sai;<sup>24</sup>  
 Miyasato Tarō;<sup>25</sup>  
 Hayaki Tarō;<sup>26</sup>  
 Eda Shirō;<sup>27</sup>  
 Takemitsu Tarō,<sup>28</sup> at Taki;  
 Tokiyoshi Mata-tarō Michihide,<sup>29</sup> at Ke-tō *in*;  
 Akune Gorō-*zaémon*;<sup>30</sup>  
 Kokubun *Saémon* Tomonari;<sup>31</sup>  
 Iriki Mata-gorō Yorimune.<sup>32</sup>

## B.

The second list has been prepared by the editor from the cadastral report of Satsuma, of 1197, which will be partially translated in the next No.

In Hioki:—Ko-tō-da Tadazumi, the original *gun-zhi*, of the north *gō*, and Ono Tarō Iétsuna, the *ge-shi* of Hioki *shō*.

In Ada *kōri*:—Samezhima Shirō<sup>33</sup> the *ji-tō* of two districts; the priests An-Gyō, An-Zhō, and Kyō-Sō, all *ge-shi* of domains of Mi-roku *zhi* and An-raku *zhi*; and Zai-chō Tane-akira,<sup>34</sup> an original *myō-shu*.

In Kaseda Beppu:—Shiwoda Tarō Mitsuzumi, *ge-shi*; Ishii *nyū-dō*, resident in Hizen, *myō-shu*; Iya-hei-go Nobutada, *gō-shi*; Samezhima Shirō,<sup>35</sup> *ji-tō*.



In Kawanabe *kōri*:—Hei-ta Michitsuna,<sup>36</sup> *ge-shi* and *gun-zhi*.

In Chiran *in*:—Tadamasu,<sup>37</sup> *ge-shi* and *gun-zhi*.

In Ei *kōri*:—*Zai-chō* Tane-akira,<sup>34</sup> the original *gun-zhi*; and Ei Zhirō Tadayasu,<sup>38</sup> *ge-shi*.

In Ibusuki *kōri*:—Tadamoto<sup>39</sup> and Hei-zō Tadahide,<sup>40</sup> both *ge-shi*.

In Kiire *in*:—Ko-*daibu* Kaneyasu,<sup>41</sup> *gun-zhi*.

In Kagoshima *kōri*:—the former *Uchi-no-toneri* Yasutomo,<sup>42</sup> *gun-zhi* and *ge-shi*; the priest An-Zhō, *ge-shi*.

In Izhū *in*:—Hachirō Kiyokage,<sup>43</sup> the *in-shi*; *Zai-chō* Michitomo,<sup>44</sup> Gon-tarō Kanenao, Ki-shirō Tokitsuna, Ki-hei-zhi Motonobu, and the priest Chū-Gaku, all *myō-shu*.

In Ichiku *in*:—the priest . . . ,<sup>45</sup> the *in-shi*.

In Satsuma *kōri*:—Tadatomo,<sup>46</sup> the *gun-zhi*; the priests An-Zhō and An-Gyō, *ge-shi*; Arakawa Tarō Tanefusa, Fujiwara Iéhiro, *Zai-chō* Michitomo,<sup>44</sup> *Zai-chō* Tane-akira,<sup>34</sup> and Sakida Gorō, all *myō-shu*.

In Miyasato *gō*:—Ki Roku-*daibu* Masa-ié, the *gō-shi*; *Zai-chō* Michitomo<sup>44</sup> and the priest Kyō-Sō, *ge-shi*.

In Iriki *in*:—Ōkura Tane-akira<sup>34</sup> *ge-shi* and the original *ji-tō*; Ōsaki Michitomo, the original *gun-zhi*; the priests An-Zhō and An-Gyō, *ge-shi*; Chiba-no-suke, the *ji-tō*.<sup>47</sup>

In Mitsué *in*:—Narihira,<sup>48</sup> the *in-shi*.

In Ke-tō *in*:—Kumadō-Maru, the original *gun-zhi*; *Zai-chō* Michitomo,<sup>44</sup> Takigiki Tarō Michifusa, and Numada Tarō Sanehide, resident in Higo, all original *myō-shu*; Chiba-no-suke, the *ji-tō*.<sup>47</sup>

In Ushikuso *in*:—Motomitsu,<sup>49</sup> the *in-shi*; the former *Uchi-no-toneri* Yasutomo<sup>42</sup> and Kurō-dayū Kuniyoshi, *myō-shu*.

In Yamato *in*:—Hidetada,<sup>50</sup> the *in-shi*.

In Taki *kōri*:—Yakushi-Maru, the original *gun-zhi*; Chiba-no-suke,<sup>47</sup> the *ji-tō*; *Zai-chō* Morotaka,<sup>51</sup> and the priests An-Zhō, An-Gyō, and Kyō-Sō, all *ge-shi*; *Zai-chō* Morotaka,<sup>51</sup> *Zai-chō* Michitomo,<sup>44</sup> *Zai-chō* Tane-akira,<sup>34</sup> Numada Tarō Sanehide, resident in Higo, and Ki *Dai-bu* Masa-ié, all *myō-shu*.

In Tōgō *beppu*:—*Zai-chō* Michitomo,<sup>44</sup> the *gō-shi*, *ge-shi*, and *myō-shu*; Chiba-no-suke,<sup>47</sup> the *ji-tō*; the priest An-Gyō, *ge-shi*; Numada Tarō Sanehide, resident in Higo, *Zai-chō* Morotaka,<sup>51</sup> and Ko-*daibu* Kaneyasu,<sup>41</sup> all *myō-shu*.

In Akune *in*:—Narimitsu,<sup>52</sup> the *in-shi*; Ko-*daibu* Kaneyasu,<sup>41</sup> *myō-shu*.

In Idzumi *kōri*:—Ko-*daibu* Kaneyasu,<sup>41</sup> *ge-shi*.

In Koshiki islands:—Chiba-no-suke,<sup>47</sup> the *ji-tō*; *Zai-chō* Michitomo,<sup>44</sup> and Yakushi-Maru, the original *ji-tō*.

Of these districts, Shimadzu Tadahisa was *ji-tō* in the following:—Isaku, Kawanabe, and Taniyama *kōri*; Mitsué, Ushikuso, and Akune *in*; Hioki south *gō*; five *myō* in Satsuma *kōri*; and the "public domains" in Kaseda, Chiran, Ei, Ibusuki, Kagoshima, Miyasato, and Yamato.

This list suggests impressively how many warrior-families, some of them formidable, were entrenched in various parts of Satsuma, holding hereditary *shiki*, and always liable to dispute the claims of the new deputy and military governor when their own interests were seriously involved.

## C.

(Eda doc., in *SK*, I; and Haseba docs.)

The third list occurs in an order by Tadahisa himself calling upon the *go ke-nin* of Satsuma to perform their customary knight's service as periodical Grand Guardsmen<sup>53</sup> at the imperial palace at Kyōto.

"THE men who should, in accordance with the command [from the *shō-gun*], perform [the service of] the Grand Guard at the imperial palace:

Kawanabe Hei-zhirō;  
 Beppu Gorō;  
 Kagoshima *gun-zhi*;<sup>54</sup>  
 Ei Hei-ta;  
 Isaku Hei-shirō;<sup>55</sup>  
 Satsuma Tarō;  
 Chiran *gun-zhi*;  
 Masuyama Tarō;  
 Taki *gun-zhi*;  
 Zai-koku-shi;<sup>56</sup>  
 Muki Tarō;  
 Eda Shirō;  
 Akune *gun-zhi*;  
 Yamato *gun-zhi*;  
 Kiire *gun-zhi*;  
 Ibusuki Gorō;  
 Nangō Man-yō-bō;  
 Ono Tarō;  
 Ichiku *gun-zhi*;  
 Mitsué *gun-zhi*;  
 Miyasato Hachirō;  
 Hagizaki Saburō;  
 Izhuin *gun-zhi*;  
 Idzumi Tarō.

Each shall, according to the instructions, go to the Capital during the third month<sup>57</sup> of the next Spring, and learn his post of service. Thus has the Lord at Kamakura commanded. It is hereby ordered that this should be taken note of.

"Ken-kyū 8 y. 12 m. 24 d. [2 February 1198]. *Uémon-no-zhō* (Tadahisa's monogram).

"To the *Ji-tō* and *Go ke-nin* of Satsuma *kuni*."

This has been translated from the text in *SK*. The Haseba family owns an old copy of an almost identical document bearing the same date as the above, but lacking the names Eda and Nangō.

To a trained student, the comparison of the three lists should afford much information and suggest several problems. If one should, in order to facilitate comparison, place in parallel columns the names that occur in the lists in relation to the same localities, the result would be somewhat as follows. (The persons who appear to be identical in the lists are marked with =.)

A	B	C
Ei Hei-ta=	Ei Zhirō Tadayasu, <i>ge-shi</i>	=Ei Hei-ta.
Uéno Hei-zhirō Tadayori	Zai-chō Tane-akira, orig. <i>gun-zhi</i> Tadamasu, <i>ge-shi</i> and <i>in-shi</i> , at Chi- ran in	
Kiire Zhirō-zaémon	Ko-daibu Kaneyasu, the <i>gun-zhi</i> =	=Kiire <i>gun-zhi</i>
Ihusuki Gorō Tadamoto=	=Tadamoto, <i>ge-shi</i> ;= Hei-zō Tadahide, <i>ge-shi</i>	=Ihusuki Gorō
Beppu Gorō Tada-akira=		=Beppu Gorō
Masuyama Tarō Kanezumi=	Shioda Tarō Mitsuzumi, <i>ge-shi</i> ; Iya-hei-go Nohutada, <i>gō-shi</i> ; at Ka- seda	=Masuyama Tarō
Kawanahe Hei-zhirō Michihira=		=Kawanahe Hei-zhirō
	Hei-ta Michitsuna, <sup>68</sup> <i>ge-shi</i> and <i>gun- zhi</i>	
Wada Hachirō Chikazumi, at Isaku	Ko-tō-da Sadazumi, orig. <i>gun-zhi</i> , at Hioki north <i>gō</i>	Isaku Hei-shirō
Ono Tarō Iétsuna=	=Ono Tarō Iétsuna, <i>ge-shi</i> , at Hioki <i>shō</i> =	=Ono Tarō =Eda Shirō
Eda Shirō=		
Ada Hei-zhirō Nohuzumi		
Samezhima Shiro Muneié=	=Samezhima Shirō, <i>ji-tō</i> ; Zai-chō Tane-akira, orig. <i>myō-shu</i>	
Hayaki Tarō=		=Muki Tarō
Yagami Uémon-no-zhō Morizumi		
Haseha Kagoshima-gorō Iézumi	Tadazumi, orig. <i>gun-zhi</i> ;= Yasutomo, <i>ge-shi</i> and <i>gun-zhi</i>	=Kagoshima <i>gun-zhi</i>
Izhūin Shirō <i>n.-d.</i> Kō-Sei	Hachirō Kiyokage, <sup>69</sup> <i>in-shi</i> = Zai-chō Michitomo, Kanenao, Ki- shirō Tokitsuna, Ki-hei-zhi Moto- nohu, Chū-Gaku, all <i>myō-shu</i>	=Izhūin <i>gun-zhi</i>
Nangō Man-yō-bō Gaku-Sai=		=Nangō Man-yō-bō
Ichiki Zhūrō Iéfusa=	the priest <i>in-shi</i>	=Ichiki <i>gun-zhi</i>
Kushikino Tarō Tadamichi		
Satsuma Tarō Tadatomo, at Nari- eda=	=Tadatomo, <i>gun-zhi</i> , at Nari-eda=	=Satsuma Tarō
	Zaichō Michitomo, Zaichō Tane- akira, Zaichō Iéhiro, Arakawa Tane-fusa, Sakida Gorō, all <i>myō- shu</i> at other places in Satsuma <i>kōri</i>	
Miyasato Tarō=	Ki Roku-daibu Masaié, <i>gō-shi</i> ;=	=Miyasato Tarō
Zaikokushi Michiakira, at Tōgō	Zaichō Michitomo, <i>ge-shi</i> Zaichō Michitomo, <i>myō-shu</i> , <i>gō-shi</i> , and <i>ge-shi</i> ; Zaichō Morotaka, <i>myō-shu</i> ; Ko-daibu Kaneyasu, <i>myō-shu</i>	Zaikokushi
Kokuhun Tomonari		
Takemitsu Tarō, at Taki	Yakushi-Maru, orig. <i>gun-zhi</i> ; Zaichō Michitomo, <i>myō-shu</i> ; Zaichō Morotaka, <i>ge-shi</i> and <i>myō-shu</i> ; Ki Masaié, <i>myō-shu</i>	Taki <i>gun-zhi</i>
Iriki Yorimune	Zaichō Michitomo, orig. <i>gun-zhi</i> ; Zaichō Tane-akira, orig. <i>ji-tō</i> and <i>ge-shi</i>	

A	B	C
Tokiyoshi Michihide, at Ke-tō <i>in</i>	Zaichō Michitomo, orig. <i>myō-shu</i> ; Takigiki Michifusa, orig. <i>myō-shu</i> ; Kuma-dō-Maru, orig. <i>gun-zhi</i>	
Satsuma Motohira, at Ushikuso	Motomitsu, <i>in-shi</i> ; Kuni-yoshi and Yasutomo, <i>myō-shu</i>	
Iguchi Kaneyasu, at Idzumi=	=Ko-daibu Kaneyasu, <i>ge-shi</i> =	=Idzumi Tarō
Akune Gorō-zaemon	Narimitsu, <i>in-shi</i> ; Ko-daibu Kaneyasu, <i>myō-shu</i>	
Yamato Hidetada=	=Hidetada, the <i>in-shi</i> =	=Yamato <i>gun-zhi</i>
	Narihira, the <i>in-shi</i> of Mitsué	Mitsué <i>gun-zhi</i> Hagizaki Sahurō
	Zaichō Michitomo and Yakushi- Maru, orig. <i>ji-tō</i> , at Koshiki island	

Special attention is called to the names relating to Iriki *in*. The compiler of the first list mentions Yorimune, and says he was descendant of Yoritaka, of the Fujiwara stock, who was remembered as donor of land, early in 1014, to the Niita temple. In the alleged letter accompanying the gift, which is cited, Yoritaka signed his name thus: "Fujiwara-no-Ason Yoritaka, the original chief (*hon-shu*) of [or in] Iriki *in*." It is regrettable that no source is given of this quotation in either the *Ko zhō-shu rai-yu ki* or any of the other works, like the *Ke-tō in ki*, which refer to it. It seems that the original text, whether authentic or not, is lost beyond recovery. It is most desirable, but now impossible, to know when a Fujiwara first settled in Iriki, and in what capacity Yoritaka and Yorimune were lords of the *in*. Neither the latter nor his descendants meet us again; in fact, they were no longer important in 1197, or they should appear in the land report of that year (No. 9).

We tread on a firmer ground when we deal with the other two families which held *shiki* at Iriki; the Ōkura and the Ōsaki. Both were illustrious by birth and powerful as *go ke-nin* and local chieftains. The origin of the Ōkura has already been explained.<sup>60</sup> That of the Ōsaki is not known as clearly, but whether, as some would say,<sup>61</sup> of a Tachihana or, according to others,<sup>62</sup> of a Minamoto descent, the ancestry of the family is traceable to the imperial house. It is claimed that both the Ōkura and the Ōsaki held for generations posts in the government of Satsuma; indeed, in 1197 Ōkura Tane-akira and Ōsaki Michitomo were both assistant civil governors,<sup>63</sup> and assumed the titles *Zai-koku-shi*<sup>64</sup> and *Zai-chō*<sup>65</sup> as a sort of family-names. A branch of the Ōsaki kept the hereditary office of *gun-zhi* at Tōgō, and another, at least since the middle of the twelfth century,<sup>66</sup> assumed the same capacity at Ke-tō *in*;<sup>67</sup> Michitomo probably belonged to the second branch, and derived most of his resources from his domains of Tokiyoshi *myō*, extending over the three districts Satsuma, Taki, and Ke-tō, of which he was *myō-shu*. He was, besides, *ge-shi* of Miyasato and *ji-tō* in Koshiki islands. Likewise, Ōkura Tane-akira was the original *myō-shu* of Hisayoshi *myō* in Ada, original *gun-zhi* of Ei, and *myō-shu* of Wakamatsu and Nagatoshi *myō* in Satsuma and of Sahurō-Maru *myō* in Taki *kōri*.<sup>68</sup> It should be noted that these domains were widely scattered over the province. Of more immediate interest to us is the fact that both men were lords of Iriki,—Tane-akira as *ben-zai shi*<sup>69</sup> and original *ji-tō*<sup>70</sup> of the *yose-gōri* there of Shimadzu *shō*, and *ge-shi* of a *Mi-roku zhi* domain in the *in*,<sup>70</sup> and Michitomo as the original *gun-zhi* of the same *yose-gori*.<sup>70</sup>

Both the Ōkura and the Ōsaki families settled in Satsuma, as has been shown, generations before the arrival thither of Tadahisa; his descendants found in them, specially in the Ōsaki or Zaikokushi, worthy political rivals,<sup>71</sup> before they were completely subdued in the fourteenth century.<sup>72</sup> The same family also resisted stubbornly the claims of the Shihuya lords who, as we shall soon see, came as *ji-tō* in 1247 to the districts Iriki, Ke-tō, Tōgō,<sup>73</sup> Tsuruta, and Taki, the very localities where the Zaikokushi were most strongly established. The facts of the struggle at Iriki are, however, little known, except that here, as in the other places, the old family succumbed to the military prowess of the Shihuya within a century after their coming.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *shō-gun's* rear-vassal, as distinguished from immediate vassals, was called *ke-nin*, "men of the household" (of his lord), without the honorific.



- <sup>2</sup> A Taira; in Yamato *in*, northwest Satsuma.
- <sup>3</sup> A Taira; at Kaseda, southwest Satsuma.
- <sup>4</sup> A Taira; at Kawanabe, south.
- <sup>5</sup> A Taira (?); at Kaseda, southwest.
- <sup>6</sup> An error: Chikazumi lived earlier (*cf.* note 55 below). Wada was a Fujiwara; Isaku is middle southwest Satsuma.
- <sup>7</sup> A Fujiwara adopted into a Taira family; in Ada, southwest Satsuma. Later replaced by the Samezhima.
- <sup>8</sup> A Koremune; at Ichiku, on middle west coast.
- <sup>9</sup> A Taira; at Ei, south coast.
- <sup>10</sup> A Fujiwara; at north Ada, southwest.
- <sup>11</sup> A Taira; at Hirasa, in central Satsuma, a little to northwest of Iriki.
- <sup>12</sup> A Taira; at Kushikino, north of Ichiku, on west coast.
- <sup>13</sup> A Ki and Fujiwara; at Izhūin, northwest of Kagoshima.
- <sup>14</sup> An Ōsaki; at Tōgō. Michi-akira may be a wrong name.
- <sup>15</sup> A Tomo; at Idzumi, northwest Satsuma.
- <sup>16</sup> A Taira; at Ushikuso, northeast of Iriki. Motohira is too early.
- <sup>17, 18, 19</sup> Taira; in south Satsuma, at Ibusuki, Chiran, and Uēno.
- <sup>20</sup> An Ōe; probably in Hioki, middle west coast.
- <sup>21, 22</sup> Fujiwara; about Kagoshima.
- <sup>23</sup> A Taira; south of Kagoshima, on the coast.
- <sup>24</sup> A Ki and Fujiwara; at south Hioki, southwest of Izhūin.
- <sup>25</sup> A Ki; at Miyasato, west of Iriki.
- <sup>26</sup> Hayaki may be an error of Muki.
- <sup>27</sup> Related to the Ōno; probably in Hioki.
- <sup>28</sup> A Tomo,—probably Zaichō (Tomo) Morotaka; in Taki, north of the Niita temple.
- <sup>29</sup> An Ōsaki; at Ke-tō *in*, northeast of Iriki.
- <sup>30</sup> A Taira (?); at Akune, northwest Satsuma.
- <sup>31</sup> A Koremune; at Midzuhiki, near the temple.
- <sup>32</sup> A Fujiwara; at Iriki.
- <sup>33</sup> Mune-ié, a Taira.
- <sup>34</sup> An Ōkura. For *Zaichō*, see n. 65 below.
- <sup>35</sup> The same names recur, showing that these men held *shiki* at different places at the same time.
- <sup>36</sup> A son of Michi-akira, of the first list; a Taira.
- <sup>37</sup> Heir of Tadanohu, of the first list; a Taira.
- <sup>38, 39, 40</sup> Taira.
- <sup>41</sup> A Tomo.
- <sup>42</sup> A Koremune.
- <sup>43</sup> Son of Kō-Sei, of the first list; a Ki.
- <sup>44</sup> Ōsaki.
- <sup>45</sup> Two characters gone.
- <sup>46</sup> Satsuma Tarō, of the first list; a Taira.
- <sup>47</sup> In a document dated Bun-ji 2 y. 8 m. 3 d. (17 September 1186), Chiha *no suke* Tsunetane is mentioned as the *gun-zhi* of the five *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō* (SK, I). In the report of 1197, from which the present list has been compiled, there are many *yose-gōri* in Satsuma, of which Tsunetane was *ji-tō* of five, namely, Taki *kōri*, Tōgō *beppu*, Iriki *in*, Ketō *in*, and Koshiki islands; the *ji-tō* of the other *yose-gōri* was the recently arrived Shimadzu Tadahisa. He came about 1197, but Tsunetane probably never lived in Satsuma, but stayed in Kamakura, and in Satsuma was represented by a deputy (see No. 16).
- Chiha Tsunetane (1118-1201), a Taira, was a wise and greatly respected *go ke-nin* of Yoritomo, who always treated him with the utmost consideration. It was he, according to the *Adzuma-kagami*, i (Ji-shō 4 y. 9 m. 9 d.), who counseled Yoritomo to establish his headquarters at Kamakura.
- <sup>48</sup> An Ōkura.
- <sup>49</sup> Related to Motohira, of the first list; a Taira.

- <sup>50</sup> A Taira, who heads the first list.
- <sup>51</sup> A Tomo.
- <sup>52</sup> A Taira.
- <sup>53</sup> For this service called *ō ban*, see No. 13, n. 17.
- <sup>54</sup> A Haseba, of the Fujiwara stock.
- <sup>55</sup> The *Ko zhō-shu rai-yu ki* thinks this may be Sanezumi, grandson of Wada Chikazumi of the first list.
- <sup>56</sup> Michitane (?).
- <sup>57</sup> 8 April-7 May 1198.
- <sup>58</sup> Michihira's son.
- <sup>59</sup> Son of Tokikiyo, Buddhist name Kō-Sei.
- <sup>60</sup> Nos. 3 and 5.
- <sup>61</sup> *KK*, X.
- <sup>62</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, vi.
- <sup>63</sup> Tane-akira as *dai sa-kwan* was of a lower grade than Michitomo as *gon no zhō*.
- <sup>64</sup> Meaning a resident *kuni* governor.
- <sup>65</sup> Meaning an official present at the *kuni* government office, as distinguished from an absentee at Kyōto; it had become customary for the *kuni* governor to remain in the capital and to maintain a deputy's offices in the *kuni*. See the preface to No. 22.
- <sup>66</sup> *Miya-no-zhō ki*; *Ke-tō in shi*; *Ko zhō-shu rai-yu ki*; *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xviii, 21.
- <sup>67</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, vi.
- <sup>68</sup> The land survey of 1197.
- <sup>69</sup> Nos. 2 and 4-6 above.
- <sup>70</sup> The second list of names in this number.
- <sup>71</sup> For instance, *Kurōdo* Michiyoshi of Tōgō who harassed the Shimadzu in the second quarter of the fourteenth century was a Zaikokushi. *KK*, X.
- <sup>72</sup> The *shō-gun's* order dated Bunna 2 y. 5 m. 11 d. (12 June 1353) granted to Shimadzu Ujihisa the domains which had been held by Zaikokushi Dō-Chō, presumably at Tōgō. *SK*, XVIII.
- <sup>73</sup> There is a legend that the impetuous Shihuya Sbigechika, after having tried in vain to subdue a Zaikokushi chief at Tōgō, was about 1200 driven by desperation to hurry himself alive, fully armored and mounted on his steed. (*Miya-no-zhō ki*, etc.) This Zaikokushi was probably Michitsugu, who was also the *myō-shu* of Tokiyoshi *myō* (from a *Kwan-zbu in* document, now lost, quoted in the same work).
- <sup>74</sup> Men of the Onobuchi family, a branch of the Zaikokushi, are found among the vassals of the Iriki-in lords from the fifteenth century. *KK*, X. Further see No. 51, below.

## 9. CADASTRAL REPORT, 1197

IN 1197 were made, by order of the *shō-gun's* government, complete reports by the provincial officials of the condition of control of the cultivated land in the *kuni* of Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga, showing, in all the divisions in each *kuni*, the extent of the public districts and private domains, and the names of the lords of the latter and of the holders or chief officials or agents in both. These priceless documents, known as *dzu-den chō*, land-registers, together with similar reports of this period from a few other *kuni*, have fortunately been preserved, and throw a flood of light upon the general institutional life of Japan and the local condition in the various provinces in the early Kamakura age. It will suffice here to quote only those parts of the Satsuma *dzu-den chō* that relate to the districts with which we are chiefly concerned.

All the existing copies of the report of this *kuni* have been derived from a transcription made in 1881 from a copy, now apparently lost, which was at the time kept at the prefectural government at Kagoshima. The copies all betray identical marks of the partial loss and the careless arranging of the sheets which must have characterized the prefectural copy. The latter bore the date 1334 as the time of copying from the report of 1197, but it may never be known whether or not a copy was made in 1334 direct from a manuscript of 1197, and whether the prefectural copy was the manuscript of 1334 or its subsequent transcription.

It is also important to note that the original report of 1197 was itself, according to its own statement, based upon an imperfect restoration of an earlier survey which had been lost during a local disturbance in 1186.

The following partial translation is based upon the text contained in the *Ta-bumi*, vol. 7. This valuable manuscript work, in nine volumes, consists of land reports which were copied from various sources with his own hand by the late indefatigable scholar, Kosugi On-son. The collection is now owned by Rev. Satō Ten-Zhō, of Tōkyō. Notes in red, apparently copied from the original at Kagoshima by the copyist of 1881 and then transcribed by Kosugi five years later, are written into the text; these notes may have been added in 1334, the date the Kagoshima copy bore, or perhaps later. The entire text with the notes has been printed in the *Shi-seki shū-ran*, XXVII (Tōkyō, 1902), but this edition needs to be compared carefully, as has been done here, with the more correct text in the *Ta-bumi*.

"The *Kuni* of Satsuma

reports. A complete land-register of the *Kuni*.

"Total, 4010 *chō*<sup>1</sup> 7 *tan*;<sup>1</sup> of which:

"Taki *kōri*, 255 *chō*, *yose-gōri*<sup>2</sup> of Shimadzu *shō*, of which:

church domain,<sup>3</sup> 52<sup>4</sup> *chō*, of An-raku *Zhi*,<sup>5</sup>— *ge-shi*, the priest An-Zhō; of which<sup>6</sup>

Yuta-ura, 18 *chō*, confiscated<sup>7</sup> domain [for the Regent],<sup>8</sup>—

*ji-tō*, Chiba *no suke*,<sup>9</sup>

*ge-shi*, Zaichō<sup>10</sup> Morotaka;

temple<sup>11</sup> domain, 30 *chō*, of Mi-roku *Zhi*,— *ge-shi*, the priest Kyō-Sō;

church<sup>12</sup> domain, 30 *chō*, of Mi-roku *Zhi*,— *ge-shi*, the priest An-Gyō;

Public domains,<sup>13</sup> 142<sup>14</sup> *chō*, confiscated<sup>7</sup> domain [for the Regent],<sup>8</sup>

*ji-tō*, Chiba *no suke*; of which:

Wakayoshi,<sup>15</sup> 36 *chō*,—

original *gun-zhi*, Yakushi-maru;

Tokiyoshi,<sup>15</sup> 18 *chō*,— 0 0 0<sup>16</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō<sup>10</sup> Michitomo;

Tokuyoshi,<sup>15</sup> 2 *chō*,— 0 0 0<sup>16</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Numada Tarō Sanehide,  
resident in Higo *kuni*;

Yoshi-eda,<sup>15</sup> 19 *chō*,— 0 0 0<sup>16</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō<sup>10</sup> Morotaka;

Takemitsu,<sup>15</sup> 33 *chō* 5 *tan*,— 0 0 0<sup>16</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō<sup>10</sup> Morotaka;

Saburō-Maru,<sup>15</sup> 10 *chō*,— 0 0 0<sup>16</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō<sup>10</sup> Tane-akira;

Mantoku,<sup>15, 17</sup> 15 *chō*,— 0 0 0<sup>18</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō<sup>10</sup> Morotaka;

Kusamichi Mantoku,<sup>15, 17</sup> 15 *chō*, disputed by Shimadzu *chō*,—

*myō-shu*, Ki *daibu* Masaié;

Ōkawa,<sup>15, 17</sup> 3 *chō* 5 *tan*, disputed by Shimadzu *shō*; Mantoku.<sup>19</sup>

"Tōgō *beppu*,<sup>20</sup> 53 *chō* 2 *tan*; of which:

church domain, 8 *chō* 5 *tan*, of Mi-roku *Zhi*,—

*ge-shi*, the priest An-Gyō;

temple domain, 2 *chō*, domain of Shō Hachiman,—

*ge-shi*, Zaichō<sup>10</sup> Michitomo;

Public domains, 42 *chō* 7 *tan*, confiscated domains [for the Regent],—

*ji-tō* Chiba *no suke*; of which:

Tokiyoshi, 15 *chō*,<sup>21</sup>—

*gō-shi*, *myō-shu*, Zaichō Michitomo;

Tokusue, 4 *chō*,<sup>21</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Numada Tarō Sanehide,  
resident in Higo *kuni*;

Yoshi-eda, 7 *chō*, *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*,—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō Morotaka;

Wakayoshi, 6 *chō*, *yose-gōri* of the same *shō*,—

*myō-shu*, Ko-daibu Kaneyasu;

Tokiyoshi, 10 *chō* 7 *tan*, *yose-gōri* of the same *shō*,—

*gō-shi*, Zaichō Michitomo.

“Satsuma *kōri*, 351 *chō* 3 *tan*; of which:

church domain,<sup>22</sup> 26 *chō* 8 *tan*, of An-raku *Zhi*,—

*ge-shi*, the priest An-Zhō;

church domain,<sup>23</sup> 5 *chō* 8 *tan*, of Mi-roku *Zhi*,—

*ge-shi*, the priest An-Gyō;

temple domain,<sup>24</sup> 1 *chō* 7 *tan*, among the five temples in possession of the Fu,<sup>25</sup>—

*ge-shi*, *gun*,<sup>26</sup> Tadatomo;

Public domains, 317 *chō*; of which:

Nari-eda, 86 *chō*,—

*gun-zhi*, Tadatomo;

Mitsutomi, 49 *chō*, 20 *chō* being Mantoku,<sup>27</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Arakawa Tarō Tanefusa;

Kore-eda, 9 *chō*,—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō Iéhiro;

Tokiyoshi, 69 *chō*, *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*,—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō Michitomo,

*ji-tō*, *Uémon hyōé no zhō*;<sup>28</sup>

Wakamatsu, 50 *chō*<sup>29</sup>—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō Tane-akira,

*ji-tō*, the same as above;

Nagatoshi, 18 *chō*, *yose-gōri* of the same *shō*,—

*myō-shu*, Zaichō Tane-akira,

*ji-tō*, the same as above;

Yoshimidzu, 12 *chō*, *yose-gōri* of the same *shō*,—

*myō-shu*, Sakida Gorō, the *kyo-kan*

*shi*<sup>30</sup> of this *kuni*,

*ji-tō* the same as above;

Kwadō-Maru, 14 *chō*, *yose-gōri* of the same *shō*,—

*ben-zai shi* of Shimadzu *shō*;

Miyako-ura, 10 *chō*, disputed by Shimadzu *shō*,—

Mantoku.

“Miyasato *gō*, 70 *chō*, of which:

temple domain,<sup>31</sup> 7 *chō* 5 *tan*, of An-raku *Zhi*,—

*ge-shi*, Zaichō Michitomo;

temple domain,<sup>32</sup> 1 *chō*, of Mi-roku *Zhi*,—

*ge-shi*, the priest *Kyō-Sō*;

Public domains, 61 *chō* 5 *tan*, *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*,—

*gō-shi*, Ki Roku-daibu Masa-ié,

*ji-tō*, *Uémon hyōé no zhō*.<sup>28</sup>



"Iriki *in*, 92 *chō* 2 *tan*; of which:

church domain, <sup>33</sup> 2 <i>tan</i> , of An-raku <i>Zhi</i> ,—	<i>ge-shi</i> , the priest An-Zhō;
church domain, <sup>34</sup> 2 <i>chō</i> , of Mi-roku <i>Zhi</i> ,—	<i>ge-shi</i> , the priest An-Gyō;
temple domain, 15 <i>chō</i> , of Mi-roku <i>Zhi</i> ,—	<i>ge-shi</i> , Zaichō Tane-akira;
Public domains, 75 <i>chō</i> , <i>yose-gōri</i> of Shimadzu <i>shō</i> , confiscated domain,—	<i>ji-tō</i> , Chiba <i>no suke</i> ; of which:
portion for the <i>ben-zai shi</i> , 55 <i>chō</i> ,—	original <i>ji-tō</i> , Zaichō Tane-akira;
portion as <i>myō</i> of the <i>gun-[zhi]</i> , 20 <i>chō</i> ,—	original <i>gun-zhi</i> , Zaichō Michitomo.

"Ke-tō *in*, 112 *chō*, *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*, confiscated domain,—

Tomimitsu, 54 <i>chō</i> ,—	<i>ji-tō</i> , Chiba <i>no suke</i> ; of which:
Kuramaru, 39 <i>chō</i> ,—	original <i>gun-zhi</i> , Kumadō-Maru;
	original <i>myō-shu</i> , Takigiki Tarō
	Michifusa;
Tokiyoshi, 15 <i>chō</i> ,—	original <i>myō-shu</i> , Zaichō Michitomo;
Tokusué, 13 <i>chō</i> ,—	original <i>myō-shu</i> , Numada Tarō
	Sanehide, resident in Higo <i>kuni</i> .

"The land report of the aforementioned [places] was lost during the disturbance caused by the uprising of Bungo *kwa-zha*,<sup>35</sup> in the years of Bun-ji;<sup>36</sup> therefore, [the matter] is hereby briefly reported [anew].

"Ken-kyū 8 y. 6 m. — d. [June-July 1197].

"The vice *zhō*, Fujiwara *no Ason*,<sup>37</sup> (monogram).

"The vice *zhō*, Tomo,<sup>38</sup> (monogram).

"The *dai sa-kwan*, Ōkura,<sup>39</sup> (monogram).

"The vice [*zhō*], Ōsaki,<sup>40</sup> (monogram).

"The *moku-dai*, Fujiwara *uma no zhō*, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> According to the system of measurement in use from the eighth century till the end of the sixteenth, 1 *chō* comprised 10 *tan*, each *tan* consisting of 360 *bu*; a *bu* was a square area measuring 6 *shaku* each side, or 36 square *shaku* in all. Since the land survey of Japan ordered by Toyotomi Hideyoshi about 1590 (No. 149), the *tan* has consisted of 300 *bu*, instead of 360, so that the present *tan* and *chō* are five-sixths of the former units. At the same time, an intermediary unit called *se*, of 30 *bu*, is used; and the *bu* is now usually called *tsubo* (1 *chō* = 10 *tan* = 100 *se* = 3000 *tsubo*). A *shaku* was, as it still is, 11.9303 inches (.30303 meter); the other units stated in their Occidental equivalents are:

*Bu* (now *tsubo*) = 3.9540 square yards (.03306 are), or approximately 4 square yards;

*tan*, formerly = .2941 acre (11.9016 ares), or approximately .3 acre;

now = .2451 acre (9.91736 ares), or approximately ¼ acre;

*chō*, formerly = 2.9408 acres (1.19016 hectares), or approximately 3 acres;

now = 2.4506 acres (.991736 hectare), or approximately 2½ acres.

One square mile would contain about 217 *chō* 6 *tan* of the earlier system of measurement. Cf. the works on weights and measures by Ogiu, Kariya, and Mogami, edited in *Ni-hon kei-zai sō-sho*, III and XXX.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this is an error originating in the copy at the prefectural office, for a *yose-gōri* could not contain church and temple domains. The phrase "*yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*" must belong elsewhere. See the revision attempted below.

<sup>3</sup> "Koku-hun *Zhi*,"—a note in red.

*Koku-bun zhi* were provincial Buddhist churches supported by the government. Some of them had been established sporadically before 741, when by an imperial decree every *kuni* which had not yet done so was ordered to erect and maintain a church for priests and another for nuns. *Koku-bun zhi* were usually built near the seats of the provincial governments. The one at Satsuma is said to have been founded in 717 (see No. 25); it stood near the *kuni* government, and not far from the *Niita* temple.

It was not long before many of the *Koku-hun zhi* were eclipsed in influence by privately endowed churches and monasteries, and gradually decayed and passed out of existence. The nunneries disappeared the sooner. What few *Koku-hun zhi* have remained to this day have for centuries ceased to be official churches of the *kuni* in which they are situated.

<sup>4</sup> A note in red says correctly that the number should be 53.

<sup>5</sup> *An-raku zhi* was the Buddhist church that was closely connected with the Shintō temple Tenman at Da-zai Fu, in Chiku-zen *kuni*. *Koku-hun zhi* of Satsuma was related to *An-raku zhi*. See No. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Some omission in the copy occurs here.

<sup>7</sup> This and other domains "confiscated" had probably been controlled by the Taira and their followers now fallen and dispossessed.

<sup>8</sup> The honorific *go* is used here and elsewhere where the domains of the Konoé Regent are mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> See No. 8, n. 47.

<sup>10</sup> See No. 8, n. 65.

<sup>11</sup> A note in red: "Hachiman *Niita* temple."

<sup>12</sup> A note in red: "Go-dai *in*."

<sup>13</sup> "Public domains" (*kō-ryō*), as distinguished from *shō* and other domains under private control, literally meant fiscal land, whose taxes should go to the public treasury; but in fact these lands had become partly private in their financial obligations, at least in this *kuni*, almost without exception; thus, *yose-gōri* are included among the *kō-ryō*, as also some domains partially controlled by *Shō-Hachiman* temple.

<sup>14</sup> An error for 152.

<sup>15</sup> Names of *myō-den*; cf. No. 7.

<sup>16</sup> The original copy was damaged here. These signs (o o o) will always indicate, in this volume, worm-eaten or otherwise mutilated portions of documents. A note in red suggests that probably it was repeated in these lines that the *ji-tō* was *Chiha no suke*. The present editor holds another view; see his revision attempted below.

<sup>17</sup> Mantoku *myō* were domains of the Shintō temple *Shō-Hachiman*, at Kokuhu, Ōsumi, now officially styled Kagoshima *Zhin-gū*. Its title to part of the taxes from these three *myō* was disputed by Shimadzu *shō*, which probably claimed the same for itself. See No. 55, n. 3.

<sup>18</sup> The missing words were probably the same as in the next two lines, namely, "disputed by Shimadzu *shō*."

<sup>19</sup> There evidently are several errors in the text up to this point; nor do the figures tally with the totals. The editor has ventured to make the following revised text, in which the discrepancy in the figures will be found to be less than in the original transcription:

"Taki *kōri*, 255 *chō*; of which:

church domain, 53 *chō*, of which:

[35 *chō*], of *An-raku Zhi*,—

Yuta-ura, 18 *chō*, *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*, confiscated domain,—

church domain, 30 *chō*, of *Mi-roku Zhi*,—

temple domain, 30 *chō*, of *Mi-roku Zhi*,—

Public domains, 142 *chō*; confiscated domains,—

Wakayoshi, 36 *chō* [*yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*],—

Tokiyoshi, 18 *chō* [*yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*],—

Tokusue, 2 *chō* [*yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*],—

*ge-shi*, the priest *An-Zhō*;

—

*ji-to*, *Chiha no suke*;

*ge-shi*, the priest *An-Gyō*;

*ge-shi*, the priest *Kyō-Sō*;

*ji-tō*, *Chiha no suke*; of which:

original *gun-zhi*, *Yakushi-Maru*;

*myō-shu*, *Zaichō Michitomo*,

*myō-shu*, *Numada Tarō Sanehide*,

resident in *Higo kuni*;



Tadahisa, *ji-tō* of Ei, Ihusuki, Chiran, and Kiire, all in the south, as well as of Satsuma *kōri*; but it may be inferred from the land report of 1197 that Tadanao was replaced as *ji-tō* by Tadahisa, on his arrival in Satsuma about 1196, in nearly all of these districts. Tadanao was then the *gun-zhi* of Satsuma *kōri*.

Some time later Tadanao repaired the ruined old church and made it his family chapel; and inasmuch as it was within the *myō-den* which he was holding as *gun-zhi*, he felt at liberty to exempt the church land from the taxes which would otherwise he due him from it. It is even more noteworthy—and there are more important examples of this character in this period—that the church (*tera*) was treated in this devise in the same manner as would be a piece of real property or a *shiki* derivable from it. Why could it not be so treated, when the church possessed land and drew a revenue from it, and also received contributions of the faithful, and therefore represented an income? From the material point of view, the *za-su shiki* (cf. n. 1) of a *tera* was in reality parallel to the *myō-shu shiki* of a *myō-den* or the *gun-zhi shiki* of a *kōri*. A church as a whole could be, and often was, passed on from hand to hand as a *shiki*. And when its founder or patron was, as in the present example, a private layman, he or his successor was its collator, who would dispose of it as he wished. The reader will be reminded of closely similar examples found in the cartularies of medieval Europe. The subject is treated at length in Paul Thomas, *Le droit de propriété des laïques sur les églises*, 1906, and Émile Lesne, *Hist. de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, I, 1910, pp. 131 ff. U. Stutz's works on the *Eigenkirche* are well known.

"THE *gun-zhi* of Satsuma *kōri*, Taira no Tadanao, respectfully says

That the *za-su shiki*<sup>1</sup> of Hirare-ishi<sup>2</sup> *Dera*<sup>3</sup> is devised

[To his] seventh son Kamedō-Maru.<sup>4</sup>

"The four limits:<sup>5</sup>

the east is bounded by balk of rice-land;  
the south is bounded by the river;  
the west is bounded by the western edge of Mt. Nishiyama;  
the north is bounded by the valley Yutani.

"The aforesaid church, though it was an old church, was, at the time of the late *Ason* Tadanaga, repaired [by him], and was endowed with land as the wherewithal to perform Buddhist services intended to secure the prosperity of his descendants. Thereafter Tadanao marked the four limits [of the land] and exempted it from taxation.<sup>6</sup> Now, as his estate is being distributed amongst his children, this land is devised, together with all the accompanying documents, to his seventh son Kamedō-Maru. Since the said church bears no obligation to either the *shō* or the *kuni*,<sup>6</sup> henceforth the *gun-zhi* should not arbitrarily interfere with its affairs. If [any of Tadanao's successors] should act in contravention of this letter, an accusation should be made at the *shu-go's* [office], presenting this document, and declaring that [the accused] should not be considered as Tadanao's descendant. Thus is the devise made.

"Ken-nin 3 y. 5 m. 27 d. [7 July 1203].

Taira,<sup>7</sup> (monogram).

"Eldest son, Taira,<sup>8</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> The *shiki* of the head of the church. It might be intended perhaps that the devisee should take the tonsure and become the actual chief priest of the church, and so pray for the blessings of the family. This, however, need not be assumed, for the office of *za-su* might conceivably be a mere title and income, instead of the post of a real presiding priest.

<sup>2</sup> The old church was situated near the residence of the *gun-zhi*. Some later documents relative to the church are found in SK, according to which Tadanao's descendant, Tadahito, reinvested the church, in 1294, with the land referred to in this letter.

<sup>3</sup> *Tera* is the Japanese equivalent to the Sinico-Japanese *zhi*, a Buddhist church.



<sup>4</sup> The boyhood name of Shichiro *bō* Tadakane.

<sup>5</sup> The customary way of defining boundaries.

<sup>6</sup> This was a private arrangement. We must suppose that the church was exempt toward the *gun-zhi*, but the latter was obliged, as toward the *kuni* and the *shō*, to make good the deficiency in the tax returns caused by this private exemption of a part of the land he controlled. Therefore, his successor desired, in his letter to the *shu-go*, in 1236, that the church land be made publicly immune. *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xi, 5-6. An interesting parallel to the European *eleemosyna*.

<sup>7</sup> Tadanao.

<sup>8</sup> This is the Tadatomo of Nos. 8 and 9. The counter-signature of the heir, as in this instance, occurs, but not regularly, in letters of devise.

## 11. DONATION BY KI MASA-IE, 1204

(SK, II, from a Gon Shū-in doc. now lost.)

IN 1197 Ki Masa-ie was styled *gō-shi*, head of the *gō*, of the *yose-gōri* in Miyasato *gō*, while its *ji-tō* was Tadahisa, (cf. No. 9). In the next year Tadahisa was granted by the *shō-gun's* government the *gun-zhi myō-den* in the *gō*, (SK, I). Here, in 1204, however, we find Masa-ie calling himself *ji-tō* of the *gō*; it follows either that he had replaced Tadahisa in that capacity or that he had used the word *ji-tō* carelessly in its general connotation as chief of the land.

The great Ki family claimed its descent from the long-lived Minister Takeshiuchi *no Sukune*, who flourished in the second and third centuries A.D. The influence of the family at Kyōto was later eclipsed by that of the Fujiwara, but men of Ki penetrated into many parts of Japan, where their descendants prospered under various family-names.<sup>1</sup> Those who settled at Miyasato evidently adopted that name. Some of the Miyasato later served under Iriki lords.

The present main descendant of the family, the good Mr. Miyasato Sakaé, was in 1919, when the present editor made his acquaintance, serving as the elected head of the Iriki village. He has given the editor valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume.

"Ki *no* Masa-ie, *san-i*, the *ji-tō* of Miyasato *gō*

Reverently offers to Shinao<sup>2</sup> temple a *ta* of three *tan*, *aza-na*<sup>3</sup> o o o and a long *hata*, one house,<sup>4</sup> as provision for repair.

"The *ta* originally granted to the aforesaid temple was in the *myō-den* of Tokiyoshi,<sup>5</sup> but as the said *ta* became wild land, [the temple] has already been ruined. Why should not the heads of *myō*<sup>6</sup> in the *gō* revere the protecting deity established therein? Therefore, for the sake of the prayer to ward off calamities, the above-mentioned *ta* and *hata* are contributed. In order that the aforesaid *ta* and *hata* be cultivated, and damage or ruin of the said temple be repaired, and that the happiness and longevity of the entire house be prayed for, this donation is hereby made.

"Ken-nin 4 y. 2 m. 10 d. [13 March 1204]. *San-i*, Ki, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Genealogies in *Gun-zho rui-zhū*, IV, 263-285, and *Zoku gun-zho rui-zhū*, VII, 180-212.

<sup>2</sup> The Shintō temple Shinao is opposite the temple Nūta, across the river Sendai.

<sup>3</sup> *Aza-na* means name, either of a person or of a piece of land. Here the meaning is the latter, but the proper name is mutilated.

<sup>4</sup> "One house" either is a miscopy of "one place," or there is an omission before the phrase.

<sup>5</sup> Tokiyoshi *myō-den* were scattered in Satsuma, Tōgō, and Taki districts. See Nos. 7 and 9.

<sup>6</sup> Masa-ie was also a *myō*-head.

## 12. PETITION AND ORDERS RELATIVE TO YAMADA *MURA*, 1217-1218

(Nagatoshi docs.; also *KK*, XI, and *SK*, II.)

REFER to Nos. 2, 4, and 5. As formerly Ōkura Tane-akira had married the eldest daughter of Tomo Nohu-akira and so inherited the latter's *ji-tō shiki* of Yamada *mura*, likewise had Minamoto Munehisa lately married Ōkura's granddaughter, who received the same *shiki* from the hands of her father. (Cf. n. 1 to No. 5.) In the meantime, the *shiki* had come to be called, not *ji-tō*, but *myō-tō*, the same as *myō-shu*, head of *myō*; for the *ji-tō* was now Shimadzu Tadahisa. (See No. 9.)

Let it be clearly understood that Yamada *mura*, as a *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*, was half public and half private, and yielded taxes both to the *kuni* and to the *shō*. Presumably it was the duty of the *myō*-holder to deliver the taxes to representatives of both. The agent of the *shō* who resided in the *yose-gōri* and received from the *myō-tō* that part of the taxes which was due to the *shō*, was called the *ben-zai shi*. The latter then sent the dues he received to the *ji-tō*, Shimadzu Tadahisa, or his deputy. Tadahisa, in his turn, after deducting his share in the revenue, forwarded to the noble domainial lord at Kyōto the incomes from this and all other *yose-gōri* and from the *shō* proper. At least, we suppose that such was the normal procedure at the time of these documents.

### A. Munehisa's petition, 1217.

"MINAMOTO NO MUNEHISA'S petition, 0 0 0<sup>1</sup>

Begging that, specially by gracious sanction, both by reason of the documents relative to hereditary succession, and in accordance with the fact of possession for generation after generation, permission be granted; being a statement of grievance regarding the *myō-tō shiki* of Yamada *mura* in Satsuma *kōri*, the domain in Satsuma[*kuni*] of Shimadzu *shō*.

"Presented herewith:

the successive documents.

"Upon respectfully examining the records, [it is found that] the said *mura* is a domain of Munehisa's wife inherited successively from her ancestors. It was, during the incumbency of her great-great-grandfather, Nobufusa, seized for a time by Tadakage, the *jū-nin* of Satsuma, when he attempted an uprising and possessed himself of the whole *kuni*. Following this evil example, Kanemune, alleging [that he held the] *ben-zai shi shiki* for the *shō*, seized the said place. Thereupon, during the administration of the *shō* by the former governor of Yetchū, as her great-grandfather Nobu-akira reported the aforementioned circumstances, sanction was granted him, by reason of the documents, to [hold the *shiki*] as before; and he openly held it. Likewise, the late Tanenobu, father of Munehisa's wife, held it in succession. After Tanenobu's death, she possessed it without obstruction, but since the dues and services for the *shō* and the *kuni* were unbearably onerous, her agent Sanekiyo absconded. Then Tomohisa,<sup>2</sup> as *ben-zai shi*, seized [the *myō-to shiki*] under false pretenses, and [her possession of it] has thus been interrupted for five or six years. In order that by gracious sanction, by reason of the letters of devise of the successive generations, Tomohisa's wilful seizure be stopped, and permission be granted [to Munehisa] to hold [the *shiki*] as before, so that the obligations toward the *shō* and the *kuni* might be rendered, the circumstances are hereby detailed and the petition presented.

"Ken-po 5 y. 8 m. — d.<sup>5</sup> [September 1217]. Minamoto *no* Munehisa, petitioner."

## B. Marginal order by the domanial lord's office.

"THE matter of the said *mura*, according to the petition, is reasonable [on the part of the petitioner]. It has been commanded that Munehisa should, in accordance with the principle of heredity, at once possess [the *shiki*] without molestation.

"*Saémon no zhō*, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram)."

C. Executive order of the office of the *shō*, 1217.

"THE office<sup>3</sup> of the *shō*

Executes [the domanial lord's order] in regard to the *myō-tō shiki* of Yamada *mura* in Satsuma *kōri*, the domain in Satsuma [*kuni*].

"The petition presented to the Capital<sup>4</sup> last eighth month and day<sup>5</sup> by Minamoto no Munehisa, which has been sent down here, says:— . . . [here follows a quotation from the petition, from "The said *mura* is a domain" to "Tanehisa, as *ben-zai shi*, seized [the *myō-tō shiki*] under false pretenses."] The marginal order says:— 'The matter of the said *mura*, according to the petition, is reasonable [on the part of the petitioner]. It has been commanded that Munehisa should, in accordance with the principle of heredity, at once possess [the *shiki*] without molestation.' Accordingly, [the order] is hereby executed.

"Ken-pō 5 y. 9 m. 26 d. [27 October 1217] *Bettō*, Tomo no Ason.

*Bettō*, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram).

*Bettō*, Tomo no Ason.

*Shami*,<sup>6</sup> (monogram).

*Bettō*, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram).

*Bettō*, Fujiwara no Ason.

*Bettō*, Tomo no Ason, (monogram).

*Bettō*, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram).

*Shikkō*, Tomo no Ason, (monogram).

*Bettō*, Awashima no Sukune, (monogram).

*Bettō*, Fujiwara no Ason.

*Bettō*, Tomo no Ason.

*Shikkō* in charge, *Gyō-bu no zhō*, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram)."

D. Order by the *shō-gun's* office to Tadahisa, 1218.

"THE petition<sup>7</sup> of Ōkura *uji*,<sup>8</sup> the original possessor (*hon ryō-shu*)<sup>9</sup> of Yamada *mura* in Satsuma *kōri*, is herewith forwarded. According to the document, *Ukon no shō-gen* Tomohisa's outrage seems undeniable. Proceeding at once to inquire into the circumstances, [you] should, if the alleged act is true, forward him<sup>10</sup> to the Kwan-tō.<sup>11</sup> The order is hereby conveyed.

"10 m. 27 d. [16 November 1218]. *Ukyō no gon no daibu*,<sup>12</sup> (monogram).

"Shimadzu *Saémon no zhō*<sup>13</sup> dono."<sup>14</sup>

E. Tadahisa's order, 1218.

“(Tadahisa's monogram.)

“IN regard to the *myō-tō shiki* of Yamada *mura* in Satsuma *kōri*, since the lady of the Ōkura *uji*, in possession of the documents, has appealed for its restoration,<sup>15</sup> a marginal order has been granted that she should, by reason of the documents, possess [the *shiki*]. It is hereby ordered that Ōkura *uji* should immediately, without molestation, be installed in the said *mura*.

“Ken-po 6 y. 11 m. 26 d. [15 December 1218]. *Nakatsukasa no zhō* o o o<sup>16</sup>

“The deputy *ji-tō dono*, for Satsuma.”

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the line is incomplete and unintelligible, but will not be missed, the meaning of the petition being sufficiently clear without this line.

<sup>2</sup> Tomohisa, an *ukon no shō-gen*, according to the next year's document, may have been a successor to Taira Tadanaga, Tadanao, and Tadatomo, *gun-zhi* of Satsuma *kōri*. Cf. Nos. 8 and 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Man-dokoro*; see No. 1, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Kyōto, where the domanial lord, Konoé Motomichi, resided.

<sup>5</sup> See No. 5, n. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Sha-mi* or *nyū-dō* was one who took the Buddhist tonsure but did not join a monastery or church and still lived in the family. See No. 13, n. 38.

<sup>7</sup> The text of this petition does not exist. It probably followed the last one, as Tomohisa's usurpation continued.

<sup>8</sup> *Uji* is families acknowledging a common ancestry. When a person is referred to in this period, however, as so-and-so *uji*, it usually means a female member of that race. Sometimes *me*, woman, is added to *uji* (as *uji-me*), but not as a rule. Here “Ōkura *uji*” refers to Munehisa's wife.

<sup>9</sup> The word “original” (*hon*) refers to the original, as distinguished from a derived, title, and does not imply either a title acquired for the first time or a title originally held but now lost.

<sup>10</sup> This shows that Tomohisa was a *go ke-nin*.

<sup>11</sup> The Kwan-tō was the general region directly east (*tō*) of the Ashigara pass (*kwan*, *seki*) in the Hakone mountain range, in which region Kamakura was situated. Here it specifically refers to the central feudal government at Kamakura.

<sup>12</sup> The *shō-gun's* commissioner. If the *u* (right) in *ukyō* may be assumed to be an error of *sa* (left), then the commissioner was Hōjō Tokimasa, the regent of the *shō-gun*.

<sup>13</sup> Shimadzu Tadahisa.

<sup>14</sup> *Dono* was the common honorific for gentlemen.

<sup>15</sup> A free translation of the word *an-do*, which means, literally, to give peaceful enjoyment of land. When *an-do* is given for the first time or to an heir at succession, it amounts to investiture or confirmation, and the word may be so translated. See the preface to No. 21.

<sup>16</sup> Three characters indistinct. This is Tadahisa's subordinate signing the order in his master's behalf.

### 13. WILL OF SHIBUYA JŌ-SHIN, 1245

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, I, and *SK*, III.)

IN this document we for the first time meet a lord of the Iriki-in family. Shihuya Jō-Shin was to become two years hence the first chief of this illustrious line of warriors.

As has been shown in the Introduction, the Shihuya were of the great Taira stock, which descended from the Emperor Kwanmu, who reigned between 781 and 806. His great-grandson, Prince Takamochi, had several sons. One of them was progenitor of the picturesque warrior-statesman, Taira no Kiyomori, who in 1167 rose to the premiership of Japan and gave his house a short span of glory, and also of the Hōjō regents who were real rulers of feudal Japan for more than a hundred years till 1333. Descendants of another of the prince's sons ramified into the families of



Muraoka, Miura, Chiha, Hatakeyama, Shihuya, and others, all adorning the annals of the feudal ages with valorous deeds of their members.

The first Shihuya, Taira *no* Shigekuni, took his family-name from the *shō* of Shihuya, near Kamakura, in the *kuni* of Sagami, in which he held a *shiki*, serving the *shō-gun* as his immediate vassal. His eldest son, Mitsushige, seems to have controlled *shiki* in Satsuma, in addition to those in Sagami, Kōtsuke, Ise, and Mimasaka.<sup>1</sup> The times had then changed. Yoritomo had been dead nearly a half-century, and twenty years after his death the last scion of his house was assassinated, and, under the nominal rule of the princes and the civil nobles whom they invited from Kyōto to assume the title of *shō-gun*, the Hōjō regents at Kamakura had succeeded in gathering all political powers into their hands. Apprehensive that the latter might perhaps encompass the ruin of his house, says the tradition, as they had done that of others, Shihuya Mitsushige persuaded the authorities to permit his younger children to migrate to distant Satsuma and settle there as advance guards of Kamakura. Leaving his eldest son, Shigenao, at Shihuya, Mitsushige sent south, in 1247 or 1248, his five younger sons and their families and retainers, and distributed—as in those days family properties were as a rule divided amongst children—his *ji-tō shiki* in central Satsuma as follows:

- the second son Saneshige received Tōgō;
- the third son Shigeyasu received Ketō *in*;
- the fourth son Shigemoro received Tsuruda;
- the fifth son Jō-Shin<sup>2</sup> received Iriki *in*; and
- the sixth son Shigesada received Taki *kōri*,

each taking the name of the locality as his family-name.<sup>3</sup> So began the settlement, on the rich sedimentary soil along the lower course of the river Sendai, of the five vigorous offshoots of the Shihuya family. We may imagine what a stir this sudden descent of eastern warriors all united in blood must have caused among the local chieftains, and what a sense of uneasiness it must have struck into the hearts of the Shimadzu. The event did not bode well for them.

It should be noted that the document given below is dated 1245; Jō-Shin was still in Sagami, and his later possessions at Iriki could not therefore figure in this devise.

The devise itself reveals a highly interesting state of the family and social institutions which obtained among the feudal classes of this period. The family had for many ages been agnatic: the sons generally received through the devise hereditary interests in land, but the widow and the daughters, usually only life interests. The family had long been also patriarchal, but the power of its chief heir over the clan, as distinguished from his power over his immediate family, was limited: the eldest son after succession consulted and acted together with his younger brothers who had established their own households, on all important family affairs. One would note particularly the fact that the interest of the feudal organization of society had not yet produced a state of primogeniture. The father freely made a testament, and revised and revoked it at will, dividing his estate into unequal parts and distributing them among his children, and subsequently redistributing them as he thought best;<sup>4</sup> and it would appear that this privilege was often exercised by the vassal without a formal sanction by the lord prior to the act, so long as the feudal service the former owed the latter was unimpaired by the division; the younger co-heirs would render their respective shares of the service, the daughters through proxies, under the general direction of the chief heir. It should not be supposed that this was a division either by "*parage*" or by subinfeudation of the younger members—*per paragium* or *per homagium*: the co-heirs were individually considered by the suzerain as his *go ke-nin*, and their holdings under the devise were separately recognized by his letters of confirmation (*cf.* Nos. 21, 23, etc.); the chief heir merely received a little larger share of the father's estate than the others, and exercised a mild supervisory power over them, who were not his vassals, but his peers before the suzerain. Clearly, this was not even a *parage général* as obtained in Normandy (see *Summa de legibus Normannie*, ed. Tardif, c. 28 and 34), still less *parage particulier*, that is, *parage* with homage, as was described by Beaumanoir (*Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, ed. Salmon, c. 464 and 465), but rather like the condition which was contemplated by Philip Augustus's law of 1209 abolishing *parage* in the royal domains (*Ordonnances des rois de France*, I, 29).

The editor thinks that the chief reasons for the comparative freedom in these respects of the vassal in regard to his lord, and of the co-heirs in regard to the chief heir, must be sought (1) in

the singularly uncontrolled state which characterized the conveyance of landed *shiki* during the pre-feudal period;<sup>5</sup> (2) in the freedom of making wills allowed in the Chinese law of the T'ang period which was adopted in Japan from the early eighth century;<sup>6</sup> and (3) in the delay in the general recognition of the need of the principle of primogeniture, to which we have alluded. This principle would be evolved sooner or later, as may be traced through some of our documents, under the impact of social unrest and warfare which was intensified in the following ages. The state revealed by the present document was transitional. It is to be noted that, in feudal Japan, the direction of evolution was not, as in France after the twelfth century, from a more restricted to a freer law of primogeniture, but, on the contrary, from comparative freedom in succession to the more rigorous principle of primogeniture. This is one of the several important aspects of Japanese feudalism which, owing largely to the lateness in her history of the advent of a prolonged and intensive civil war, pursued a course of development reverse to that in French feudalism, but nearer to that in the German.

[Marginal note]: "[This] letter of devise to Saburō, Shirō, Gorō, and Zhiro-Saburō, is by another's hand.<sup>7</sup> (Jō-Shin's monogram.)"

"SETTLEMENT concerning the obligations<sup>7a</sup> and, also, other matters which the sons should know.

"The extent of the *ta* [burdened] with obligations(*ku-zhi*):<sup>7a</sup>

"Distributed [also] in Kawaé *gō*, [Mimasaka *kuni*<sup>8</sup>]: the original extent, thirty-one *chō* two *tan*.<sup>8a</sup>

"Saburō's<sup>9</sup> share: seventeen *chō* [four *tan*],<sup>10</sup> at Kawaé.

"*Ta* with obligations,<sup>7a</sup> ten *chō*.

"Also at Ōrui, [Kōtsuke<sup>11</sup> *kuni*], nine *chō*, besides Uchi-mojiri, [Sagami],<sup>12</sup> three *chō*.

"Shirō's<sup>13</sup> share: four *chō* three *tan*, at Kawaé.

"*Ta* with obligations,<sup>7a</sup> four *chō* three *tan*.

"Dai-ku-den, [Ise],<sup>14</sup> ten *chō* four *tan*.

"Gorō's<sup>15</sup> share: four *chō*, at Kawaé.

"*Ta* with obligations,<sup>7a</sup> one *chō* six *tan*.

"Zhiro-Saburō's<sup>16</sup> share: seven *chō* five *tan*, at Kawaé.

"*Ta* with obligations,<sup>7a</sup> three *chō* five *tan*.

"North Uchi-mojiri, [Sagami], three *chō*.

The above *ta* aggregating 56 *chō* 6 *tan*.

"However, the *ta* with obligations<sup>7a</sup> which the late lord *nyū-dō* granted [to Jō-Shin] was nineteen *chō* 4 *tan*; wherefore the various obligations<sup>7a</sup> have for these years been rendered with [proceeds from] these *ta*. Therefore, I have examined and apportioned the said *ta*.

"The Grand Guard<sup>17</sup> service at Kyōto shall be performed by the four sons according to the capacity of their [shares of the] *ta* [burdened] with obligations.<sup>7a</sup>

"It should be Saburō's sole care to send *toneri*<sup>18</sup> to the religious festival<sup>19</sup> at Kamakura.

"When laborers<sup>20</sup> are called for from Kamakura, they should be taken from Uchi-mojiri,<sup>12</sup> Fukaya,<sup>12</sup> and Fuji-gokoro,<sup>12</sup> in due proportion to the homesteads,<sup>21</sup> *ta*, and *hata* [comprised therein]. If many laborers are required, they may be levied on the daughter's shares as well. At two in every three [assessments], the laborers should be forwarded from Uchi-mojiri.

"The *ō-yuka*<sup>22</sup> service should, twice in every five times, be performed by Saburō, and the other three times, by the other three. Men of Ochiai<sup>12</sup> should coöperate.

"When the fuel<sup>23</sup> for the great court<sup>24</sup> is demanded, one hundred *mon*<sup>26</sup> shall be levied on all the peasant-homesteads<sup>25</sup> in Fukaya and Fuji-gokoro without exception, and, added to the two hundred *mon* for Ochiai and Lower Fukaya, the time of the laborers should be commuted for with these three hundred *mon*. This should be borne in mind.

"At the festivals of the five temples,<sup>27</sup> or when there are repairs to be made there, precedents shall be examined and the services shared according to capacity without negligence.

"The residence<sup>28</sup> at Kamakura is granted to Saburō. However, lodging shall be given to the brothers against whom he has no cause for ill-will. It is often observed that one refuses lodging to his brothers, while he allows it to others. Such conduct would be contrary to the father's command. If a refusal be stringent, the matter shall be reported to the authorities.<sup>29</sup>

"Regarding the servants,<sup>30</sup> instructions have already been given. Also, concerning what little common chattel<sup>31</sup> there is, the widow-nun<sup>32</sup> shall be consulted and her direction be followed.

"As regards the peasant-homesteads<sup>25</sup> and *ta* and *kata* that are divided to a daughter,<sup>33</sup> if the said daughter should [be reported to have] committed an outrageous wrong, the sons should together carefully examine whether it was true, and, if true, the sons should, without [the formality of] reporting to the authorities,<sup>29</sup> take the homestead of said [daughter], and divide and hold it; it should never be given to the daughter's children.

"If any of the sons, no matter what might happen, should depend upon one on whom he should not depend,<sup>34</sup> and conduct himself shamelessly, the other brothers should, of one mind, divide and hold the said [brother's] homestead, without [the formality of] reporting to the authorities.<sup>29</sup>

"It should never take place that one<sup>35</sup> who has well served the parents<sup>36</sup> and is faithful should, after their death, be at some time or other found fault with and then be treated with great harshness.

"[Children] should not, under the pretext of performing Buddhist rites for [the welfare of the soul of] a parent, exact things from persons without fault and perform the rites therewith; [such act] would not constitute a (religious) merit.

"If any of the sons or grandsons should stake his homestead in gambling, the others should, consulting, for once restore the property and make him declare in writing, under oath, that he would not repeat such act; if he still liked [to gamble] and went wild, [the others] should, with the statement that they were following the parents' instructions, divide and hold his homestead.

"Besides the above, there is little to be said. All persons high and low should refrain from transgressing this letter. Never on a single matter should [the directions of this letter] be disobeyed.

"Kwan-gen 3 y., *kinoto-mi*,<sup>37</sup> 5 m. 11 d. [6 June 1245]. Priest,<sup>38</sup> (Jō-Shin's monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Inferring from our documents.

<sup>2</sup> Jō-Shin was the Buddhist name of this son. His former name doubtless had "shige" as its part, as most of the men of the family did, but does not appear in any of the documents, and has been forgotten.

<sup>3</sup> From *Shibuya kei-fu*; *Satsuma shi*, III; etc.

<sup>4</sup> See the later wills in this volume.

<sup>5</sup> This point is discussed in general terms in the editor's articles, "Some aspects," "Agriculture," "The early *shō*"; see Bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> The *Ryō no gi-ge*, last clauses of c. viii, 23, and c. xxvi, 13. See the *Ryō no shū-ge*, x (edition 1912, I, 323-324).

<sup>7</sup> *Ta-hitsu*, that is, not holographic. This statement would seem to reveal the state of culture of the writer.

<sup>7a</sup> *Ku-zhi* (literally, public matters), obligations, in this instance, owed to the *shō-gun*. Further see No. 142, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Kawaé is a region situated in the extreme south of Agata *kōri*, Mimasaka *kuni*, just beyond the border of Bizen *kuni*. The place is generally so mountainous that rice was cultivated only in small and sparsely scattered plots, and the hamlets were few; in some places, tea was raised instead, and in some others paper was made.

Of the fifteen villages of which Kawaé consisted in later ages, Miyaji, Yokogawa, and North (Kita) and South (Minami) *mura*, lying mostly on both sides of the river Taki-gawa, were called Zhitchō (Ten Chō); this is the part that was held by the Shihuya, although traditions about them remained also in Kōda *mura* further west. (See *Tō-Saku shi*, 364-431.)

For a hundred years hence, Kawaé, judging from our documents (Nos. 13, 14, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 30, 35, 38, 41-44, 46, and 93), continued to be a "public domain," that is, was not converted into a private domain, for it is mentioned as a *gō*, not a *shō*: *gō* was in this period a public administrative unit. In documents dated between 1334 and 1400, the last year in which the place figures among the holdings of the Iriki-in families, Kawaé is designated a *shō* (Nos. 77 A, 79, 93, 97, 114, and 138); it is unknown how the region had fallen into private hands or who were its successive domainial lords.

<sup>8a</sup> This is obscure, but it is meant that, although the "obligations" (*ku-zhi*) to the *shō-gun* were formerly borne by the domains at Dai-ku-den and Ōrui (cf. No. 17), they are now distributed in part among the lands at Kawaé.

<sup>9</sup> Sahurō was the chief heir Akishige.

<sup>10</sup> Omission by error.

<sup>11</sup> Ōrui, east of the present town of Takasaki, Kōtsuke *kuni*; in this vicinity were many warriors of the Kodama party. According to the *Adzuma-kagami* (iii, Kikkawa text, I, 91), Shihuya Mitsubige, uncle of Jō-Shin, was in 1184 holding Kurokawa *gō*, in Kōtsuke *kuni*. This may be in the so-called Kurokawa valley near the eastern boundary of the *kuni* along the upper Watarase River, some forty miles northeast of Ōrui. If Kōtsuke is an error for Shimotsuke, then the Kurokawa *gō* in the latter *kuni* was at its northeast corner and quite far from Ōrui. The domainial lord of neither Ōrui nor Kurokawa is known.

<sup>12</sup> Uchi-mojiri, Fukaya, Ochiai,—these were all between the rivers Sagami and Sakai, in Shihuya *shō* proper, the chief domain of the Shibuya family, as described in the Introduction. Uchi-mojiri the editor assumes to be the same as the modern Uchi-modori; Ochiai and Fukaya are to the northeast of the latter. Fuji-gokoro cannot be identified, but may likely have also been in this general region.

It is of interest to note that, so far as the present document is concerned, the obligations (*ku-zhi*) that are enumerated as due to the *shō-gun* from Jō-Shin and his children as *go ke-nin* were rendered for parts of their holdings in Shihuya *shō*, and not for their domains held in the more remote Kōtsuke, Ise, and Mimasaka.

<sup>13</sup> Shirō, or Goro-Shirō, Shigetsune, the ancestor of the Terao branch.

<sup>14</sup> Dai-ku-den, Ise *kuni*, was, according to No. 14, in the domain (*mi-kuriya*) at Mida, Kawage *kōri*, mentioned in the *Zhin-pō shō*, the catalogue of the domains of the Great Temples of Ise



compiled early in the Kamakura period. (See *Go-rei i-kyō*, part of Kawakuma *kōri*, iii, pp. 33-36; *San-goku chi-shi*, by Tōdō Gen-po, XX, 1763,—ed. 1916, I, p. 108.)

Early in the thirteenth century, one Shihuya Zen-zaemon was *ji-tō* of a domain under the courtier-poet Fujiwara no Sada-iē (Tei-ka), at Ko Asaka, Ichisi *kōri*, Ise *kuni*. (See *Adzuma-kagami*, xx,—Kikkawa text, II, 97; and *Mei-gestu shō*, Sada-iē's *diary*, viii, xvi, and xlv.) Since Ko Asaka also was a *mi-kuriya* of the Great Temples (according to the *Zhin-pō shō*), the temples were probably its *hon-ke*, and Sada-iē its *ryō-ke*. The relation of the *ji-tō* Shihuya Zen-zaemon to the house of Mitsushige and Jō-Shin is not clear.

<sup>15</sup> Gorō Shigekata, the ancestor of the Shimomura branch.

<sup>16</sup> Zhiro-Saburō Shigezumi, older than Sahurō, but child by a secondary consort.

<sup>17</sup> *Ō ban*, literally, grand rotation, was the guardsman's service at the imperial city and palace at Kyōto. This service, public in its original character, devolved upon the *go ke-nin* from the pre-feudal ages, when it was done by rotation by able-bodied free male citizens of age. Yoritomo made the service incumbent upon all his *go ke-nin*, but changed its duration to six months in the year from the older term of three consecutive years. Later, it was further abridged to three months, and was suspended a while in the second half of the thirteenth century when warriors were detailed to guard frontiers against the Mongol invaders. In 1264, as at the time of this document, the term still remained six months. *SK*, IV and V; *Hishizhima mon-zho*, II.

<sup>18</sup> Servants assisting at the festival.

<sup>19</sup> The annual festival of Tsuru-ga-oka Hachiman, the guardian temple of the *shō-gun's* house.

<sup>20</sup> *Nin-bu*.

<sup>21</sup> *Ya-shiki*, residence of a warrior. Often some *hata* or *ta* is included in the meaning of the term, and hence the word "homestead" has been chosen as representing buildings *plus* adjoining land; see No. 7, and No. 104, n. 22. Cf. *capitale masnagium* in the *Très ancien coutumier de Normandie*, c. 70, etc.

<sup>22</sup> *Ō-yuka*, literally, great floor or veranda, referring to that of a warrior-lord's residence. The *ō-yuka* service probably is that service of attendance at the *shō-gun's* court done by his *go ke-nin*, which was limited to one month.

<sup>23</sup> *Maki*, wood for fuel.

<sup>24</sup> *Ō-ba* or *ō-niwa*. Is it the *shō-gun's* court?

<sup>25</sup> *Zai-ke*, literally, rural house, was the term applied to the peasant's dwelling with its appurtenances and the little land beside it which belonged to it. The *zai-ke* as peasant homestead was essentially the same in economic structure, except in size and importance, as the *ya-shiki*, i.e., the warrior's homestead (n. 21, above). It should be borne in mind, however, that these terms were not always rigidly differentiated in their application to the homesteads of the two respective classes of people; indeed, the classes themselves had not yet been totally differentiated. Nor should it be forgotten that these terms could mean merely houses, which was their literal signification, if no piece of land accompanied them. At any event, both *yashiki* and *zai-ke* were, regardless of their differences in magnitude, important concrete units in the fiscal arrangement of all feudal ages. Further see No. 7, and No. 104, n. 22.

<sup>26</sup> *Mon*, a copper coin, the lowest unit in the monetary system, 1,000 *mon* making one *kwan*. See No. 50, n. 4.

<sup>27</sup> The reference is not clear.

<sup>28</sup> *Ya-chi*, residence. Important *go ke-nin* who attended frequently at the *shō-gun's* court had their houses at Kamakura.

<sup>29</sup> *Kami*; probably the *shō-gun's* government is meant.

<sup>30</sup> *Ge-nin*, literally, low men.

<sup>31</sup> *Se-ken no gu-soku*. *Gu-soku*, literally, complete outfit, in later ages meant armor. Here the term would seem to refer to the movable property acquired by servants; if so, then the clause may be said to reveal the personal status of the servants designated *ge-nin*.

<sup>32</sup> Wife of the testator. He is writing in anticipation of the time after his death.

<sup>33</sup> Jō-Shin had three daughters.

<sup>34</sup> That is, change his allegiance to another lord.

<sup>35</sup> A servitor. Is it a *ge-nin* (nn. 30 and 31) or a hereditary vassal?

<sup>36</sup> The testator himself and his wife.

<sup>37</sup> The forty-second year in the sexagenary cycle of Chinese origin.

<sup>38</sup> Jō-Shin is a Buddhist name; its owner had taken a Buddhist vow and shaved his head. Though he called himself priest (*shō*), he presumably was, like many another man in this period, a mere *nyū-dō*, that is, did not forsake society and seclude himself in a church or monastery, but still lived a secular life, and continued to transact worldly business.

#### 14. WILL OF SHIBUYA JŌ-SHIN, 1246<sup>1</sup>

(A copy in Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, VIII, and *SK*, III.)

[On the reserve side of right edge]:

"The houses, *ta* and *hata*, at o o o<sup>2</sup> hy grandfather have been wholly devised to Shigetsune.

"Hō-ji 3 y. 1 m. 10 d. [23 February 1249]. *Monogram*."<sup>3</sup>

"Devise of homesteads and documents

To Shirō Shigetsune.<sup>4</sup>

"One place: Terao<sup>5</sup> *mura*, in Yoshida upper *shō*,<sup>5</sup> in Sagami *kuni*.

"Boundaries:<sup>6</sup> Eastern limit: bounded by the mound newly made in the middle of the plain, and Kogita road at the same place[?]; also bounded by the hawks of the rice-fields[?];

Southern limit: old boundary road;

Western limit: Hoso-ōji;

Northern limit: lane by the emhankment before Hironari.

"One place: Dai-ku-den, at Mita, in Ise *kuni*.

"This is cultivated *ta* having no boundaries.

"Of these [*ta*], the one *chō* granted to Oto *go-zen*<sup>7</sup> has been excepted.

"One place: north of the river, of Zhitchō<sup>8</sup> *mura*, in Kawaé *gō*, in Mimasaka *kuni*.

"Boundaries:<sup>6</sup> Eastern limit: the stream from right of Mt. Nerikane;

Southern limit: the same stream;

Western limit: Shirahashi hill, Nakayasu, Ōiwase;

Northern limit: the Emi boundary.

"The *ta* [burdened] with obligations: four *chō* three *tan*.

"The aforesaid places shall, according to precedents, be controlled<sup>9</sup> and held<sup>10</sup> [by Shigetsune]. Devised thus.

"Kwan-gen 4 y. 3 m. 29 d. [16 April 1246]. Priest, [Jō-Shin's] *monogram*."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *shō-gun*'s government granted a letter of recognition in 1255, sanctioning this will and the subsequent will of 1251. See No. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Three characters miscopied and unintelligible, the first two of which would seem to be Uchi-mojiri.

<sup>3</sup> In copies, monograms are usually not written, but their presence in the original is indicated in the copies by the word *ari han*; i.e., "[here] is the monogram." In our translations of copies, this word is rendered as *monogram* in italics without brackets. Here the monogram must be Jō-Shin's.

<sup>4</sup> The first of the Terao branch, deriving that name from the *mura* mentioned in the text.

<sup>5</sup> That Shihuya *shō* in Takakura *kōri*, Sagami *kuni*, was the chief domain of the Shihuya family has been explained in the Introduction. Terao, mentioned here, from which Shigetsune's descendants derived their family-name, is north of Fukaya, Ochiai, and Uchi-mojiri which appear in No. 13 and other Iriki-in documents. These places were all situated within this extensive *shō*, as was probably also Fujigokoro. There occurs in the *Adzuma-kagami* an important document dated 1193, quoted below, regarding Yoshida *shō*, of which the Shihuya are stated to have been *ji-tō*. Since Yoshida

lies in Kamakura *kōri* east of Shihuya, near the modern town of Todzuka, scholars have been puzzled as to whether Shihuya *shō* in 1193 extended over both *kōri* (see *Shin-pen Sagami jū-do ki*, xcix, 34; Yoshida Tōgo's *Dai Ni-hon chi-mei zhi-sho*, 2704), but the present document would lead us to infer that, in the early Kamakura period, Shihuya in Takakura *kōri* constituted the upper part of Yoshida *shō*, whose domanial lord was the Buddhist house En-man *in*, of the great monastery On-zhō *zhi*, at Mii, Ōmi, and which was indifferently called Shihuya *shō* or Yoshida *shō*; that is, Yoshida upper *shō* was not in Kamakura *kōri*, for Terao, which is in Shihuya, is mentioned as comprised in it. On the other hand, Yoshida *gō* in Yama-no-uchi *shō* in which En-gaku *zhi* of Kamakura held a domain from the latter half of the thirteenth century (*Shin-pen Sagami*, etc., lxxix, 4 and 6) may be presumed to be Yoshida proper, in Kamakura *kōri*; whether this Yoshida once formed a part of a Yoshida lower *shō* is unknown.

The passage in the *Adzuma-kagami* referred to above (xi,—Kikkawa text, I, 405-406) reads as follows:

"[Ken-kyū 3 y. 12 m. 20 d. (24 January 1193).] Since men of the Shihuya [family] were singularly brave, and so were favorably considered [by the *shō-gun*], be, in order that they be rewarded for their performance of obligations (*ku-zhi*), obtained for them from En-man *in*,<sup>a</sup> the *ryō-ke*, an *uke-shō*<sup>b</sup> of the *ji-tō* [*shiki*] of Yoshida *shō*, Sagami *kuni*, which they were holding, and rendered the taxes [due from the *uke-shō*] from the contents of his own treasury.

"The *man-dokoro* of the house of the former *U dai-shō* [issues] this invoice of the annual taxes now transported in behalf of Yoshida *shō*, Sagami *kuni*.

"[Taxes] commuted in cloth, 674 *tan* 2 *jō*,  
inclusive of 61 *tan* for the earlier due;

cloth, 267 *tan*.

"Dyed clothes (*some-ginu*), 5 pieces,—commuted to 100 *mon*, at 20 *mon* [each];  
*hachi-jō* silk of good quality, 6 pieces,—commuted to 120 *mon*, at 20 *mon* [each];

fine cloth, 9 *tan*: 7 *tan*, good, —commuted to [?];  
2 *tan*, medium,

[dues] commuted to indigo-printed cloth, 30 *tan*,—commuted to 60 *mon*;

indigo cloth, 2 *tan*, without pattern,—commuted to 4 *mon*;

*sotsu-da* [?],—commuted to 40 *mon*;

carriers, 7 men,—commuted to 52 *tan* 2 *jō*;

regularly presented *naga-awabi* [?], 1150 *jō*;

*utsushi-bana* [paper?], 15 sheets;

dyed leather, 20 sheets.

"The foregoing are herewith transported by Sukehiro, chief of laborers.

"Ken-kyū 3 y. 12 m. 20 d. [24 January 1193]. Taira, *monogram*."

There is a district called Shihuya also in the neighboring *kuni* of Musashi, where lived members of the same family; see No. 27, n. 6. In some genealogies of the Shihuya family, the places in the two *kuni* are confused.

<sup>a</sup> The accuracy of the version of the proper names in the boundaries cannot be vouched for.

<sup>7</sup> Jō-Shin's daughter.

<sup>8</sup> See No. 13, n. 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Sa-da*.

<sup>10</sup> *Chi-gyō*.

<sup>a</sup> En-man *in*, a Buddhist house attached to On-zhō *zhi*, or, Mii *dera*, Ōmi. See *Zoku Gun-zho rui-zhū*, IV, 96.

<sup>b</sup> An *uke-shō* meant a place the taxes of which were farmed out; see No. 22.

## 15. OATH OF THE TOMO, 1247

(Iriki-in docs., also *KK*, I, and *SK*, III.)

THE Shihuya brothers and their families had arrived in Satsuma and just established themselves in their respective domains (see No. 13). The late Professor Y. Shigeno thought that they had not

come thither, as did Nikaidō Yukihiisa to Ada two years later, with proper mandates of the *shō-gun* investing them with *ji-tō shiki*, but had simply come and assumed the *shiki*. (*Sappan shi-dan shū*, 140-142, 145.) "It was not that they first took [the places] with the permission of the feudal government," said Shigeno, "but that, having once taken them, it apparently condoned the act" (142). This seems to the present author to be improbable, or else Shibuya Jō-Shin could not have asserted before the *shō-gun's* council, as he did three years later, that he was granted the *shiki* at Iriki in 1247, the year of his arrival (see next No.).

Certain it is, however, that, no sooner did the first lord of Iriki take his quarters there than he came in collision with local chiefs. Among the stronger warrior-residents whom he found here were the Ōkura and the Tomo, mutually related by marriage.<sup>1</sup> The latter had been *ben-zai shi* of the *in*, and were holding *myō-shu shiki* at the fertile Tō-no-hara within the *in*, while one of them was a *kuni* official. The Tomo had, however, according to No. 16, done a sort of homage to the former *jitō*-general Chiha, and taken back their hereditary *myō-shu shiki* at his hands as a fief held of him; and then, for an offense, had forfeited it. When the new *ji-tō* Shihuya Jō-Shin arrived in the *in*, the Tomo thought it politic to write this oath, a form of negative fealty worthy of careful study; for this act, the Tomo were again granted the *myō* of Tō-no-hara as a fief held of the new lord. We may assume that the Tomo, by their homage to Chiha, had ceased to be the *shō-gun's* immediate vassals, but become his rear-vassals, with the *ji-tō* as their direct lord. This state was made all the clearer by the present oath, as the *myō*-fief was now no longer a pure *reprise*, as it had been under Chiha, but virtually a new investiture. The Tomo declined to admit this state of things, and hence the dispute with Jō-Shin disclosed in No. 16. Tomo Nobutada's failure to regard himself as Jō-Shin's vassal may in part be attributed to the relatively weak element of feudal contract which is indicated in this oath: the oath was probably accompanied by no other distinctive form of expressing personal dependence and faith, such as was observed in the acts of homage and reception in European feudalism; and the import of the oath seems to be purely negative, and to contain or imply no promise of *auxilium* and *concilium*.

The document, owing to its use of the local dialect and its errors in writing, contains a portion impossible to decipher, which is marked here thus, <sup>a-</sup> -<sup>b</sup>.

#### "STATEMENT under oath.

"The origin<sup>2</sup> of this oath is as follows. As regards the *ta* and *hata* <sup>a-</sup>which are set apart as land for Lord *Ji-tō's* own cultivation,<sup>3</sup> in part of Kariokashi,<sup>-b</sup> as forming a portion of his income,<sup>4</sup>—if we should, during ten successive generations, speak ill and falsely, or do wrong [concerning them] in matters public or private even of the smallest detail, or act contrariwise to his Lordship's interest; or if, despite the fact that [Nobutada] has by him been reinvested [with the *myō-shu shiki* at Tō-no-hara<sup>5</sup>], we should sever ourselves from Lord *Ji-tō* and bring our complaint to the higher powers,<sup>6</sup>—then Tō-no-hara would be confiscated. If this statement were false, punishment by the invisible powers of Great Bodhisattva<sup>7</sup> Hachiman,<sup>8</sup> the guardian deity of Japan, especially of the great *myō-zhin*<sup>7</sup> of Idzu,<sup>8</sup> Hakone,<sup>8</sup> and Mishima,<sup>8</sup> and generally of the deities of the more than sixty *kuni* [of the country], would be visited upon Nobutoshi, Nobutada, and Nobusuke.

"Hō-ji 1 y. 8 m. 5 d. [5 September 1247].

"Tomo Nobusuke, (monogram).

"Tomo Nobutada, (monogram).

"*Dai sa-kwan*,<sup>9</sup> Tomo Nobutoshi, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 9.

<sup>2</sup> A formal way of beginning an oath, even when no "origin" (*moto*) was going to be stated.

<sup>3</sup> If the reading *ta-* (or *te-*) *tsukuri* is correct, it probably means the lord's own demesne as distinguished from tracts held and used by others under his superior right. For an example of the



*ji-tō's* demesne, see the *shō-gun's* orders of 1208 and 1278 found in *Mibu kwan-mu mon-zho* (*Koku-shi tai-kei*, XII, 1380-1382).

<sup>4</sup> *Toku-bun*, literally, profit; here the word refers to land which was attached to the office of *ji-tō*. See the orders referred to in n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> This reading of the clause is suggested by the next document.

<sup>6</sup> *Kami*; here referring to the *shō-gun's* council at Kamakura or his deputies at Hakata or at Rokubara, Kyōto. See the next document.

<sup>7</sup> These religious terms reveal the influence which Buddhism was exercising upon Shintō. All the deities enumerated in the oath are of Shintō, but beliefs about them had been strongly tinged by Buddhist ideas. The Bodhisattvas (Japanese, *Bo-satsu*) were superior beings in Buddhism next in importance to the Buddhas. *Myō-zhin* was a Sinico-Japanese term of Buddhist signification applied to Shintō deities.

<sup>8</sup> These deities were specially revered by the *shō-gun's* house.

<sup>9</sup> *Dai sa-kwan* was an office in the provincial government.

Nobutoshi was father of Nobutada and Nobusuke. See signatures at the end of the document No. 9.

## 16. JUDGMENT OF THE *SHŌ-GUN'S* COURT ON NOBUTADA VS. JŌ-SHIN, 1250

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, I, and *SK*, IV.)

THIS document affords an example of the administration of justice at the highest feudal court, namely, the court of the *shō-gun* at Kamakura; and the decision was signed, as were all judgments which were rendered by the same tribunal, by the Regent (*Shikken*) and his associate (*Ren-sho*, Co-Signer), both of the Hōjō family, who were the real though not titular heads of the feudal government. This distinguished treatment was accorded the case because it lay between an actual and a former *go ke-nin*, and, furthermore, because one of them was a *ji-tō*. If neither party had been a warrior, the case would have gone to a domanial or a civil court; if both had been simple *go ke-nin*, the matter would have been referred by the local *ji-tō* to the court of the *shō-gun's* deputies at Rokuhara, Kyōto, for their jurisdiction in the second instance embraced Kyūshū, the abode of the present litigants. Their dispute was adjudged at the *shō-gun's* feudal court, since it involved the question whether one of the disputants was still, as he claimed, his direct vassal; and at the suzerain's highest court, because one party was, besides being his immediate tenant, his official agent who otherwise might be ordered himself to hear in the first instance disputes arising between *go ke-nin* in his district.

It is also important to note that the case concerned a landed interest. In the feudal administration of justice in this period, more civil questions seem to have been dealt with, as a matter of fact, than the criminal, and, of the former, none were held more important than questions of rights on land.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for this state of things are evident: the *go ke-nin's* real rights had to be guarded, for upon them depended his capacity for rendering his feudal services; also, since he often held *shiki* in domains controlled by the nobility or religious institutions, which were beyond the power of the *shō-gun*, delicate questions about land naturally arose with frequency between the non-feudal domanial lord and the feudal tenant, and needed to be adjusted by the feudal magistrates with scrupulous justice to all parties.

Now let us sketch briefly the judicial procedure of civil cases followed by the feudal court of the period.<sup>2</sup> The plaintiff (*so-nin*, accuser) presented in writing his charges (*hon so-zhō*, the original letter of accusation, or *hon ge-zhō*, the original letter of petition), together with all the documents supporting his claim (*gu-sho*, muniments), to the *shō-gun's* administrative office (*man-dokoro*) or to his judicial office (*mon-jū sho*); the latter was in origin simply the judicial bureau of the former. The petition was taken up by the recently created<sup>3</sup> board of Recorders (*hiki-tsuke shū*), twelve or thirteen in number, including special men learned in the law and *go ke-nin*, divided in three<sup>4</sup> groups each of which had its appointed days of session; one of the Recorders not related<sup>5</sup> to either of the parties was chosen by lot as the Commissioner (*bu-gyō*) over the case. A writ of enquiry

(*mon-zhō*) ordered the defendant (*ron-nin*, refuter) to answer the charges, which were at the same time shown him exactly in the form in which they had been presented by the plaintiff; whereupon the defendant stated, likewise in writing, his refutations (*tō-zhō* or *chin-zhō*, called *shō*, first), along with the documents (*gu-shō*) upholding his argument. If the charges (*mon*) and answers (*tō*), or, accusations (*so*) and refutations (*chin*), and the documents presented by both parties, did not clearly establish the claim of either, a second matching of letters ensued, then a third, but rarely a fourth. If a personal examination and the confronting of the parties with each other (*tai-ketsu*) were, as in the present instance, deemed necessary, a summons (*meshi-zhō* or *meshi-fu*) was issued. If a litigant lived near the court, the summons would be repeated three times with an interval of seven days between one and another, till he came forth; if he still failed to make his appearance, the case might be decided by default.<sup>6</sup> If he resided far, a sufficient time, sometimes as long as five months, might be allowed for his journey. In the meantime, the arguments and the documents had been scrutinized by all the Recorders. The parties were examined orally, once by the Commissioner, and then by all the Recorders. The latter retired apart and recorded their opinions, and, if necessary, a third examination of the parties was held during this process. The findings of the Recorders were carefully set down and referred to the higher tribunal known as the Councillors (*hyō-jō shū*), comprising fifteen or sixteen jurists and warriors, the former serving for life or by heredity and the latter being often changed. Now was held a deliberation by all the Councillors, with the Recorders also present, and, according to the order previously determined by lot, each Councillor expressed his opinion of the case, which was recorded. Till about 1200, the *shō-gun* was often present, and even judged, at this gathering, but now the Regent always presided. If the Councillors considered the findings of the Recorders ill-advised, they were returned to them for reconsideration. If the two bodies concurred, the Commissioner drafted the judgment and subjected it to revision. The final letter of decision (*ge-chi*) was personally signed by the Regent and his associate, and was handed down by the Recorders to the winning party. Thus ended the judicial procedure of the *shō-gun's* court (*go sei-bai*, official sanction). The procedure in the second instance at the deputies' court at Rokuhara, Kyōto, was similar.

The whole process was despatched with reasonable promptitude, a quality which was emphasized by the authorities. If an unreasonable delay occurred on the part of the Commissioner, the parties might appeal directly to the Recorders or the Councillors.<sup>7</sup> After the coming of the parties to trial, the examinations were held and the decision was granted with commendable speed.<sup>8</sup>

If either party saw an error in judgment, he could ask for its revision, and, if the request was deemed reasonable, the Councillors ordered the Recorders to reconsider (*fuku-kan*) their findings. But these were the same Recorders; different examiners could be had only under exceptional circumstances. Though an appeal could be carried from the reluctant Recorders to the special Commissioner on Appeals (*yesso bu-gyō*), who would then secure the *shō-gun's* order for a revision, again the revisers were the same Recorders.

Nor were witnesses admitted, unless the arguments of the parties and their documents were inconclusive; and the number of witnesses, when allowed, was restricted to two or three.

Throughout the entire procedure the chief reliance was placed upon written records; the matchings of charges and answers and the examination of the parties and witnesses were all designed to call forth, elucidate, and supplement the evidence of the records. This was a procedure, one would say, far in advance of that followed in Europe at the corresponding stage of feudal development: the survivals of the judicial combat and of the excessive formalism of the oral trial which still continued more or less to characterize Occidental justice find no parallel in the Oriental. This state of things may be explained, in part at least, by the important fact that Japan had, in her civil government at the imperial capital and in the provinces, adopted the civilized procedure of China, and had been applying it, lamely as it may be, for five centuries; that, although the feudal rulers at Kamakura held their own ideas of justice and evolved their own procedure, they were nevertheless influenced in many a detail by the principles and the manner of justice to which the nation had so long been accustomed. The idea, for instance, that private justice was incompatible with public welfare, and the custom to depend upon authentic records as chief evidence in civil trials, were among the heritages the feudal court had received from the civil. The warrior-judge could hardly unlearn these well-tried usages and ideas and revert deliberately to methods of verbal

conventionalities or of decision by duel, if indeed there had obtained such customs in Japan, which may be doubted. It may be said that something of what European feudalism learned from the Roman and canon laws after it had passed its maturity, Japanese feudalism inherited from Chinese and imperial institutions at its birth.

It is also worthy of note that the principle which played an important rôle in European feudalism, that the lord owed justice to the vassal, was also in operation, in fact though perhaps not in law, during the Kamakura period (1185-1333) of Japanese feudal history, at least between the *shō-gun* and his direct vassals. Without attempting to seek the origin of this principle, we cannot help noting the lively sense of justice and equity which was entertained and was rigorously and scrupulously applied by the suzerain and the regent at Kamakura. The robust and stern justice with which they dealt with affairs which were brought before their courts, often at the expense of their own feudal interests, has justly been commended by men of later ages. Perhaps the regent, who was but a peer of all the barons over whom he exercised a real control, needed to justify his powers by an impartial administration of law; perhaps also he felt obliged to follow and improve upon the noble example set by the first *shō-gun* Yoritomo. It is altogether unlikely, however, that the giving of justice was generally regarded in Japanese feudalism, as it was in the European, as an integral part of the feudal contract between lord and vassal. However that may be, the popularity and influence of the regent largely coincided with the success with which he carried out the principle. When the later regents relaxed their self-control and loosened their sense of justice, their power waned and the government of Kamakura rapidly declined. At the time of the following document, we find the regent at the height of his judicial probity and also at the height of his influence.

It is remarkable that the feudal régime, relying, as it did, on customary law, and dispensing justice among a comparatively limited number of persons, naturally evolved a system of judgment by peers. We have seen that both the Recorders (*hiki-tsuke shū*) and the Councillors (*hyō-jō shū*) included *go ke-nin* who sat beside men learned in law and who were frequently changed; in the lower courts, the judges were almost exclusively warrior-peers and comprised few or no specialists in law. Perhaps judgment by peers is consequent on all true feudal régimes, but it must be said that in Japan, though the fact was present, the idea was never consciously and fully formulated, and, accordingly, the system was not as clearly established as in any of the European feudal countries, and failed to bear fruit beyond the restricted sphere of its application. We surmise that this difference was in no small measure due to the difference in the initial condition under which feudalism rose in Europe and in Japan. There, the participation in judgment by fellow-citizens of the litigants, like the *Rachimbourgs*, had characterized the early Frankish period, and so the general idea may have influenced the procedure in the feudal court so far as the feudal classes were concerned. Here, in Japan, on the contrary, the Chinese system of law which had ruled her judicial life had no room for judgment by peers: the government had been purely bureaucratic, that is, by officials set apart as a class distinct from the remainder of the nation, and the administration of law had been merely a part of the paternalistic rule exercised by that class; when it had been assisted in the higher courts by specialists in law, the latter also were officials. If judgment by peers obtained partially in feudal Japan, it was but natural that it should, following a period of centralized bureaucracy, be weaker as a principle than in France, where the idea had been inborn in the race and practised for centuries. However, in Japan, too, the practice, though partial, might perchance in the course of time have gained force and become strongly established, had it not been for the fact that a general neutralization of this and other great feudal principles took place under the artificial, centralized rule of the Tokugawa *shō-gun* after 1600. It would seem that Japan has lost as much as she has gained through the bureaucratic government and the Tokugawa rule, which, respectively, preceded and followed the feudal ages. See, also, our Summary of Points, C-I-c-iv, vi, and vii; D-I-a and b; D-V.

"In regard to the *myō-shu shiki* in dispute between Yoshida Iya-tarō Nobutada,<sup>9</sup> the *myō-shu* of Tō-no-hara in Iriki *in*, and Shibuya Gorō bō Jō-Shin, the *ji-tō*.

"Upon trying the aforesaid case by confronting the parties the one with the other, Nobutada stated: This *shiki* was held by his father Nobutoshi by heredity; since it



was customary for *go ke-nin* in this *kuni* to keep their holdings<sup>10</sup> even when they did not carry *kudashi-bumi*,<sup>11</sup> Nobutoshi held the *myō-shu shiki* without challenge, during the time of the late *U-dai-shō*,<sup>12</sup> although Chiba *no suke* had been granted the *sō ji-tō*<sup>13</sup> [*shiki*]; but when, at Katsusa *no suke* Hidetane's<sup>14</sup> dismissal, in the fourth year of Kwan-gen [1245], the various *myō-shu* visited him, in order to pay him their respects, he seized Nobutada's *shiki* under the pretext that he did not visit him; thereupon, as [Nobutada] desired to present his case [before the *shō-gun*'s government], the present *ji-tō* Jō-Shin said that he would compose the matter by a compromise,<sup>14a</sup> and accordingly Nobutada gave him a statement under oath; and yet Jō-Shin broke the agreement and molested [the *shiki*]; etc. Jō-Shin stated: since the aforesaid *myō-shu shiki* was under the *ji-tō*'s control,<sup>15</sup> Nobutada, though he was appointed thereto during Hidetane's time by his deputy, was during the same time also dispossessed; when Jō-Shin received [the *ji-tō shiki* of] the aforesaid *in*, he restored Nobutada, as he came forth and wrote his oath; but since he [subsequently] opposed him, he had dispossessed him; etc. Now, according to Nobutada's oath of Hō-ji 1st year 8th month 5th day<sup>16</sup> presented by Jō-Shin, Nobutada would not obstruct the income<sup>16a</sup> of the *ji-tō* of Iriki *in*, and, since Nobutada had been reinstated, he would not turn against the *ji-tō* and bring his complaint to the higher powers; etc. Though Nobutada avers that [the *myō-shu shiki*] was not under the *ji-tō*'s control,<sup>15</sup> Jō-Shin's claim has reason when he says that, since Nobutada did not bring suit at the time of Hidetada's seizure, but wrote his oath after confiscation and was reinstated by the present *ji-tō* Jō-Shin, [the *shiki*] should be under the *ji-tō*'s control.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, the said *myō-shu shiki* should, both in accordance with the precedent during Hidetane's time and by reason of Hidetada's oath, be under the *ji-tō*'s control. In pursuance of the command of the Lord of Kamakura, the decree(*ge-chi*) is [granted] thus.

"Ken-chō 2 y. 4 m. 18 d. [20 May 1250]. Sagami *no kami*, Taira *no Ason*,<sup>17</sup> (monogram).

"Mutsu *no kami*, Taira *no Ason*,<sup>18</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Hagino Yoshiyuki, in *Hō-sei ron-san*, 1056.

<sup>2</sup> The following account is based upon many judicial documents relative to specific cases; articles of the *Jō-ei shiki-moku*, the feudal enactment of 1232; examples in the *Adzuma-kagami*, annals of the feudal court at Kamakura, *passim*; the *Sa-da mi-ren sho*; the *Jō-ei shiki-moku shō*; the *Bu-ke myō moku shō*, chap. 133 and 135; Hagino Yoshiyuki, *Kamakura zhi-dai no sai-ban te-tsudzuki*, in the *Hō-sei ron-san*, 1055-1080; Ikehe Yoshikata, *Ni-hon hō-sei shi*, 577-592, 602-612; Kurita Hiroshi, *Kamakura shoku-kwan kō*, manuscript, chap. 3; etc.

<sup>3</sup> In 1249, according to the *Kwan-tō hyō-jō den*.

<sup>4</sup> After 1252, five groups, with subsequent changes.

<sup>5</sup> An order of 1240 defined the degrees of relationships thus debarred. The measure was designed to preclude possibility of prejudice in favor of one's relative.

<sup>6</sup> The *Jō-ei shiki-moku*, c. 35.

<sup>7</sup> This kind of appeal was called *tei-chū*; the *Jō-ei shiki-moku*, c. 29; Hagino, 1078-1079.

<sup>8</sup> The *Sa-da mi-ren sho*.

<sup>9</sup> Nobutada was one of the signers of the oath of 1247 (No. 15). He had assumed for his family the name of a place, Yoshida, near Miyasato, where he probably lived.

<sup>10</sup> *Sho-ryō*; the term applied alike to land and to its various *shiki*.

<sup>11</sup> *Kudashi-bumi*, literally, a letter handed down, was an official order from any higher power; here, from the *shō-gun*'s government sanctioning a possession. Cf. No. 25, n. 6.



<sup>12</sup> Minamoto Yoritomo, the *shō-gun*, who held for a time the title *U-konoé no tai-shō*, general of the right imperial body-guard, abbreviated as *U dai-shō*.

<sup>13</sup> *I.e.*, *ji-tō* general. Chiba *no suke* Tsunetane, the illustrious *go ke-nin*, was already in 1186 (see No. 8, n. 47) *gun-zhi* of five of the *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*; from the land report of 1197 (No. 9), we see that he was *ji-tō* over five *yose-gōri*, and that Iriki *in* was one of those five. The word *sō* (general) was, in the usage of the period, not always all-embracing, but sometimes comprehensive merely of several.

<sup>14</sup> Hidetane was great grandson of Tsunetane. In the summer of 1247, just before the date of Nobutada's oath to Jō Shin at Iriki, Hidetane's kin the Miura were suspected of treason by the Hōjō regent; Hidetane was involved in the general downfall of the family, and died in Katsusa, near Kamakura.

<sup>14a</sup> That homage in this period was not infrequently repudiated by the vassal, as in this example, saying that the relation entered into was only one of compromise (*wa-yo*), may be inferred from Article 19 of the *Jō-ei shiki-moku*, of 1232, which reads:

"Of those men, whether near or distant, who having been reared and supported, afterwards turn their backs on the descendants of their original masters.

"Of persons who were dependent [on a lord], those who were affectionately treated were perhaps sons, or else personal attendants (*rō-zhū*). When those persons served their lord with loyalty, the latter, in his abounding appreciation of the spirit so displayed, gave in some cases handed them deeds of grant and in other cases have given them letters of devise. Yet they pretend that these were matters of compromise (*wa-yo*), and oppose the sons or grandsons of their original master. This is an exceedingly unreasonable procedure. While they sought favor, they behaved as [the lord's] sons or served as his personal attendants; when their loyalty waned, they either assumed other names or conceived hostility, and soon forgot the favors of the deceased lord. If there be any who oppose the descendants of his original lord, the domains that were devised to him shall be taken away from him and given over to the descendants of the original lord."

<sup>15</sup> *Shin-shi*, literally, progress and stop, meant control. The word *shin-tai*, progress and regress, was also used in the same sense.

<sup>16</sup> No. 15.

<sup>16a</sup> See No. 15, n. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Hōjō Tokiyori, the Regent, well-known as a wise administrator and just magistrate.

<sup>18</sup> Hōjō Shigetoki, the Co-Signer.

## 17. WILL OF SHIBUYA JŌ-SHIN, 1250

(A copy in Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, I, and *SK*, IV.)

THE addition in 1247 of his new *shiki* at Iriki *in* to those which he had held elsewhere and already devised to his children by his will of 1245 (No. 13), made it necessary for Shibuya Jō-Shin to prepare a revised testament.

"SETTLEMENT concerning obligations<sup>1</sup> and also other matters which the sons should know.

"The extent of the *ta* [burdened] with obligations:<sup>1</sup>—

Although the original *ta* with obligations,<sup>1</sup> 19 *chō* 4 *tan*, were the domains of Ise and Ōrui, now [the obligations]<sup>1</sup> are distributed among all the domains together.

"10 *chō* 4 *tan*, Dai-ku-den, [in Ise];

"9 *chō*, Ōrui, [in Kōtsuke];

"31 *chō*, 2 *tan*, Kawaé, [in Mimasaka];

"75 *chō*, Iriki, [in Satsuma];

"6 *chō*, Uchi-mojiri, [in Sagami].

"Total 131 *chō* 6 *tan*,  
out of which the 19 *chō* 4 *tan* [with obligations]<sup>1</sup> are determined [as follows].

"Saburō's<sup>2</sup> share:—

9 *chō*, Ōrui;  
17 *chō* 4 *tan*, Kawaé;  
3 *chō*, Uchi-mojiri;  
18 *chō* 7½ *tan*, Iriki.<sup>3</sup>

[Of these] the *ta* with obligations:<sup>1</sup> 7 *chō* 4 *tan*.

"Shirō's<sup>4</sup> share:—

10 *chō* 4 *tan*, Dai-ku-den;  
2 *chō* 3 *tan*, Kawaé;  
18 *chō* 7 *tan*, Iriki.<sup>5</sup>

[Of these] the *ta* with obligations:<sup>1</sup> 4 *chō* 7 *tan*.

"Gorō's<sup>6</sup> share:—

4 *chō*, Kawaé;  
18 *chō* 7½ *tan*, Iriki;<sup>7</sup>

[Of these] the *ta* with obligations:<sup>1</sup> 3 *chō*.

"Zhiro-Saburō's<sup>8</sup> share:—

7 *chō* 5 *tan*, Kawaé;  
3 *chō*, Uchi-mojiri;  
10 *chō* 4 *tan* 270 *bu*, Iriki.

[Of these] the *ta* with obligations:<sup>1</sup> 3 *chō* 1 *tan*.

"Rokuro-Zhirō's<sup>9</sup> share:—

8 *chō* 2 *tan* 270 *bu*, Iriki.

[Of this] the *ta* with obligations:<sup>1</sup> 1 *chō* 2 *tan*.

"Ara-roku's<sup>10</sup> share:—

2 *chō*, being public<sup>11</sup> *ta* at Iriki,<sup>12</sup>

excepted from<sup>13</sup> the 19 *chō* 4 *tan* [set apart as] the *ta* with obligations.

"The above should each, in proportion to the extent of *ta* [defined with obligations<sup>1</sup>], render the various obligations<sup>1</sup> and the Grand Guard [service] at Kyōto.

"The obligations<sup>1</sup> for both the Domanial Lord<sup>14</sup> and the *kuni*-governor should be rendered with [proceeds from] the 75 *chō* of the *ta* at Iriki *in*.

"If it should happen that any of the sons was dispossessed<sup>15</sup> of his holding herein stated, the extent of the remaining *ta* should be examined, and the obligations<sup>1</sup> should be rendered, under the direction of Saburō Akishige, from the *ta* in actual cultivation. The place dispossessed<sup>15</sup> should not bear obligations.<sup>1</sup>

"... [The remainder of the text of the will is the same as the will of 1245, from 'It should be in Saburo's sole care, etc.' to 'about a single matter,' with the exclusion of the paragraph, 'If any of the sons, no matter, etc.']

"Ken-kyū 2y., *kinoé-inu*,<sup>16</sup> 10 m. 20 d. [14 Nov. 1250]. Priest [Jō-Shin], *monogram*."

<sup>1</sup> *Ku-zhi*.

<sup>2</sup> Arishige, the chief heir.

<sup>3</sup> Chiefly at Kiyoshiki and Ichiino, as may be inferred from later documents.

<sup>4</sup> Terao Shigetsune.

<sup>5</sup> At Tō-no-bara, judging from No. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Shimomura Shigekata.

<sup>7</sup> From No. 22 we know that, in Iriki, Shigekata received Nakamura, Shō-komori, and lower Soéda.

<sup>8</sup> Shigezumi. The location of his share in Iriki is unknown.

<sup>9</sup> Who Rokuro-Zhirō was is not known.

<sup>10</sup> Kurano Ara-roku Norimoto was a younger son of Jō-Shin's, perhaps not of the same mother as the first three sons mentioned in the text. See also No. 22.

<sup>11</sup> See No. 9, n. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Kashiwa-zhima, according to No. 22.

<sup>13</sup> That is, not to be counted as included in.

<sup>14</sup> *Ryō-ke*. This term is not used here in its special technical sense, but in the general sense, that is, of the domanial lord (see No. 6, n. 14). That is also the meaning the word carries in some clauses in the manual for the feudal judiciary promulgated by the Kamakura government in 1232 (the *Jō-ei shiki-moku*). One may say that this usage obtains as a rule whenever *ryō-ke* is mentioned in contradistinction from officials of *kuni*; the former being private and the latter public in the origin of their fiscal capacities, they are frequently contrasted with each other in this wise.

<sup>15</sup> Dispossession, *toku-tai*; the same in meaning as *kai-tai* in No. 16, which we have also rendered as dispossession.

<sup>16</sup> The forty-seventh year of the sixty-year cycle.

## 18. CONDITION OF LAND IN IRIKI IN, 1250

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, I.)

THIS *polyptyque* or *terrier*, as it might be styled, giving details of land and dues in nine *mura*, grouped in five sections, of Iriki *in*, was compiled probably in connection with the last general will of Jō-Shin, (No. 17). From its very nature, the report is of prime importance for the student of the institutions, not only of Iriki, but also of Shimadzu *shō* as a whole, and inferentially of the entire feudal Japan of this period. The document fairly bristles with problems and suggestions of great value, but the discovery of these shall be the reward only of an intensive study of this in conjunction with other materials contained in this volume.

The document is difficult even for a painstaking reader, not only because it requires a study at once intensive and comparative, but also because its contents are obscure at some points, falsely written at others, and generally set forth in an inconvenient order. The places where either the *kana* characters are undecipherable or the meaning is doubtful are marked thus, a- b. The errors in the order in which the sheets of the original were pasted together have been rectified in this translation, the editor believes, successfully; the original wrong order is indicated by the sequential number of each sheet at its beginning under a dotted line.

It will be readily seen that the figures as they appear contain several errors, due doubtless in part to careless writing.

It is necessary to explain the units of measurement of land areas and of volumes of dry measure which are here employed. As regards the former, the units *chō*, *tan*, and *bu*, have already been defined, (No. 9, n. 1). Another unit, *jō*, is introduced here: one *jō* was a fifth of a *tan*, namely, 72 *bu*, or approximately 285 square yards or .06 acre, or 2.4 ares. The editor thinks that the *jō* was derived from the older unit, *shiro*, which was a fiftieth of a *tan*,—that the two characters meaning ten *shiro* written in a cursive form resembled the one character *jō*, and the latter gradually came in use as a convenient unit; and that this is the reason why, even after this usage had been established, the measures one, two, three, and four *jō* still continued to be written in conventional characters abridged from cursive forms meaning respectively, 10, 20, 30, and 40 *shiro*.

One *koku* of volume, of dry substance, which has varied in different ages, was at the time of this document about 4.8948 bushels, or, approximately, 4.9 bushels; (in the present measure, 5.15238 bushels). One *koku* was equal to 10 *to*, or 100 *shō*, the lower decimal units below *shō* being *gō* (a

tenth of a *shō*), *shaku* (a tenth of a *gō*), etc. A good account of the history of the dry measure in Japan is found, among others, in Tamaidzumi Dairyō's *Muromachi zhi-dai no den-so*, 62-72. See also, references given in No. 9, n. 1.

In the original, the names of all the units are repeated after the numbers; as, for example, 25 *chō* 4 *tan* 3 *jō*, and 6 *koku* 8 *to* 7 *shō*; but in this translation, the units of areas are omitted, and the figures are written with decimal points between numbers of the different units: thus, 4.5½ is 4 *chō* 5 *tan* ½ *jō*; 0.2.0 is 2 *tan*; and 0.0.3 is 3 *jō*. The quantities of rice are put in italics, and the *koku* is used as the unit: thus, 70. is 70 *koku*; 6.4 is 6 *koku* 4 *to*; and 0.089 is 8 *shō* 9 *gō*.

(Manuscript sheet 1)

"This is the table [of lands] and the distribution of  
[dues in] the various *myō* in Iriki *in*."

"A TABLE of lands of the various *mura* in Iriki *in*, in the 2nd year Ken-chō; also distribution of rice<sup>1</sup> for the *ryō-ke*<sup>2</sup> and the *kuni*-governor.

"Total.<sup>3</sup>

"KUSUMOTO and HISA-KUKUCHI.

"In all, 25.4.3, of which 4.0.0 is henceforth assigned to Kashiwa-zhima.

"Remaining *ta*, 21.4.3, of which:

- 0.0.3, total failure [of crop];
- 0.2.0, <sup>a</sup>-brushwood land for the smith; <sup>b</sup>
- 1.6.3, laid waste;
- 0.2.0, demesne; <sup>4</sup>
- 0.3.0, exempted for <sup>5</sup> *a*-servitors; <sup>b</sup>
- 0.6.4½, church *ta*.

"Remaining *ta*, 18.3.1½, of which:

- failure [of crop], 9.0.4½;
- in cultivation, 9.3.4, of which:
- 0.5.0, *ta* granted to the deputy *jī-tō*;
- 0.1.1, *ta* granted to *Hime go-zen*; <sup>6</sup>
- 1.0.½, in cultivation, *ta* granted to Kurō;
- 0.6.4, in cultivation, share [of this district] of the 1.7.0 of exempted *ta*; <sup>7</sup>
- 0.2.1, demesne of the *shō*;
- 0.0.2, *ta* of the *jī-su*. <sup>8</sup>

"Remaining *ta* in cultivation, taxable, <sup>9</sup> 6.8.1, of which:

- the *jī-tō*'s rice, the share of this place, 6.8.3;
- also 0.385 is the *jī-tō*'s income.

"Dues to the *kuni*:

- from Shin Isshiki, <sup>10</sup> 0.7.3½,—rice due, 1.155;
- from 0.3.0, assessed at 0.22 per *tan*,—0.66, to the *kuni*;
- from the remainder of the original *ta*, 5.7.3,—14.3, to the *kuni*;
- at 0.25 per *tan*.

Total dues to the *kuni*, 18.71.

"In [the whole of] Iriki *in*, the rice for the *kuni*-governor is 92 and the rice for the *ryō-ke*, 70, whereof the share of Kusumoto and Hisa-kukuchi is:



the *ryō-ke* rice, 10.134;  
 the *kuni*-governor's rice, 15.128;  
 the *ji-tō*'s income, with addition of the surplus of the *kuni*-governor's rice, 11.802.

.....  
 (Manuscript sheet 3)

"KURANO *mura*.

"In all, 21.0.2, of which:

1.9.0, laid waste;  
 0.1.1/2, total failure;  
 0.2.0, demesne;  
 0.3.1, temple *ta*.

"Remaining *ta*, 18.5.1/2, of which:

failure, 9.5.3;  
 in cultivation, 8.9.2 1/2, of which:  
 0.6.4, [this *mura*'s] share of the 1.7.0 of exempted *ta*;<sup>7</sup>  
 0.5.0, *ta* granted to the deputy *ji-tō*;  
 0.1.1 1/2, *ta* granted to *Hime go-zen*,<sup>8</sup>  
 0.2.1, demesne<sup>4</sup> of the *shō*.

"Remaining *ta* in cultivation, taxable,<sup>9</sup> 7.4.1,  
 whose share of the *ji-tō*'s rice, 7.42.

"Dues to the *kuni*-governor: share of Shin Isshiki,<sup>10</sup> 1.0.3 1/2,—1.605;  
 share of 2.1.1, assessed at .22 per *tan*,—4.666: this is for the *kuni*;  
 share of 3.4.1 1/2, assessed at .2 per *tan*,—6.86: this is for the *kuni*;  
 share of the remaining original *ta*, 0.8.0,—2., for the *kuni*.

The original *ta* are assessed at .25 [per *tan*].<sup>11</sup>

Total dues to the *kuni*-governor, 15.129.

"Of the rice for the *kuni*-governor, 92, and the rice for the *ryō-ke*, 70, [due from the whole of] Iriki *in*, the rice for the *ryō-ke* and the *kuni*-governor to be levied on Kurano *mura* is:

the *kuni*-governor's rice, 14.514;  
 the *ryō-ke*'s rice, 9.367;  
 the *ji-tō*'s income, with addition of the surplus of the *kuni*-governor's rice, 8.61.

"NAKAMURA and SHŌ-KOMORI,

with addition of parts of Soéda, Tō-no-hara, and Hisa-kukuchi.

"In all, 4.0.3 1/2,<sup>12</sup> of which:

3.3.0, laid waste;  
 0.6.4, total failure;  
 0.1.0, demesne;<sup>4</sup>  
 0.6.0, church *ta*;  
 0.3.0, temple *ta*;  
 0.4.0, exempted for <sup>a</sup>-servitors;<sup>-b</sup>  
 0.3.0, exempted for the shoe-maker.

"Remaining *ta*, 37.3.4½, of which:

failure, 21.0.0;

in cultivation, 16.4.0, [of which]:—

1.3.3, [these *mura*'s] share of the 3.4.0 of exempted *ta*;

0.4.2, demesne<sup>4</sup> of the *shō*;

2.0.0, *ta* granted to lord Iya-zhirō;

0.2.0, exempted for the potter;

0.0.2, the *ji-su*'s<sup>8</sup> *ta*;

0.2.2½, *ta* granted to *Hime go-zen*;<sup>6</sup>

1.0.0, *ta* granted to the deputy *ji-tō*.

"Remaining *ta*, in cultivation, taxable,<sup>9</sup> 11.1.½,

whose share of the *ji-to*'s rice, 11.11.

"From ° ° °<sup>13</sup> .2, of Shin Isshiki,<sup>10</sup> for the *kuni*, 1.43;

.....  
(Manuscript sheet 2)

from 2.2.1½, assessed at .22 per *tan*, for the *kuni*,—4.906;

from 1.4.2½, assessed at .21 per *tan*, for the *kuni*,—3.45;

from the remainder of the original *ta*, for the *kuni*,—16.2.

Total dues to the *kuni*,—30.986.

"The *ryō-ke*'s and the *kuni*-governor's rice to be assessed for Nakamura and Shō-komori:

the *kuni*-governor's rice, 28.15;

the *ryō-ke*'s rice, 20.365;

the *ji-tō*'s income, with addition of the surplus of the *kuni*-governor's rice, 16.471.

"TŌ-NO-HARA *mura*.

"In all, 42.9.4, of which:—

6.0.3, laid waste;

1.4.4, total failure;

0.3.1, exempted for <sup>a</sup>-servitors;<sup>-b</sup>

0.2.0, demesne;<sup>4</sup>

0.5.0, exempted for the smith;

"Remaining *ta*, 34.4.1, of which:—

failure 19.8.2,

in cultivation, 14.9.3, [of which]:

1.3.3, [this *mura*'s] share of the exempted *ta*,<sup>7</sup> 3.4.0;

5.0.0, { 2.8.0, failure  
2.2.0, in cultivation } , *ta* granted to the deputy *ji-tō*;

1.0.0, *ta* granted to Iya-gorō;

1.0.0, *ta* granted to Iya-zhirō;

0.4.2, demesne<sup>4</sup> of the *shō*;

0.2.2, *ta* granted to *Hime go-zen*,<sup>8</sup>

0.0.2, the *ji-su*'s<sup>8</sup> *ta*.

"Remaining *ta*, in cultivation, taxable,<sup>9</sup> 8.2.4½,  
whose share of the *ji-tō*'s rice is 8.29.

"From Shin Isshiki,<sup>10</sup> 1.5.0,—2.25, for the *kuni*:

for each *tan*, rice for the *ji-tō*, .10;  
for the *ryō-ke*, .05;  
for the *kuni*, .10;<sup>14</sup>

from 3.8.0, assessed at .23 per *tan*,—8.74, for the *kuni*;

from 1.1.2½, assessed at .22 per *tan*,—2.53, for the *kuni*;

from 0.3.3, assessed at .21 per *tan*,—.756, for the *kuni*;

from 1.0.½, assessed at .20 per *tan*,—2.2, for the *kuni*;

from the remaining original *ta*, 0.4.3½,—1.175, for the *kuni*;

Total, 25.471, inclusive of the dues for the *kuni* from the granted *ta*.<sup>15</sup>

"The *ryō-ke*'s and the *kuni*-governor's rice to be levied on Tō-no-hara *mura*:—  
the *ryō-ke*'s rice, 17.644;

for the *kuni*-governor, 18.845;

the *ji-tō*'s income, 18.866, adding the balance of the *kuni*[dues].

"SOÉDA, KİYOSHIKI, and ICHIINO *mura*.<sup>16</sup>

.....  
(Manuscript sheet 4)

"In all, 61.3.1, of which:—

2.8.4, laid waste;

0.8.3, total failure;

0.7.1, exempted for <sup>a</sup>-servitors;<sup>-b</sup>

0.2.0, demesne;<sup>4</sup>

0.7.0, exempted for the paper maker;

0.1.2, temple *ta* at Ichiino;

0.1.2½, church *ta* at Soéda.

"Remaining *ta*, 55.6.3½, of which:—

failure, 28.0.1;

in cultivation, 27.6.2½, of which:

16.2.1½, *ta* in cultivation at Ichiino, whose share of the *ji-tō* rice, 16.23.

"Remaining *ta*, in cultivation, taxable, 11.4.1, of which:

1.3.3, in cultivation, being share of the 3.4.0 of exempted *ta*;<sup>7</sup>

1.0.0, *ta* granted to the deputy *ji-tō*;

1.0.0, *ta* granted to Hei-zaburō;

0.2.2½, *ta* granted to *Hime go-zen*;<sup>8</sup>

0.4.2, demesne of the *shō*;

0.1.1, temple *ta*;

0.0.2, church *ta* at Nakano.

"Remaining *ta*, in cultivation, taxable,<sup>9</sup> 7.2.½,

whose share of the *ji-tō*'s rice, 7.21.

"From Shin Isshiki,<sup>10</sup> 2.4.4½, for the *kuni*,—3.735;

from 1.9.4½, assessed at .22 per *tan*, for the *kuni*,—4.356;

from 1.0.1, assessed at .23 per *tan*, for the *kuni*,—2.346;  
 from 0.9.3½, assessed at .20 per *tan*, for the *kuni*,—1.94;  
 from the remaining original *ta*, 0.7.2½, for the *kuni*,—1.875.

Total for the *kuni*, 16.712.

“The *ryō-ke*’s and *kuni*-governor’s rice to be levied on Soéda and Kiyoshiki:—  
 the *ryō-ke*’s rice, 12.49;  
 the *kuni*-governor’s rice, 15.363;  
 the *ji-tō*’s income, with addition of the surplus of the *kuni*-governor’s rice, 17.639.

.....  
 (Manuscript sheet 5)

“The *ta* in the various *mura* in Iriki *in*, inclusive of Ichiino:—

Total, 193.8.3½, of which:—

15.8.0, laid waste;  
 3.2.½, total failure;  
 1.4.2, church *ta*;  
 0.7.3, temple *ta*;  
 0.2.0, <sup>a</sup>-brushwood land for the smith; <sup>-b</sup>  
 0.9.0, demesne; <sup>4</sup>  
 1.7.0, exempted for <sup>a</sup>-servitors; <sup>-b</sup>  
 0.7.0, exempted for the paper maker;  
 0.3.0, exempted for the shoe-maker;  
 0.5.0, exempted for the smith;  
 4.0.0, assigned to Kashiwa-zhima;  
 total *ta* deducted from the actual land, <sup>17</sup> 29.5.2½.

“Remaining *ta*, total, 164.3.1, of which:—

failure, 87.5.½;  
 in cultivation, 76.8.0, of which:—  
*ta* in cultivation, 9.4.2, out of the 13.6.0, the share [of Iriki *in*] of the land exempted  
 for the customary provision for Tsunemi and Miyatomi; <sup>7</sup>  
*ta* in cultivation, 1.7.3, demesne <sup>4</sup> of the *sho*;  
*ta* in cultivation, 0.2.2, the *ji-su*’s <sup>8</sup> *ta*;  
*ta* in cultivation, 0.0.2, church *ta*;  
*ta* in cultivation, 12.4.0, *ta* granted to persons.

Total *ta* in cultivation deducted, 19.8.4.

“Remaining *ta*, in cultivation, taxable, 56.9.1, of which:—

16.2.1½, *ta* in cultivation at Ichiino, whose share of the *ji-tō* rice, 16.23.

“The *ryō-ke*’s rice, 70.;

the *kuni*-governor’s rice, 92.;

the *ji-tō*’s income, with addition of the surplus of the *kuni*-governor’s rice, total, 72.913.

“Ken-chō 2 y., *kanoé-inu*, 12 m. — d. [December 1250-January 1251].”

<sup>1</sup> Rice-taxes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 6, n. 14, and No. 17, n. 14.

<sup>3</sup> A conventional beginning of statistical statements.

<sup>4</sup> On *tsukuri-da* or *tsuku-da*; see No. 15, n. 3. Besides this class of demesnes, the text also men-



tions demesnes of the *shō*, (*shō tsukuri-da*). Both were demesnes of the *shō*, the only difference between the two kinds being that the former were fixed areas, but the latter were apparently from time to time apportioned out of the *ta* in actual cultivation. The editor considers that the very small size and the partially changeable character of the demesne, as are exemplified in this document, are points of fundamental importance regarding the *shō* or the predial fief as property. He has no space here to enlarge upon the causes of this phenomenon, or to point out the profound effects which the same causes have produced upon the land institutions of Japan of all ages. For one thing, from these root causes has issued the remarkable fact that neither a manorial organization of land nor the growth of any large class of servile tillers of the soil was ever possible in Japanese feudalism. The whole question will be presented in the editor's work on the feudal régime of South Kyūshū, which is in preparation. (See Summary of Points, C-VII-a, h, c, above.)

<sup>5</sup> "Exempted for servitors" conveys the literal obscurity of the original expression, "service *men*." *Men* meant exemption, but a land which was *men* for a certain thing was exempted from the usual dues in favor of that particular thing; that is, the dues of the land were diverted to that special purpose, instead of being paid to the general treasury of the whole domain. The preposition "for" has been employed to reproduce the singular use of the term *men*; these three *tan* owed dues which supported the serving men, but were otherwise free. In each *shō* or other domain, there were pieces of land which were *men* for various purposes; they were collectively called *menden*, *den* being the Sinico-Japanese for *ta*.

From this peculiar usage of the word *men* developed the custom, specially after 1600, of using it in the sense of the rate of taxation; for *men* had carried the double meaning of exemption and imposition,—exemption from the regular dues but imposition of dues for a special object, and from the latter meaning seems to have been derived, by a devious psychological process, the later sense as the rate of dues.

<sup>6</sup> The lord's daughter.

<sup>7</sup> *Ta* exempted for(*men*) some special customary appropriation in relation to the *myō* of Tsunemi and Miyatomi, were distributed in the five divisions of Iriki. Very likely the exemption was in favor of one or more religious institutions. Cf. No. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ji-su* is written in *kana* phonographs; it probably means "landholder," or, more precisely, holder of the landholder *shiki*.

<sup>9</sup> *Jō*, (not the same character as the unit of land measurement), literally, fixed or determined, was a technical term meaning land on which the regular dues were chargeable; this class of land was usually stated, in a catalogue, as is exemplified in this document, after lands exempted for(*men*) special purposes or granted(*kyū*) to persons had been enumerated and deducted. Granted(*kyū*) *ta* might, however, owe some dues, as is shown in the case of Tō-no-hara below (note 15).

<sup>10</sup> Literally, "new one species," meaning land newly cultivated and specially assigned for one exclusive financial purpose, whatever it might be. But often such was only the original condition of the land, which later might be submitted to several obligations. See the case of Tō-no-hara below (note 14).

<sup>11</sup> This sentence is marked in the original with a line around it.

<sup>12</sup> This is the most glaring of the numerical errors of this document. The correct extent is 43.0.3½.

<sup>13</sup> Worm-eaten, but apparently 9 *tan* 2½ *jō*.

<sup>14</sup> This *Isshiki*(exclusive) land was really not *isshiki*, (cf. note 10).

<sup>15</sup> The granted(*kyū*) *ta* here, 7.2.2 in extent, owed about 1 *to* per *tan* to the *kuni*. Cf. note 9.

<sup>16</sup> This district, particularly Kiyoshiki, may be termed Iriki proper.

<sup>17</sup> *Shita-ji*: not a proper use of the term. See No. 115, n. 2.

19. JŌ-SHIN'S WILL, 1251<sup>1</sup>(A copy in Iriki docs.; also *KK*, VII, and *SK*, IV.)

THIS will was supplementary to No. 14. As regards Tō-no-hara, compare Nos. 15, 16, and 18 above.

"DEvised to Shirō Shigetsune

"Tō-no-hara *gō* in Iriki *in*, of Satsuma *kuni*.

"As regards the boundaries on the four sides, they are patent in the separate letter [written] by the special examiners.

"The aforesaid should, without obstruction by other men, be held. For this end, as testimony for the future, this letter of devise is [written] thus.

"Ken-chō 3 y. 8 m. 24 d. [10 September 1251]. Priest, *monogram*."<sup>1</sup> The writ of investiture by the *shō-gun's* government sanctioning this will and the previous will of 1246 (No. 14) will be found as No. 21.20. JŌ-SHIN'S LAST WILL TO HIS SON TERAŌ SHIGETSUNE, 1253<sup>1</sup>(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII, and *SK*, IV.)

"DOMAINS devised to Shibuya Shirō Shigetsune:—

one place: Terao *mura*, [in Sagami].

one place: Dai-ku-den, in Ise;

one place: Kawaé *gō*, Zhitchō North, [in Mimasaka];

one place: Tō-no-hara, of Iriki.

"Boundaries on the four sides are stated in the letter of devise.

"Since I am old and feeble, no matter what letter may have preceded this, and no matter what different letter may appear hereafter, [I declare hereby that] Shigetsune's possessions shall not be subject to the slightest molestation.

"The homesteads and granted rice-lands of the three daughters are within Shigetsune's domains. At the time of the Grand Guard [service], he shall apportion the obligation among them<sup>2</sup> according to their capacity.

"As testimony for the future, this letter is [written] thus.

"Ken-chō 5 y. 11 m. 29 d. [21 December 1253]. Taira *no* Akishige,<sup>3</sup> *monogram*.  
Priest,<sup>4</sup> *monogram*."<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Nos. 13, 14, 17, and 19 above.<sup>2</sup> Women's services at arms were done by proxies.<sup>3</sup> Jō-Shin's eldest son and chief heir, countersigning.<sup>4</sup> Jō-Shin the testator.21. THE SHŌ-GUN'S CONFIRMATION OF TERAŌ SHIGETSUNE'S  
INHERITED HOLDINGS,<sup>1</sup> 1255(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII, and *SK*, IV.)THE following document is typical of the *shō-gun's* formal confirmation of the inherited holdings of his vassals. Such official acts of recognition were called *an-dō*, literally, the establishing in peace of a person on his land,—a term rarely used at a fresh grant of land, but usually at the sanction of a holding or, as in the present example, at re-investiture on succession (*cf.* No. 12, n. 15).

Again, this letter is a typical individual, not collective, recognition of a divided holding. It has been seen (in our preface to No. 13) that, so long as the services owed by a vassal to his lord did not suffer a diminution, the former was permitted to devise his domains to children by means of a will. A similar spirit of freedom is revealed in this manner of the lord's recognition of the succession of an heir of a vassal to a divided estate of his father. The confirmation (*an-do*) was granted as a matter of course, since the will that legitimized the divided succession had been permitted or condoned; and was not accompanied by any oath of fealty said or any act of homage done by the succeeding vassal. He would pay his respects in person to the lord at Kamakura when a proper occasion came, and, after the confirmation, always perform his share of his deceased father's service, if he was not the main heir, under the direction of the heir-general. Nor did the successor owe his lord a regular "relief." A feudatory lord sometimes exacted an *uke-ryō*, acceptance fee, from his vassal when he took over a domain by inheritance, by purchase, or otherwise, but a *shō-gun* is not known to have done the same from his *go ke-nin* at his succession to an estate. The latter may have, as was customary with barons of later ages, made to the suzerain formal presents of a relatively inconsiderable value; but even this slight offering cannot be proven to have been a regular obligation during the Kamakura period.

The office from which the order of recognition emanated was, in this instance, the *shō-gun's man-dokoro*,<sup>2</sup> his central office of general administration. His governmental machinery at Kamakura, collectively called *baku-fu*, ("government in tent," so designated in modesty), was, as the name suggested, characteristically simple, with its three main divisions: the political *man-dokoro*, the judicial *mon-jū sho*, and the military *samurai-dokoro*.

[Marginal note]: "The writ (*kudashi-bumi*) of *an-do* granted to Shihuya Goro-Shirō *nyū-dō*."

"The *shō-gun's man-dokoro* decrees to Taira no Shigetsune,  
"That he shall forthwith hold (*ryō-chi*) the *ji-tō shiki* at Terao *mura*, in Yoshida upper *shō*, \*called Shibuya,\* in Sagami *kuni*; at Dai-ku-den at Mida, in Ise *kuni*, \*excepting one *chō* belonging to the daughter Oto;\* north of the river at Zhitchō *mura*, in Kawaé *gō*, in Mimasaka *kuni*; and at Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, in Satsuma *kuni*; \*the boundaries on the four sides of the aforesaid places being stated in the letters of devise.\*"

"It is commanded [by the *shō-gun*] that the aforesaid [Shigetsune], in accordance with his late father Gorō *bō*<sup>3</sup> Jō-Shin's letters of devise dated Kwan-gen 4th year 3rd month 29th day [16 April 1246]<sup>4</sup> and Ken-chō 3rd year 8th month 24th day [10 September 1251]<sup>5</sup> shall, as [holder of] the said *shiki*, administer<sup>6</sup> [the affairs of the said domains] in pursuance of precedents.

"Ken-chō 7 y. 6 m. 5 d. [10 July 1255]. *An-su*<sup>7</sup> Kiyowara.

*Chi-ke-zhi*,<sup>7</sup> Kiyowara.

"*Rei*,<sup>7</sup> Saémon no *shō-zhō*, Fujiwara.

*Bettō*,<sup>7</sup> Mutsu no *kami*, Taira no Ason, monogram.

Sagami no *kami*, Taira no Ason, monogram."

\* \*The parts here enclosed between the asterisks are written in small characters in the original text.

<sup>1</sup> See Nos. 14 and 19 above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. 1, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Bō* indicates that the person had shaved his head according to Buddhist rites.

<sup>4</sup> No. 14 above.

<sup>5</sup> No. 19 above.

<sup>6</sup> *Sa-da*, to deal with, manage.

<sup>7</sup> *An-su*, *chi-ke-zhi*, *rei*, and *bettō*, were official positions in the *man-dokoro*, their order of rank being reversed here from low to high. The chiefs, *bettō*, were, respectively, Hōjō Shigetoki and Hōjō Tokiyori, the latter the regent.

## 22. THE KUNI-GOVERNOR'S ORDER, 1258

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, VIII, and SK, IV.)

THIS is a typical *kuni* order of the type known as *chō-sen*, so-called from the two characters with which the first line begins, meaning literally, "order of the office," or "the office orders." The pernicious custom had long been established since the pre-feudal days, of granting to Kyōto nobles for limited periods incomes of official revenues in provinces (*kuni*), of whose affairs they were not expected to assume official charge, but in which they were permitted to secure for their relatives or friends positions as governors or their subordinates. Even a governor so appointed chose usually to stay at the Capital, as in the present instance, and he represented by a deputy at the provincial government. The deputy was called *ru-su* (*chargé* in absence) or *moku-dai* (deputy), and his office, *ru-su dokoro* (*tokoro* meaning place or office). The *chō-sen* was issued from the governor's offices at Kyōto to the *ru-su dokoro* in the *kuni*.

Seeing that the *kuni* claimed a half of the dues from the enumerated parts of Iriki, we infer that the order referred only to the so-called public land (*kō-den*), which had all become *yose-gōri*: (see our introductions to Nos. 2 and 6). The extent of this class of land in the whole of Iriki *in* was, in 1197 (No. 9) and 1250 (No. 17), 75 *chō*;<sup>1</sup> of this total area, the three *ji-tō* named in this order were devised in the latter year (No. 17) thirty-nine and a half *chō* in all. It must be a moiety of the returns from these *chō* that the *kuni*, with a small exception, claimed as due to itself.

It is the intention of the editor to provide explanations barely sufficient to enable the readers to pursue their independent research of the documents. He presumes, however, to call their attention once more to the complex character of the financial obligations of these regions: the domanial lord, the *kuni* governor, the *ji-tō*, and, as we are again reminded here, the Da-zai Fu, had each its separate claims upon the dues of Iriki, the *ji-tō* assuming the duty of collecting all the dues. No. 18 revealed the assignment of lands as *men* and *kyū* and the apportionment of dues to the *kuni*, the *ryō-ke*, and the *ji-tō*; but the revelation was only partial.

The *ji-tō* of the places mentioned in the present document had put themselves in a special status in regard to the *kuni* government, which needs elucidation. The domanial lord or the governor, in order to save himself the trouble of assessing and collecting the dues, and to insure their steady and sure return, sometimes struck a bargain with an agent, whereby the latter bound himself to yield a definite annual amount from the place. A clause was usually inserted in the stipulation to the effect that the payment would be rendered regardlessly of a failure in harvest. This was farming out the dues. The arrangement was considered as mutually advantageous to the governor or lord and to the farmer; the latter would be certain to more than recoup himself for his payment. The place thus marked, as also the *shiki* of holding it, came alike to be called *uke-sho*, literally, "place accepted" under responsibility, (see No. 14, n. 5h). The "letter of acceptance," *uke-bumi*, stated the condition upon which the obligation would be performed, and the agent ordinarily bound himself not to demur if he were summarily discharged for a failure to do his part.<sup>2</sup>

When, as in the present example, a *ji-tō* undertook the obligation, the place and the *shiki* were called a *ji-tō uke-sho*. Shibuya *shō* in Sagami also was made a *ji-tō uke-sho* in 1193, as was shown in No. 14, n. 5.

"(Monogram.)

"THE Governor's office decrees to the *chargé's* office,

"That forthwith Taira *no* Shigetsune,<sup>3</sup> *ditto* Shigekata,<sup>3</sup> and Ara-roku<sup>3</sup> by name, shall forward the rice due from a half of Iriki *in*.

"Taxable<sup>4</sup> by the *kuni*, 47 *koku* 1 to 4 *shō* 5 *gō*; adding thereto a half of [the rice in lieu of] the light articles,<sup>5</sup> 4 *koku* 6 to 3 *shō*;

deducting therefrom 10 *koku* of rice, taxable<sup>4</sup> by the *kuni*, from the 2 *chō* 5 *tan* of *ta* assigned for appropriation for [expenses relative to] Raku-gō temple.

"Of [the dues of] a half of the aforesaid *gō*, [the dues from the following places] shall be rendered, [respectively, by the persons named below], as their *uke-sho*:—from



Tō-no-hara, by Shigetsune; from Nakamura, Shō-komori, and Lower Soéda, by Shigekata; and from a half of Kashiwa-zhima, by Araroku; except from the *ta* confiscated<sup>6</sup> and assigned by the Fu<sup>7</sup> for the yielding of fixed dues to be appropriated for the Buddhist and Shintō services [at the temple],—to the amount stated in their letters of acceptance, regardless of drought or flood, or of poor harvest or failure and loss. If, in contravention of their letters of acceptance, they should fail to return the dues or attempt to resist [the authorities], their *uke-sho* should be terminated. Thus is it ordered. The Deputy's office shall comprehend this, and shall not be remiss in its execution. Decreed.

"Shō-ka 2 y. 9 m. — d. [October 1258].

"*Ō-suke*,<sup>8</sup> Fujiwara no Ason."

<sup>1</sup> Although the *ta* in No. 18, dated early 1251, greatly exceeded this number, the discrepancy may perhaps in part be accounted for by the fact that the later list comprised the lands wasted or unproductive within all the parts mentioned, and in part by its possible inclusion of newly opened rice-fields not officially registered as part of the *yose-gōri*.

<sup>2</sup> The use of *uke-bumi* was not, however, limited to cases of *uke-sho*. Any act of "acceptance," whether of an office, a *shiki*, a piece of land, or a sum of money, which accompanied a definite obligation, might be confirmed with an *uke-bumi*, always in a form similar to the one described above.

<sup>3</sup> Ara-roku, still a lad. On reaching majority this boyhood name would be discarded and he would assume the name Norimoto. For Ara-roku and Shimomura Shigekata, see No. 17; for Terao Shigetsune, see Nos. 14, 17, 19-21.

<sup>4</sup> *Jō*; see No. 18, n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Kei-motsu*, literally, "light things," an item in taxation, probably in the nature of a surtax, though its details are unknown. See No. 72 A.

<sup>6</sup> Confiscated probably from a partisan of the Taira, whose downfall occurred in the eighties of the preceding century. See No. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Da-zai Fu, in Chiku-zen; see No. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ō-suke*, "Great Vice-governor." Why this title was used by a governor, not a vice-governor, is not clear. The late Mr. K. Yashiro maintained that the title was assumed exclusively by an absentee governor at Kyōto who had received his post under private patronage in the manner described in the introduction to this No., when he issued orders to his deputy or to the province.

## 23. THE SHŌ-GUN'S SANCTION OF SHIBUYA AKISHIGE'S WILL OF 1263, 1267

(Okamoto docs.; also KK, VII, and SK, V.)

THE following item occurs in KK, I, but the original document has not been preserved: "On Kō-chō 3 y., *midzunoto i*,<sup>1</sup> 1 m. 23 d., (3 March 1263), (Shihuya Akishige, the second lord of the Iriki-in, whose Buddhist name was Zen-Shin) devised Ō-ashi *mura* and East Koya,<sup>2</sup> in Kawaé *gō* in Mimasaka *kuni*, to Akishige's sixth son Shaku-dō-Maru. Shaku-dō-Maru was the boyhood name of Rokuro bō Shidzushige, the ancestor of the Okamoto. The letter of devise, in a single copy, is at the Okamoto house."

The following is a somewhat less formal order of confirmation at succession than No. 21; this form was used presumably for successors other than the main heir.

"THAT Shaku-dō-Maru shall forthwith hold (*ryō-chi*) Ō-ashi *mura* and Higashi Koya, in Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*:

"It is hereby decreed (*ge-chi*), by [the *shō-gun's*] command, that [Shaku-dō-Maru]

shall, according to his late father Akishige *hō-shi's*<sup>3</sup> letter of devise dated Kō-chō 3rd year 1st month 23rd day, hold (*ryō-shō*) [the said places].

"Bun-ei 4 y. 6 m. 16 d. [8 July 1267]. Sagami no kami, Taira no Ason,<sup>4</sup> (monogram).

"Sakyō no gon dai-bu, Taira no Ason,<sup>5</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> The last year of the sexagenary cycle.

<sup>2</sup> Ō-ashi is in Kami-yama *mura*, near the boundary of Bizen. Koya may have been near Ō-ashi: *koya* is a building where the business of cutting trees from an adjoining woodland is managed, but the word has often become a proper place-name.

<sup>3</sup> A low Buddhist rank, hut popularly used much in the same sense as *shami* or *nyū-dō*.

<sup>4</sup> Hōjō Tokimune.

<sup>5</sup> Hōjō Masamura.

## 24. AKISHIGE'S DEVISE, 1265, AND THE SHŌ-GUN'S SANCTION, 1267

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II, and *SK*, V.)

### A

Cf. Nos. 13 and 17. This is the devise of the second Iriki-in lord, Akishige, to his younger son Arishige. The subsequent history of the latter's share may be traced through Nos. 42, 93 A, etc. Akishige also gave shares of his domains to his heir-general Kimishige, the third lord, and other children, but the letters of devise relative to these have not been preserved. Nor is extant the letter of devise by Kimishige to his heir Chō-toku-Maru, and not even its date is known. The division and the later career of Chō-toku-Maru's share may be inferred from a close study of Nos. 87 and 93 B and C.

### A

"To devise domains (*sho-ryō*)

To Hei-shirō Arishige.

"One place: one [house, namely,] Sei-ta *nyū-dō's* western house [*zai-ke*], in Yoshida Upper *shō*, [Sagami *kuni*].

The four limits: east is bounded by Yanaka ditch; south, west, and north [limits] are seen in the old boundaries.

Also wooded land, in Fuji-gokoro, 5 *chō*.

"One place: Shimo-mori, westward from Kami-yama temple, in Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*.

The four limits: the east is bounded by western path of Kusano-dani, (from the present road westward to Ōashi);

the south is bounded by the boundary of Bizen [*kuni*];

the west is bounded by Sahitomo [?], (along the creek between hills to Kiriya River);

the north is bounded by Iioka.

"One place: three-fifths of Kiyoshiki *gō*, in Iriki *in*, of Satsuma *kuni*.

"[Arishige] shall, in accordance with this letter of devise, and in pursuance of precedents, hold (*chi-gyō*) the aforesaid places. Thus.

"Bun-ei 2 y. 8 m. 3 d. [13 September 1265]. *Shami*, Zen-Shin,<sup>1</sup> (monogram)."

## B

The *shō-gun's* government issued a letter of sanction in the same form and under the same date as that in the last No., as follows.

"That Taira *no* Arishige shall forthwith hold one [house, namely,] Sei-ta *nyū-dō's* western house, in Yoshida *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; wooded land, five *chō*, in Fuji-gokoro; Shimo-mori, westward from Kami-yama temple, in Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*; and three-fifths of Kiyoshiki *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"It is hereby decreed, by command, that [Arishige] shall, according to his late father Akishige *hō-shi* <sup>Buddhist name</sup> letter of devise dated Bun-ei 2nd year 8th month 3rd day, hold [the said places].  
Zen-Shin's

"Bun-ei 4 y. 6 m. 16 d. [8 July 1267]. Sagami *no kami*, Taira *no Ason*, (monogram).  
*Sakyō gon dai-bu*, Taira *no Ason*, (monogram)."

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<sup>1</sup> Akishige assumed the name Zen-Shin on taking a Buddhist vow.

## 25. PETITION OF THE KOKU-BUN ZHI, 1321

(A copy in SK, IX, of a Koku-hun *zhi* doc. now lost.)

THIS petition is inserted here, because, although it is dated 1321, its reference to Iriki concerns an imperial decree of 1275. The reference is slight but important. In other respects, also, the document is of high value.

During the greater part of its history in Japan, Buddhism exercised over the native Shintō cult a deep, pervasive influence: Buddhist rites were introduced into Shintō worship, and *kami* and *mikoto* were even claimed to be re-incarnations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Not infrequently Buddhist churches were founded near Shintō temples as their saving principle, and the priests of the former controlled the business affairs of the latter. One of the most remarkable examples of the blending of the parallel faiths is afforded by An-raku *zhi* and Ten-man *gū*, at Da-zai Fu, (see note 15). A branch of this composite church-temple was established at the Koku-hun *zhi* of Satsuma, the official provincial church of the *kuni*, (see No. 9, n. 3), according to the tradition cited in the present document, in the latter half of the tenth century.

More than two hundred years later, a scion of the Koremune family, Tomohisa, was appointed the manager of this Shintō-Buddhist institution. The office was transmitted to his children, who (*cf.* n. 22, and No. 50), under the assumed family-name Kokuhun, exerted no small local influence. It is not difficult to understand their power when it is recalled that their ahode was the seat of the *kuni* government, in which they sometimes held important posts; that the church-temple with which they were identified was an object of wide popular devotion; and that they were kin to the puissant *shū-in* of the neighboring Nūta temple, to the Ichiku lords a little further south, and also, whether these last were inclined to admit their Koremune descent or not, to the Shimadzu *shu-go*. It would seem that, in 1275, the position of the Kokuhun as one of the chief warrior-families of northwest Satsuma had been well established.

Unfortunately, the SK copy of this petition is extremely poor, which has made the more awkward the halting Chinese in which the original was written.

"THE [Buddhist] officials and [Shintō] priests of Ten-man *gū* and Koku-bun *zhi*, Satsuma *kuni*, respectfully petition

"That immediately, by soliciting Imperial sanction, and in accordance with precedents ° ° °<sup>1</sup> virtuous rule, the present temple and the halls and tower of the Koku-bun church be rebuilt ° ° °,<sup>1</sup> and thereby [the petitioners be enabled

長生堂

No. 24B. 1267.

溫  
香  
隱  
正  
小  
新  
殿

No. 127D. 1404.





to] pray for a long reign and long lives [of the Emperor and the Empress]; [this being] a statement of the circumstances of the petition ° ° ° .<sup>1</sup>

“Presented herewith:—

one document: the *sen-zhi*,<sup>2</sup> Ken-chi 1 y. 12 m. 3 d. [21 December 1275], that the present church and temple be rebuilt;

three documents: the *in-zen*,<sup>3</sup> Ken-chi ° ° ° ,<sup>1</sup> Ken-chi ° ° ° ;<sup>1</sup>

two documents: the *koku-sen*,<sup>4</sup> ° ° ° ;<sup>1</sup>

one document: the *dai-fu sen*:<sup>5</sup> Ken-chi 2 y. 1 m. — d. [February 1276], that the present church and temple be rebuilt;

three documents: the decrees(*ge-chi*)<sup>6</sup> of the Kwan-tō, Bun-ji 2 y. 12 m. 7 d. [18 January 1187], Zhō-kyū 3 y. 8 m. 28 d. [13 September 1221], and Bun-ō 1 y. 10 m. 5 d. [9 November 1260];

one document: the order(*mi kyō-sho*)<sup>7</sup> of the Kwan-tō, Kō-an 7 y. 5 m. 3 d. [17 June 1283], that the ancient history, the present condition, the controlling personages, and the exempted *ta*, of the Koku-bun church be reported in detail;

one document: the executive order(*shi-kō*) of the Chin-zei,<sup>8</sup> Ei-nin 7 y. 2 m. 14 d. [17 March 1299], that, according to the instructions(*koto-gaki*) of the Kwan-tō, temples in Kyū-shū be repaired and the customary Buddhist and Shintō services be performed;

one document: the circular letter of the *shu-go*, the same y. same m. 1 d. [4 March 1299];

one document: the order(*mi kyō-sho*)<sup>7</sup> of the Kwan-tō, Shō-an 2 y. 7 m. 13 d. [29 July 1300], that the subjugation of the foreign enemy<sup>9</sup> be prayed for;

one document: the letter of urgent command(*sai-soku zhō*)<sup>10</sup> of the *shu-go*, the same 3 y. 1 m. 10 d. [19 February 1301];

one document: the executive order of the Chin-zei,<sup>8</sup> Shō-an 3 y. 8 m. 23 d. [25 September 1301], that, according to the instructions(*koto-gaki*) from the Kwan-tō, ° ° °<sup>1</sup> [prayers concerning] the appearance of the comet<sup>11</sup> be offered;

one document: the letter of urgent command<sup>10</sup> by the *shu-go*, the same y. 8 m. 25 d. [27 September 1301];

one document: the order(*mi kyō-sho*)<sup>7</sup> of the Kwan-tō, Ka-gen 1 y. 12 m. 10 d. [17 January 1304], that prayers of defense against the foreign enemy<sup>9</sup> be offered;

one document: the executive order of the Chin-zei,<sup>8</sup> the same 2 y. 1 m. 4 d. [10 February 1304];

one document: the letter of urgent command<sup>10</sup> by the deputy *shu-go*, the same 2 y. 1 m. 23 d. [1 March 1304];

one document: the order(*mi kyō-sho*)<sup>7</sup> of the Kwan-tō, En-kyō 3 y. 2 m. 29 d. [21 March 1308], that ° ° ° ;<sup>1</sup>

one roll: the catalogue of Shintō services performed during the year;

one roll: the list of damages, made by order in Ken-po 2 y. [1214] by Imperial commissioners;

one document: the picture ° ° ° .<sup>1</sup>

"Though there are many other documents, the aforementioned few documents are herewith forwarded for the present.

"Regarding the ancient history and the present condition of the Ten-man temple and the Koku-bun church.

"Respectfully examining the ancient records, [it is seen that] the present temple is the place where Ten-man Dai-zhi-zai Ten-zhin<sup>12</sup> revealed himself. In the Imperial reign of Ten-ryaku [947-957],<sup>13</sup> an ordinance of the Kwan<sup>14</sup> was promulgated, and [to Koku-bun zhi] was attached a branch of An-raku zhi.<sup>15</sup> In the period Ō-wa [961-964], (for the first time a temple was erected . . . at which),<sup>16</sup> as a beneficent temple guarding the State, the long reign and the long lives [of the successive Imperial majesties] would exclusively be prayed for. Henceforward, the temple radiated its divine lustre for a space of several hundred years, during which increasing reverence was paid, and seven subsidiary temples and a tower were added, so that more than twenty edifices stood one beside another, and daily rites and monthly services, to the number of several hundred [in the year], ever increasing but never decreasing, were performed. Accordingly, wise princes of successive generations contributed lands, and *kuni* officials of successive terms added to the church domains, making them also domains of the temple, which were exempt from dues to other places and immune from all charges by emperors' and ex-emperors' orders.<sup>17</sup> As for the Koku-bun church, it was reverently erected in Yō-rō 1st year [717], more than six hundred years ago, and [a sculptured image of] Dai Shō Kwan-ze-on Bosatsu (Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara) was respectfully reposed therein, so that the church was made a sacred place for the offering of the Imperial prayer. In the church for the nuns,<sup>18</sup> also, was reposed respectfully [the images of] Yakushi Nyorai (Buddha Beshaja-guru) and his twelve armed attendants, and the Imperial prayer was likewise offered. Now, the wars of Bun-ji [1185] and Zhō-kyū [1221]<sup>19</sup> were unprecedentedly grave events; but [the present temple] was not considered as in the same status with other temples, but was exempted from the exaction of military taxes and freed from warrior's outrages; this is evident in the orders(*ge-chi*)<sup>6</sup> from the Kwan-tō issued in successive generations [of *shō-gun*]. To show in this wise special reverence to the sacred temple at each warlike occurrence, is the precedent of the Imperial government and the felicitous custom of the military rulers. According to the order(*ge-chi*)<sup>6</sup> of the Kwan-tō [issued] during the Bun-ji years [18 January 1187], it was said: The Lord of Kamakura decreed that the present church was the abode of Ten-man Dai-zhi-zai Ten-zhin,<sup>12</sup> and should not be regarded as in the same status as other temples, but should devote itself to Buddhist and Shintō services; and, therefore, the warriors' interference should be stopped, [the domains] should be secured, and the [Buddhist] officials and [Shintō] priests should repair the church and perform the Buddhist services; etc. Also, according to the order(*mi kyō-sho*)<sup>7</sup> of the Kwan-tō issued during the period Zhō-kyū [1221], it was said: The domains of the aforesaid Ten-man temple and church should not be disturbed by warriors; if, in the remote region,<sup>20</sup> such events should take place, and if any person should, under this or that pretext, contrive new disturbances and resist the payment of

the customary dues and commit outrageous acts, the affair should be reported, and [the offender] would be punished for his guilt; the manager,<sup>21</sup> *ukon no shō-gen* Tomohisa,<sup>22</sup> and other officials and servitors, should not in the least degree be molested; etc. For these reasons, although the services of constructing the stone ramparts and keeping the guard at the harbor of Hakata<sup>23</sup> were imposed upon all domains, alike of Shintō temples and Buddhist churches, and of noble families and powerful personages, the domains of the present temple and church were equally exempted from them. That was because they were a temple without a peer and a shrine unexcelled in the realm. Especially, since frequent *in-zen*<sup>3</sup> were granted that prayers relative to the foreign Power<sup>9</sup> be offered with sincerity, and since the present temple and An-raku *zhi*<sup>15</sup> were, though different in name, distinct revelations of the identical deity, the priests of the present temple offered prayers with undivided zeal; and, consequently, when the wicked Mongol invaders attacked the Chin-zei in the period Bun-ei [1274], they were unable to withstand the divine[-ly protected] army, and either discarded their vessels or sank to the bottom of the sea; though there were some invaders who survived, they could not carry out their intention to make war, but vainly fled back. Thereafter, since orders (*mi kyō-sho*)<sup>7</sup> of the Kwan-tō were again issued to this temple that it should diligently pray, earnest prayers were offered; when the wicked invaders again arrived in Kō-an 4th year [1281], and all persons, believing that the expulsion of the enemy could be effected only by divine will and never by human power ° ° °,<sup>1</sup> reverently looked up to heaven, on the 1st day of the 7th month of the same year [17 July 1281] a divine storm rose in mighty force and scattered the enemy ships, and the enemy perished all at once. This was the victory achieved by Ten-man Dai-zhi-zai Ten-zhin.<sup>12</sup> Those who saw or heard these events all revered the great power of the deity. Now, the present temple and the Koku-bun church had from ancient times been repaired by the *kuni* government as its bounden duty, and the precedents were clear that, when small damages had been enlarged into great damages, [the edifices] should be rebuilt. Notwithstanding, either by the negligence of governors or by the change of successive deputies, years had passed without seeing repairs made, and the edifices of the church and temple, from the main hall to the cloister, were all damaged, and Buddhist images were exposed to the weather and were injured. Then the church, with utmost exertion, sought to restore, according to form merely, both the chief hall, ceremonial hall, and corridors of the temple, and the main halls of the Koku-bun church and the Tai-hei church<sup>18</sup> for the nuns, building temporary thatched halls, and thus reestablishing the present church and temple; in this manner, the annual customary rites and monthly Shintō services, to the number of several hundred times, have been performed without neglect, and the eternal reign of the Throne has been prayed for. However, as the Shintō officials carefully examine the old records, [they find], to their great regret, that ancient performances were different from the present. Accordingly, as these circumstances were reported during the period of Ken-po [1213], a catalogue of the damages was made by order by the commissioners of the *Kwan*. No official step was, however, taken with promptitude, and the matter was allowed to rest. When, in the 1st year of Ken-chi [1275], a renewed petition was presented to the Throne, an *in-zen*<sup>3</sup> was graciously issued that the Ten-man temple and Koku-bun church be rebuilt. Accordingly, the six places—Ketō, Tōgō, Iriki, Yamato,<sup>24</sup>



Nan-gō,<sup>25</sup> and Kaseda<sup>26</sup>—were given<sup>27</sup> to the church as places of support;<sup>28</sup> and the priests opened their eyes of gladness,<sup>29</sup> and proceeded to undertake the work of construction. But since the *ji-tō* and the *myō-shu* of the said places of support,<sup>28</sup> relying upon their armed force, would not yield the regular taxes, [the priests] barely procured the timber for the halls and other edifices with what little tax they had extracted. Presently the places of support<sup>28</sup> were interfered with by the *kuni* governor, and the construction was not completed, and the scant timber that had been procured uselessly decayed. As a public loss and as a divine misfortune, this was exceedingly grievous. As the priests have thus been bewailing, they now hear the rumor that the Koku-bun churches of all *kuni* will be restored and a virtuous rule be established. This is truly because the prayers for the peace of the reign are realized by the virtue of Ten-man Dai-zhi-zai Ten-zhin<sup>12</sup> and Dai Shō Kwan-ze-on Bosatsu. It is petitioned that immediately, appealing to the Throne, in accordance with the precedents and in pursuance of the measure for restoration, the construction of the halls and tower of the present temple and Koku-bun *zhi* be, according to the report of the damages, brought to completion. Then the daily rites and monthly services would be performed without neglect on the appointed days; the divine power would be ever more exerted; the security of the rule of our Sovereign would be enduring; alien nations would come under the Imperial influence; and the tributes of the three Korean states would be unceasingly rendered. Therefore, the circumstances are recorded, and the petition is presented.

"Gen-kō 1 y. 7 m. — d. [August 1321]. *Shikkō*,<sup>30</sup> *kwan-su*,<sup>30</sup> Ōkura.<sup>31</sup>

*Tsuina*,<sup>30</sup> *dai hosshi*,<sup>30</sup> Chō-Han.<sup>30</sup>

*Zhi-su*, *dai hosshi*, Gon-Shu.

*Dai ken-gyō*, *dai hosshi*.

*Shō bettō*, *dai hosshi*.

*Gon doku-shi*, *dai hosshi*.

*Zhō-za*, *dai hosshi*. Myō-Gon.

*Dai bettō*, *dai hosshi*. Gyō-Ji.

*Doku-shi*, *dai hosshi*, Yū-Han.

*Gon kō-shi*, *hō-gen wo-shō i*, Yū-Gon.

*Ru-su*, *san-i*, Koremune Ason Tomosada.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Worm-eaten parts.

<sup>2</sup> The *sen-zhi* (*shi*, import, of *sen*, decree or order) was a simplified form of imperial decree conveyed either through a Minister (*Dai-zhin*) or through a Councillor (*Na-gon*).

<sup>3</sup> The *in-zen* was an order or a decree (*sen*) of the office of the ex-emperor (*in*) who, though nominally retired, still held in his hands a large part of the real sovereign powers. In fact, the origin of the *in-government* about 1085 is attributable to the desire of the emperor Shirakawa to free himself from the restraint of the cumbersome form and customs of the court, and from the overshadowing influence of the Fujiwara nobles, to which the Throne was then subject, and to wield more substantial powers in a less formal but really more independent position in retirement. For these reasons, the *in-zen* came to assume even a greater authority than regular imperial commands. The *in-government* under successive ex-emperors continued to exist intermittently till the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and was revived in 1612, persisting thereafter with interruptions till 1840.

<sup>4</sup> The *oku-sen* (*sen*, decree or order, of the governor of the *oku*, or, *kuni*) was a command by a *kuni* governor of noble rank who resided in Kyōto, which was signed by an agent of his household

office, and addressed to the deputy governor in the *kuni*. The *koku-sen* was, therefore, a variation of the *chō-sen* (cf. No. 22).

<sup>5</sup> The *Dai-fu sen* was an order or a decree issued by the chief official of the Da-zai Fu to his subordinates.

<sup>6</sup> The *ge-chi* ("instruction to inferiors") was a decree or command of the *shō-gun's* government at Kamakura or of his deputies at Rokuhara, Kyōto, addressed to a *ji-tō* or other *go ke-nin*. The addressee was not directly addressed. The order was signed by some Hōjō. Judicial judgments of the *shō-gun's* court were usually given in this form, (cf. Nos. 16 and 41. Nos. 23, 35, and 43 are also *ge-chi*).

The *ge-chi* had been derived from the more formal style of the *shō-gun's* command known as the *kudashi-bumi* ("letter to inferiors"), which either bore a personal monogram of the *shō-gun* (e.g., No. 6 A, C, and D) or was issued under the names of the officials of his *man-dokoro* (cf. Nos. 21 and 34). Letters of investiture were usually *kudashi-bumi*.

<sup>7</sup> The *mi kyō-sho*, often pronounced *mi kyō-so* ("letter of instruction"), was a general term which might be applied to all commands from either civil or feudal powers which were informal in style; in this sense, some *in-zen* were *mi kyō-sho*. The *shō-gun's mi kyō-sho* in the Kamakura period was even more informal than his *ge-chi*, bearing the signature of the regent or of a deputy at Rokuhara, as the case may be, and directly addressed to a person. Cf. Nos. 12 D and 84.

In the present document, however, it may be noted that the terms *ge-chi* and *mi kyō-sho* are used in confusion.

<sup>8</sup> The *Chin-zei* ("pacifying the west") meant Kyū-shū in general, but here refers to the *shō-gun's* commissioner (*bu-gyō*), who represented him in the island. For an example of the order of the *bu-gyō*, see No. 66.

<sup>9</sup> For the security of the country against Mongol conquest, the aid of unseen powers was earnestly prayed for in Buddhist and Shintō institutions throughout Japan. Since the menace continued for more than thirty years (see No. 45), the resources of the imperial and feudal government which were expended in these religious services must have been enormous. Nor was it practicable, afterwards, adequately to recompense all the churches and temples for their zealous acts of piety done during the long period of national peril. Their consequent dissatisfaction was an important factor in causing the weakening of the feudal government of Kamakura.

<sup>10</sup> The *sai-soku zhō* ("letter of urgent command") was a peremptory order to obey and carry out a command; the command may be conveyed in the order itself, or may have been issued before. Cf. Nos. 80 A and B, 82, 84, 85, 92 B, 96 A and B, etc.

<sup>11</sup> The appearance of a comet was considered as presaging an armed disorder.

<sup>12</sup> Literally, Heavenly-complete, greatly free, heavenly deity,—the full title for the deified spirit of Sugawara Michizane, the statesman and man of letters who, being falsely accused by his political enemy of treason against the Throne, died in exile in Kyūshū, in 1003. Traditions were current about *Koku-hun zhi* that he lived and died here; there are a few other places in western Japan which claim the honor of his temporary sojourn.

<sup>13</sup> Probably the reign as a whole of the emperor Murakami, 946-967, is meant, rather than the year-period Ten-ryaku, that formed a part of the reign.

<sup>14</sup> The *kwan-pu* or, more fully, *Da-zhō kwan pu*, was a formal ordinance, *fu*, of the *Dai-zhō kwan*, the highest executive office of the imperial government, conveying an imperial order, and addressed to a lower office. When addressed directly to a Shintō or Buddhist institution, the document was designated a *kwan-chō*.

<sup>15</sup> An-raku *zhi*, the Buddhist church at Da-zai Fu, though its history is singularly obscure, seems to have existed for some time when, in 905, a temple dedicated to the ghost of Sugawara Michizane (n. 12) was established at the same site. The church and the temple were thenceforth more closely identified with each other than was usual with Shintō temples and the Buddhist churches with which they were associated. Whenever An-raku *zhi* was mentioned, invariably the Ten-man temple was meant; even after the former had physically disappeared, for which event no definite date is assignable, its priests and officials continued to be appointed, who performed as before the Buddhist rites of the temple and transacted its worldly affairs. This state of things seems to have persisted till the end of the Tokugawa period.

<sup>16</sup> Some characters in this passage of the SK copy are obscure; the general meaning is here given in the parentheses.

<sup>17</sup> *Dai-shō choku-in zhi*. These were irregular charges ordered on such unusual occasions as the rebuilding of the great temples at Ise, the building or repair of the palace, and the accession of a new emperor to the throne. These charges were considered as obligatory upon all lands regardless of their differences in fiscal status, and were therefore levied impartially upon all public districts and private domains, in parts or in the whole of Japan, as the case may be. Yet exemptions from these impositions were sometimes granted to specially favored institutions and domanial lords.

<sup>18</sup> The building of the Koku-hun *zhi* in each *kuni* was accompanied with that of a Koku-hun *ni-zhi*, provincial church for nuns. In Satsuma, the nunnery was later called Tai-*hei zhi*; and about 1339 was made the An-koku *zhi* of the *kuni*, when the Ashikaga sought to found provincial churches in all Japan.

<sup>19</sup> The war of Bun-ji refers to the defeat of the Taira at Yashima and Dan-no-ura, on the north-east coast of Shikoku, in 1185. Since Taira had established their influence in Kyūshū also, their downfall was followed there by considerable disturbance, and the general dislocation extended to Satsuma, (cf. Nos. 4 and 12 A).

The war of Zhō-kyū 3d year (1221) was occasioned by the premature attempt made by the imperial house and court nobles at Kyōto to overthrow the feudal government at Kamakura. The latter quickly defeated the enemy, but the event caused, as may be gathered from this document, among other evidence, some commotion even in the distant Satsuma.

<sup>20</sup> Remote from Kyōto.

<sup>21</sup> *Sa-da nin*.

<sup>22</sup> The first head of the Kokubun branch of the Koremune family.

<sup>23</sup> Extensive stone ramparts were built and the coast was guarded, during the period of defense against the Mongols, at and near Hakata, in north Kyūshū. This was the first time that feudal warriors from all her parts participated in the common defense of the country. (See No. 45.)

<sup>24</sup> Yamato is further north than Tōgō.

<sup>25</sup> Nan-gō, of Hioki, westward of Kagoshima.

<sup>26</sup> Kaseda, further south than Nan-gō.

<sup>27</sup> The original word is *ki-fu*. It should not be thought that the entire places were granted.

<sup>28</sup> *Ryō-sho*, places of support; cf. No. 113, n. 2.

<sup>29</sup> A peculiar expression, often used, is almost literally translated.

<sup>30</sup> These and the following Buddhist offices, ranks, and priestly names, may contain errors.

<sup>31</sup> Note the family name Ōkura.

<sup>32</sup> Zhirō Tomosada, Buddhist name Dō-Nen, was of the Kokubun family. He took the imperial side in the civil war in the early age of the rival courts, and died in battle in 1359. Here he is seen to be a deputy governor of Satsuma, (cf. No. 22).

## 26. TERAU SHIGETSUNE'S REPUDIATION OF HIS SONS, ABOUT

1277

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

THIS short letter presents several points of capital importance. In the first place, the document shows the origin of serious family dissensions which led to a series of judicial processes before the *shō-gun's* court, revealing the character of feudal justice as administered under the Hōjō regency at the height of its power. (Nos. 27, 31-33, 36-41, 57, 58, 61-65, 67, 70, and 71.)

The document further shows how the real meaning of the term *go ke-nin* had changed. The *shō-gun* at Kamakura, after the assassination of the last of the Minamoto lords in 1219, was a mere figurehead, the actual power of his feudal government having fallen into the hands of the Hōjō, the family of the regent. The *shō-gun's* direct vassal no longer saw in him the object of his personal devotion; without relinquishing his nominal allegiance to the suzerain, therefore, and without discarding the title *go ke-nin*, the vassal had now chosen as his personal lord one of the Hōjō,—in this instance, the regent himself.

Still more interesting is the nature of feudal contract which obtained in this period. Homage, strong as was the bond of fidelity it involved, required for its inception no definite form of ceremonial act, (see the preface to No. 15), and was, so far as formality was concerned, easily made: a father would promise the faith of his sons to his own lord, and nevertheless a son would readily attach himself to another lord. It is true that the former act merely put into effect the principle of hereditary following, and constituted no real difference from the successive allegiance which was often promised in written letters of homage used in European feudalism in the later stages of its evolution. But the free choice of a lord by a son without serious reason which he could urge against his father's lord would seem extraordinary. Nor did the lord inflict any measure of sanction upon the faithless son or his father. Was this because the son had not yet personally done homage to the lord, and also because the new lord was his kin? Did the father's lord consider that the son's offense lay between himself and the father, and between father and son, rather than between himself and the son?

"I HAVE the honor to inform you that, despite the fact that I had said to my lord,<sup>1</sup> as you are aware, that my three sons would serve<sup>2</sup> him, Yoichi Shigekazu and Shichirō Yorishige have disobeyed my command and gone to another lord,<sup>3</sup> and that, [for that offense], I have forever repudiated<sup>4</sup> them, so that henceforth we are no longer parent and children. I report this in order that [my lord] may understand it. I beg you to announce it to the lord at an opportune moment. Respectfully reported.

"4th month 5th day.<sup>5</sup>

Jō-Butsu,<sup>6</sup> *monogram*.

"To Suwa *nyū-dō* *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> From the next document it would appear that the lord was Hōjō Tokimune, the regent.

<sup>2</sup> *Hō-kō*, service. See No. 142, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> In Nos. 27 and 39 this lord is seen to have been Yoshimasa, of a collateral branch of the Hōjō.

<sup>4</sup> *Fu-kyō*, literally, failing in filial duty, but used often in the sense of disinheriting an unfilial child.

<sup>5</sup> No year is given, but the letter is apparently of the same year as the next document. The date is, then, 9 May 1277.

<sup>6</sup> The Buddhist name of Shigetune, Jō-Shin's son, and the first lord of the Terao branch of the Iriki-in family.

<sup>7</sup> An attendant on the lord regent. An indirect address to the lord, out of respect for him.

## 27. TERAOK SHIGETSUNE'S LETTER TO HIS SON SHIGEMICHI, 1277

(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

"PROBABLY on Yo-ichi's petition, Kishima *no emon nyū-dō* was sent [to Jō-Butsu] as envoy from lord Musashi *no nyū-dō*,<sup>1</sup> on the 12th day of the 5th month [14 June], with the message that his lordship desired [Jō-Butsu] to revoke his disavowal<sup>2</sup> of Yo-ichi. But since [Jō-Butsu] had reported to lord Sagami *no kami*,<sup>3</sup> through lord Suwa, that, for the offense of having gone to another lord without letting Jō-Butsu know, [the latter] had repudiated Yo-ichi and Shichirō, and had not yet received an answer from his lordship, [Jō-Butsu] asked [Kishima] how he should conduct himself. The envoy remarked that, in such matters, one should merely say that he accepted the command, and all would be well; and on [Jō-Butsu's] saying that he respectfully received [the message the envoy had brought, the latter] remarked: 'Then we might call Yo-ichi *dono*.' To this [Jō-Butsu] replied that that would not do, and retired into . . .<sup>4</sup> Thereafter, Yo-ichi invaded [Jō-Butsu's] residence and declared



that his disavowal of him had been lifted. This was indeed unreasonable. Moreover, he went to the house of Hayasume and, to [Jō-Butsu's] regret, cut down<sup>5</sup> the crops. Though [Jō-Butsu] did write to Yo-ichi while he was at Toshima<sup>6</sup> letters regarding domains, since he has disobeyed his father's command, [Jō-Butsu's] earlier signatures<sup>7</sup> shall all be invalid.<sup>8</sup> All the letters of devise that he gives to his sons and grandsons are autographic. Not a single *tan* or *bu* of his estate should after his death be given to Yo-ichi or Shichirō. If even a dog should [be allowed to] go between you and them, because you were brothers, [Jō-Butsu] would in his grave<sup>9</sup> consider it wrong. Though he fears you may not be able to read his poor writing,<sup>10</sup> he thus leaves his word.

"Ken-chi 3 y. 6 m. 24 d. [26 July 1277]. *Monogram* [of Jō-Butsu.]  
 "To Terao *no* Iya-shirō<sup>11</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Hōjō Yoshimasa, governor of Musashi, a chief executive of the feudal government at Kamakura.

<sup>2</sup> *Kan-dō*, repudiation and severance of blood tie.

<sup>3</sup> Hōjō Tokimune, governor of Sagami and the regent.

<sup>4</sup> One or two characters are unintelligible.

<sup>5</sup> And robbed.

<sup>6</sup> Toshima refers very likely to Shihuya, in Toshima *kōri*, Musashi *kuni*, now on the western outskirts of the vast city of Tōkyō. Many legends were current till lately in this region concerning members of the Shihuya family, specially Shihuya Konnō-Maru of the late 12th century, who are said to have lived here. Tradition ascribed to this family the same origin as that of its namesake whose abode was the neighboring *kuni* Sagami, and whose branches, as we know, migrated to Satsuma and Mimasaka. As these local legends in Musashi seemed incredible, the compilers of the official history of the *kuni* under the Tokugawa shogunate, *Shin-pen Musa-shi fū-do ki kō*, surmised that probably a branch of the Shihuya in Sagami had come to Musashi and its memories had been mythified through tradition, (X, 10). It is of some interest to note that the supposition receives confirmation from these documents we are now bringing to light for the first time: in 1277 a member of the Terao branch of the Shihuya family had been in Musashi. It is highly probable that he had visited his kinsmen who were permanently settled there.

<sup>7</sup> That is, earlier documents bearing his signature.

<sup>8</sup> *Ho-gu*, literally, waste paper. According to the rule explicitly stated in the feudal code of judicature, *Jō-ei shiki-moku*, the parent could revoke his devise to a child who subsequently proved himself unfilial. See No. 41, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Kusa no kage*, literally, "in the shade of grass" growing in the graveyard.

<sup>10</sup> The document is written in *kana* syllabaries, with a sprinkling of local mispronunciations and wrong characters.

<sup>11</sup> Jō-Butsu's son and successor Shigemichi.

## 28. TERA0 SHIGETSUNE'S DEVISE TO HIS SON SHIGEMICHI, 1277

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

"Monogram of Taira *no* Ason, Governor of Sagami."

"THE domains devised

To the eldest son Iya-shirō Shigemichi:—

"In Sagami *kuni*: Terao *mura* in Shibuya Upper *shō*. All with the exception of Taketsuru's share shall be the heir-general's<sup>2</sup> share. The boundaries on the four sides are stated in the original letter of devise.

"In Ise *kuni*: Dai-ku-den of Mida, to which is added the remainder of Takayanagi.

"In Satsuma *kuni*: Tō-no-hara *mura*, in Iriki *in*. The boundaries on the four sides are stated in the original letter of devise.

"In Sagami *kuni*: Ban-tō-zhi's house (*zai-ke*) and one *chō* of *ta*, in Ōkami *gō*. Shibuya Saémon Zhiro-saburō *uyū-dō* and Myō-Ren's deed of sale and the [*shō-gun*'s] writ of investiture accompany this.

"Since the aforesaid places are Jō-Butsu's hereditary holdings (*shō-ryō*), they are hereby devised for all time to the eldest son Shigemichi.

"Ken-chi 3 y. 9 m. 13 d. [10 October 1277]. Jō-Butsu, *monogram*.

"As testimony for the future, this letter is written with my own hand; letters written by another hand shall be invalid."

<sup>1</sup> Monogram of Hōjō Tokimune, the regent, sanctioning the devise.

<sup>2</sup> *Sō-ryō*. The word applied to a person who, whether as heir or as official, had general supervision over his peers in the given situation. As heir, the *sō-ryō*, *heres principalis*, in this period inherited only a major part of his father's estate, but, since he was usually the eldest son, assumed general oversight of the juridical affairs of his brothers and sisters and all the members of the household. It was not until the later period, when the rule of primogeniture had been gradually established, that the word came to be taken to signify the eldest child and sole heir.

## 29. TERAŌ SHIGETSUNE'S DEVISE TO HIS WIFE MYŌ-REN, 1277

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

"IN . . . 's house lives one daughter."

"The domains (*shō-ryō*) and granted *ta* (*kyū-den*)<sup>2</sup> which the widow shall possess during life:—

the two domains (*ryō*) devised to Take-tsuru;

within Dai-ku-den, of Ise, 2 *chō*  $\frac{2}{3}$  *tan*,<sup>3</sup> with the addition of  $1\frac{3}{15}$  *tan*,<sup>4</sup> being the homestead (*yashiki*) and *ta* at Uéda;

Yake-hara, Tō-no-hara.

"These places, after the widow shall have held (*ryō*) them for life, shall be held (*chigyō*) by those to whom they have been assigned in the letters of devise. As testimony for the future, the autographic proof is [given] thus.

"Ken-chi 3 y. 9 m. 13 d. [10 October 1277].

Jō-Butsu, *monogram*.

"[Also], within the moat enclosure at Terao, the land along the road of Notake up to the north moat, inclusive of the homestead (*ya-shiki*) that lies eastward on the road east of the stables, shall be held for life [by the widow]."

<sup>1</sup> The first word or two are gone.

<sup>2</sup> *Kyū-den*; rice-land was granted for special service and held during its term. Cf. No. 18, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of brevity, the characters *dai* (large), *han* (half), and *shō* (small), were commonly used in documents, meaning, respectively,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and  $\frac{1}{3}$ , of a *tan*, or, 240, 180, and 120 *bu*.

<sup>4</sup> The original reads: *dai* and one *jō*; that is,  $\frac{2}{3}$  plus  $\frac{1}{5}$  *tan*, or  $1\frac{3}{15}$ .

### 30. TERA0 SHIGETSUNE'S DEVISE TO HIS GRANDDAUGHTER TAKE-TSURU, 1277

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

"DEVISED to the granddaughter Take-tsuru:—

"In Sagami *kuni*: Gen-zhirō Morisue's house(*zai-ke*) and the *ta* attached to the same house, in Terao *mura*, of Shibuya Upper *shō*. [The east is bounded by] the boundary of a grant *ta*(*kyū-den*); [the north, by] the southern boundary of Yasukiyo ° ° °; <sup>1</sup> the west, by the ditch of Yanaka; to the north, a moat has been dug and a row of trees planted. Next, the domain at East Haraoke is divided into three, and the middle 10 *chō* is Take-tsuru's share, which has been marked by stakes.

"In Mimasaka *kuni*: Zhitchō North *mura*, in Kawaé *gō*. The boundaries are stated in the original letter of devise.

"Since the aforesaid places are Jō-Butsu's hereditary(*jū-dai*) domains(*sho-ryō*), they are hereby devised for all time to the granddaughter Take-tsuru.

"Ken-chi 3 y. 8 m. 13 d. [10 October 1277]. Jō-Butsu, *monogram*.

"As testimony for the future, this has been written with my own hand."

<sup>1</sup> Two *kana* letters not legible.

### 31. TERA0 SHIGETSUNE'S CODICIL, 1277

(A copy in the Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

"THOUGH I have written letters relative to domains, both from Tsukushi<sup>1</sup> and from Mimasaka, to Yoichi at Toshima and to [his] mother, those shall, no matter what circumstances may arise, all be invalid, since he is so wicked as to have forsaken his parents, abandoned the lord, and gone to another.

"Mata-goro *nyū-dō* and Minabō<sup>2</sup> should be employed with affectionate care. Never accuse any servitor<sup>3</sup> with having committed an offense like stealing. . . .<sup>4</sup>

"Ken-chi 3 y. 10 m. 21 d. [17 November 1277]. *Monogram* [of Jō-Butsu].

"To Terao no Iya-shiro *dono*."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tsukushi is Kyū-shū, in which is Satsuma.

<sup>2</sup> The names of servitors.

<sup>3</sup> *Ge-nin*.

<sup>4</sup> A few *kana* unintelligible.

<sup>5</sup> The chief heir Shigemichi.

### 32. TERA0 SHIGETSUNE'S MALEDICTION, 1277

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

"WHILE my indignation was rising against Yoichi and Shichirō, as they had continued to do wrong after my repudiation of them, they have [since] proved themselves so evil as to declare, at the coming of the envoy Kishima *no nyū-dō*, that they were pardoned, though they were not, and to invade Hayasume's house and commit outrages; I should not be surprised if they, when my end approached nigh, should again assert that they had been pardoned. If such an event occurred, there is no doubt that for my anger I should fall down to hell.<sup>1</sup> In such an eventuality,<sup>2</sup> a complete report should be made to the authorities, and [Yoichi] be exiled to Iwō-zhima<sup>3</sup> or Ezo-zhima.<sup>4</sup>

"As [Yoichi] was so wicked as to give to another a half of the wet fields which had been presented to the chapel at Zhitchō, this will is written in precaution.

"Ken-chi 3 y. 10 m. 21 d. [17 November 1277]. *Monogram* [of Jō-Butsu]."

<sup>1</sup> To die with so radical a sin upon one's heart as anger, specially against his own child, would be certain to condemn him to *ji-goku*, the Buddhist hells. Anger, sloth, and covetousness, all rooted in one's dark desire to serve his Self, were regarded by Buddha as fundamental evils.

<sup>2</sup> That is, if Yoichi made the false claim.

<sup>3</sup> "Sulphur Island," of volcanic origin, south of Kyū-shū.

<sup>4</sup> The present island of Hokkaidō, in the cold north.

### 33. TERAO SHIGETSUNE'S CODICIL, 1277

(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

"Of Jō-Butsu's domains, a little is divided to granddaughter Taketsuru, and the remainder is devised to Shigenichi. But since Yoichi and Shichirō are such churls as openly to rage about in order to molest [other's possessions], even while I am alive, therefore if he should attempt to rob or to seize, the surviving children, even if they were women, should together consult and hold the domains left by Jō-Butsu. No matter how many children and descendants Yoichi and Shichirō may leave, they shall never aspire to Jō-Butsu's estate (*ato*). This statement is made as testimony for the future.

"Ken-chi 3 y. 12 m. 1 d. [26 December 1277]. Jō-Butsu, *monogram*.

(The seven characters added to the original copy at its end would seem to mean: "[He] visits Kyōto.")

### 34. THE *SHŌ-GUN*'S CONFIRMATION<sup>1</sup> OF TERAO SHIGEMICHI'S INHERITANCES, 1278

(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII, and *SK*, VI.)

"THE *shō-gun*'s *Man-dokoro* decrees (*kudasu*)

That forthwith Taira no Shigemichi shall hold (*ryō-chi*) the *ji-tō shiki* of Terao *mura*, in Shibuya Upper *shō*, of Sagami *kuni*, \*excepting the share of the granddaughter Taketsuru;\* of the *ta* and house (*zai-ke*), in Ōkami *gō*, of the same *kuni*, \*whose names and number are stated in the letter of devise;\* of the homestead (*yashiki*) in Shi-no-miya *gō*, of the same *kuni*; of Dai-ku-den at Mida, of Ise *kuni*, \*adding the remainder of Taka-yanagi;\* and of Tō-no-hara *gō* in Iriki *in*, of Satsuma *kuni*.

"It is the command [of the *shō-gun*] that the aforesaid person, in accordance with the letter of devise of his late father Shibuya Goro-shirō Shigetsune *hō-shi*, \*Buddhist name Jō-Butsu,\* dated Ken-chi 3rd year 9th month 13th day [10 October 1277],<sup>2</sup> shall, as [holder of] the said *shiki*, administer<sup>3</sup> [their affairs] in pursuance of precedents. Wherefore decreed.

"Kō-an 1 y. 6 m. 3 d. [24 June 1278].

*An-su*, Sugano.

"*Rei*, Saémon no *shō-zhō*, Fujiwara.

*Chi-ke-zhi*.

"*Bettō*, Sagami no *kami*, Taira no Ason,<sup>4</sup> *monogram*."



\* \* The parts here enclosed between the asterisks are written in small characters in the original text.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 21, and No. 25, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> No. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Sa-da*; see No. 21, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Hōjō Tokimune, the regent and the chief (Bettō) of the *shō-gun's* executive office (*man-dokoro*).

### 35. THE SHŌ-GUN'S CONFIRMATION<sup>1</sup> OF TAKE-TSURU'S INHERITANCES, 1278

(A copy in Terao docs.; also SK, VI.)

"THAT the Taira lady<sup>2</sup>, Take-tsuru by name, shall forthwith hold (*ryō-chi*) the *ta* and house in Terao *mura*, in Shibuya Upper *shō*, of Sagami *kuni*, \*whose boundaries on the four sides and whose names and numbers are stated in the letter of devise,\* and north of the river of Zhitchō *mura*, in Kawaé *gō*, of Mimasaka *kuni*.

"It is hereby decreed, by command of the lord of Kamakura,<sup>3</sup> that the aforesaid [person] shall, according to the letter<sup>4</sup> of devise of her grandfather Shibuya Goro-Shirō Shigetsune, \*Buddhist name Jō-Butsu,\* dated Ken-chi 3rd year 9th month 13th day [10 October 1277], hold (*ryō-shō*) [the places enumerated].

"Kō-an 1 y. 6 m. 3 d. [24 June 1278].

Sagami no kami Taira no Ason, monogram."

\* \* The parts here enclosed between the asterisks are written small in the original.

<sup>1</sup> This somewhat simpler form of the order of confirmation has been given twice before; see Nos. 23 and 24 B. See also No. 25, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Taira *uji*. See No. 12, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Namely, the *shō-gun*.

<sup>4</sup> No. 30.

### 36. ACCUSATION OF YO-ICHI, 1278

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

THE first part of the following charge against Terao Yo-ichi Shigekazu (later called Tameshige) is lost, but it plainly was presented to the *shō-gun's* government by the late Terao Shigetsune's widow Myō-Ren and his chief heir Shigemichi. Another accusation had evidently been made by the same parties.

"° ° ° WE have heard that, when ships carrying the domanial lord's rice from Tō-no-hara, in (Iriki) *in*, arrived at Katagami, of Bizen *kuni*, Shigekazu, hearing of it, sent his servitors<sup>1</sup> thither, and robbed more than twenty *kwan* [in value] of things borne by the agent. That was a surprising act. It is evident that [Shigekazu] wilfully invaded [his father's] old domain<sup>2</sup> (*i-ryō*) and committed such outrage, because he had been repudiated and was poor. Why should he not, for the sake of society and of [° ° °],<sup>3</sup> be chastized? Moreover, it is said that, in the midst of the agricultural season, he tormented the inhabitants<sup>4</sup> so much [with exactions] that they could not peacefully stay on their lands; etc. For both public and private reasons, he should surely be dealt with. To conclude: details [of his wrongdoings] have already been presented, and it is now once more respectfully petitioned that at once the deputy of the *shu-go* be ordered to forward the aforesaid Shigekazu to the Kwantō, and that the things that he seized be restored and he be punished.

"Kō-an 1 y. 5 m. 18 d. [9 June 1278]."

<sup>1</sup> *Ge-nin*.<sup>2</sup> This act of intrusion may have been described in the missing part of this document or in another document altogether lost.<sup>3</sup> One word omitted carelessly in the original copy.<sup>4</sup> *Do-min*.

## 37. ACCUSATION OF YO-ICHI, c. 1278

(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

THE heading and the date are missing in the following document, but it probably was of the same year as the preceding, and its author was Shigemichi.

“ . . . . .

“THAT the aforesaid Shigekazu, despite the fact that he was repudiated by his father Jō-Butsu, has committed outrageous acts, [Shigemichi] has already reported and cannot repeat in detail. Accordingly, the (deputy) *shu-go* was commanded, in obedience to the order of the last fifth month,<sup>1</sup> to forward Shigekazu ° ° °.<sup>2</sup> Shigekazu, probably hearing this by report, fled, before the arrival [of the summons], to Tō-no-hara, in Iriki *in*, of Satsuma *kuni*, the domain (*i-ryō*) of his late father. Since [Shigemichi] has reported this fact, and a letter of summons has been handed down through the *shu-go* of that *kuni*, Ōsumi *Suri-no-suke*,<sup>3</sup> [Shigemichi] is awaiting the results. Now, when Shigekazu went down [to Kyū-shū] from Zhitchō North *mura*, [in Mimasaka *kuni*], he made his wife remain in that *mura*, and also left Sakon *nyū-dō* as his deputy. Therefore, although Shigekazu has gone to the Chinzei,<sup>4</sup> this *mura* is seized, and Shigemichi is unable to derive from it a particle of income. Moreover, although messengers arrived with orders from the Kwantō and Rokuhara,<sup>5</sup> they were speedily expelled; which was an unprecedented evil act. Shigekazu has taken away the principal inhabitants<sup>6</sup> with him to the Chinzei,<sup>4</sup> and in his absence his wife dares such acts; she cannot by any means escape their consequences. As [Shigemichi] has now for the first time heard about the matter of the messengers with orders, it is hereby reported. It is therefore respectfully petitioned again that immediately, in accordance with the former order, it be commanded to forward the said wife [of Shigekazu].”

<sup>1</sup> See No. 36. Probably in compliance with that petition, an order had been issued, which has been lost. According to No. 38, the summoning order was issued the day after the petition.

<sup>2</sup> About a dozen characters are worm-eaten.

<sup>3</sup> Hisatsune, the third lord of Shimadzu.

<sup>4</sup> The Chinzei means Kyū-shū.

<sup>5</sup> That is, from the *shō-gun's* government at Kamakura and his representatives at Rokuhara in Kyōto.

<sup>6</sup> *Do-min*.

## 38. ORDER FROM KAMAKURA TO ROKUHARA, 1278

(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

THE *shō gun's* government at Kamakura had its representatives at north and south Rokuhara, in Kyōto; they had general supervision over affairs at the Capital and of the western half of Japan. The present document was addressed to them from the Kamakura government, instructing them to carry out the *shō-gun's* command.

"As regards Yo-ichi Shigekazu's outrages [alleged by] Shibuya Shirō *nyū-dō* Jō-Butsu's widow Myō-Ren and his son Shigemichi, [the latter's] renewed accusation is sent herewith. In order to deal with (*sa-da*) the matter, it has been ordered to summon Shigekazu. Now it is reported that his wife and deputy do evil acts in Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*, which is exceedingly unseemly. By command, the order that both Shigekazu and his wife be immediately summoned is hereby transmitted.

"Kō-an 1 y. 8 m. 14 d [1 September 1278].

Sagami no Kami,<sup>1</sup> monogram.

"Mutsu no kami dono.

"Echigo Sakon no taifu shōgen dono."

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<sup>1</sup> Hōjō Tokimune, the regent.

### 39. REFUTATION BY YO-ICHI, c. 1279

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

THE following two documents are undated, but presumably are of 1279.

"TAIRA no Tameshige<sup>1</sup> respectfully replies

"That his step-mother Myō-Ren and her son Iya-shirō Shigemichi cannot escape the penalty for their guilt, since they, disregarding the late father Jō-Butsu's autographic letter of devise, falsely charged that [Tameshige] had been repudiated [by his father]; and since, while causing a letter of summons for an appointed day to be issued to Tameshige at his abode in Satsuma, Shigemichi, after twelve days, secured by false pretense the [*shō-gun's*] order investing him [with the holdings that belonged to Tameshige].

"The letter of accusation by the aforesaid stated that Shigekazu, \*this being Tameshige's former name,\* the unfilial child repudiated by his father Jō-Butsu that he was, had attempted outrageously evil acts, fled Shibuya and went to Zhitchō North *mura*, Mimasaka *kuni*, committing [further] outrages, and again fled to Tō-no-hara, Satsuma, where he attempted evil acts, and would not respond to the [*shō-gun's*] summons; \*etc. Only the chief points are given.\* This is a surprising charge. Tameshige is not at all a repudiated child. Owing to his step-mother Myō-Ren's slander, he once was somewhat under Jō-Butsu's suspicion; but as Tameshige served in the household of Lord Musashi *nyū-dō*,<sup>2</sup> the latter, hearing that Tameshige was blameless, sent Kishima *U-emon nyū-dō* Dō-Gaku as envoy to Jō-Butsu; and, in accordance with the [lord's] wish conveyed by the envoy, Tameshige was pardoned, and was thereafter undisturbed. This is a fact well known to all his relatives and fellows (*bō-hai*). Consequently, Tameshige held, according to Jō-Butsu's autographic letter of devise, the homestead at Shibuya and other domains; and Myō-Ren and the other cannot escape penalty for their guilt of having seized the homestead at Shibuya when Tameshige went down to his domain in Mimasaka. As Tameshige was on the point of reporting the matter,<sup>3</sup> they with an evil intent prevented him by entering arbitrary charges [against him]. \*This is the first [point].\*

"[It is accused that] Tameshige did not respond to the summons. During the several months that Tameshige passed at his domains in Mimasaka, Myō-Ren dared not say aught, but when he went to his domain in Satsuma, she caused [the *shō-gun's*] sum-

moning order to be given to his helpless wife. Since women never take part in political affairs, she replied [and suggested] that the order be addressed to the principal party (*shō-in*), Tameshige. Once the order was sent to Satsuma, [Tameshige] at once hastened hither in response to the summons. That he did not disobey may well be seen. \*This is the second [point].\*

"Next, [the accusation said that] for such ordinary crimes as night-attacks, robbery, dacoity, and piracy, penalties were well defined, but Tameshige's attempts were unparalleled wickedness; etc. This is a disconcerting charge. As has been said above, since Tameshige held [his domains] in accordance with his late father Jō-Butsu's autographic letter of devise, why should he commit outrages? And yet falsely to accuse him of being guilty of offenses exceeding the six classes of felonies,<sup>4</sup> is an unspeakable event. The six classes of felons are enemies of the state and foes of men, and [these crimes] are prohibited by the civil law and forewarned by the feudal justice.<sup>5</sup> The names of the offenses enumerated in the letter of accusation are patent.<sup>6</sup> Abusive calumny<sup>7</sup> also is under ban in this enlightened age, as is clear from instances before our eyes. Now, for Kageyasu, as agent for Shigemichi and others, to use, as he did, abusive language in reference to the chief heir<sup>8</sup> Tameshige, is an unheard-of conduct. The one was Shigemichi's agent; the other, the right chief heir. Even an ordinary calumny is no light offense; how much more serious must be a false abuse? It is petitioned that immediately [Kageyasu receive] sanction prescribed by law.<sup>7</sup> \*This is the third [point].\*

"What is called the order of summons that has been handed down<sup>9</sup> along with the letter of accusation is dated Kō-an 1st year 5th month 19th day [10 June 1278];<sup>10</sup> what is called [the order of] investiture<sup>11</sup> and presented [by Myō-Ren] is dated the same year 6th month 3rd day [24 June 1278]. The interval was only twelve days.<sup>12</sup> When Myō-Ren and the other made the false accusation that Tameshige had committed outrageous acts, and thereby [succeeded] in having an order of summons handed down, it would be expected that a judgment would be made only after accusations and refutations had been matched with each other. Whereas the journey on land and sea between the Kwantō<sup>13</sup> and Satsuma is not easy and requires several months, for Myō-Ren to aver that in twelve days after the handing down of the summons she was granted a letter of investiture, and to present it, is an inconceivable act. If an investiture could be granted without examination, why was a summons issued? If the results of a summons were to be awaited, how could an investiture be applied for in [only] more than ten days? Apparently she fabricated the lying accusation against Tameshige, and before its examination secured an investiture by false pretense. Why should not such an act of wicked duplicity be chastized? Official sanction is, therefore, respectfully petitioned for. \*This is the fourth [point].\*

"Jō-Butsu has left the statement that his letters of devise would all be autographic. If the letters of devise held by Myō-Ren and the other be called forth, [Tameshige] would have a statement to make. \*This is the fifth [point].\*

"Again, the letter of accusation said that Tameshige should be punished capitally;<sup>14</sup> etc. Capital punishments are decapitation and other [forms of death penalty], which are inflicted as the extreme measure under the penal law. It is disconcerting for Tameshige, who held [his domains] in virtue of Jō-Butsu's autographic letter of devise, to



be wantonly seized of his homestead at Shibuya during his absence, and moreover to be made the object of an application for a capital punishment.

"Briefly, it is hereby petitioned that, as regards calumny, inasmuch as the proof is clear, [the offender] be punished according to the established law; that, as for the error in [the issue of] the order of investiture and for the doubt regarding the letters of devise, these matters be each investigated; and that Tameshige be, in accordance with the autographic letter of devise, granted a decision of investiture. For this petition, this brief statement is respectfully submitted."

\* \* The parts here enclosed between the asterisks are written in small characters in the original.

<sup>1</sup> That is, Yo-ichi, or, Shigekazu, now changed to Tameshige.

<sup>2</sup> Hōjō Yoshimasa. See No. 26, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> To bring a suit.

<sup>4</sup> By the six kinds of felony (*roku-zoku*) are probably meant: disturbance of peace by armed hordes of men, murder, night-attack, robbery, dacoity, and piracy, which are mentioned in the *Jō-ei shiki-moku* (art. 3), as the crimes the suppression of which was among the *shu-go's* chief duties.

<sup>5</sup> *Shiki-moku*.

<sup>6</sup> That is, as among the six classes of felonies.

<sup>7</sup> Article 12 of the *Jō-ei shiki-moku* says:—"Of the offense of using abusive language:—Quarrels and murders have their origin in abusive language. In grave cases, the offender shall be sent into exile; in minor cases, ordered into confinement. If during the course of a judicious hearing, one of the parties give vent to abuse or insults, the place in dispute shall be decided in favor of the other party. If the other party, however, has not right on his side, some other domain [of the offender] shall be confiscated. If he has no domain, he shall be punished by being sent into exile."

<sup>8</sup> Tameshige claims to be Jō-Butsu's chief heir (*chaku-shi*).

<sup>9</sup> In the repeated process of charges and answers that the parties to a suit made in the judicial procedure of this period, as described in No. 16, the statement and the supporting documents presented by one party were shown to the other for examination.

<sup>10</sup> See No. 37, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *An-do*. See No. 12, n. 15.

<sup>12</sup> A wrong arithmetic.

<sup>13</sup> Here, Kamakura is meant in effect.

<sup>14</sup> *Dan-zai*.

#### 40. RENEWED ACCUSATION OF YO-ICHI, c. 1279

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

[Marginal note]: "ACCUSATION of the second *mon*,<sup>1</sup> presented on 4th month 2d day."<sup>2</sup>

"THE nun Myō-Ren, widow of Shibuya Goro-shirō *nyū-dō* Jō-Butsu, his son Taira no Shigemichi, and granddaughter Take-tsuru, again beg to report

"Concerning the evil acts and outrages [committed by] Yo-ichi Shigekazu."<sup>3</sup>

"[Documents] presented herewith:

"One document, Jō-Butsu's letter sent to Suwa *nyū-dō* Shin-Zhō: a copy.<sup>4</sup>

"One document, Jō-Butsu's autographic letter: a copy.<sup>4</sup>

"Two documents, reports by the deputies on Shigekazu's evil acts.

"The aforesaid affair has been frequently reported. Now, the letter of refutation stated that [the defendant], though he had been under Jō-Butsu's suspicion, was pardoned when, he serving at the household of lord Musashi *nyū-dō*, the latter's wish was conveyed [to Jō-Butsu] by Kishima *Uémon nyū-dō* Dō-Gaku; and that thenceforth he had not been disturbed, as all the family was aware; \*etc. A summary.\*

"Concerning this, Jō-Butsu's autographic letter written after [the coming of] the envoy is herewith presented, in which the details will be seen. The claim that [Shige-

kazu] was pardoned is very untrue. Besides, if there had been no disturbance after the pardon of his repudiation, [Shigekazu] should surely have waited upon Jō-Butsu at his house when he was ill before death, but that never took place. In short, [Jō-Butsu's] autographic letter said: If [Shigekazu] said he had been pardoned, when he was not pardoned, that should be reported to the authorities and he be exiled to Iwō-zhima or Ezo-zhima.<sup>5</sup> It is customary to adjudicate [about a person] according to letters of rebuke written by his progenitor.<sup>6</sup> Has not Shigekazu invited censure upon himself by his own words in refutation? Next, as regards his claim that [his alleged pardon] was known to all in the family, that was a surprising statement, for they cannot be witnesses, since the autographic letter is clear. \*This is the first [point].\*

"Next, the same letter [of refutation] stated that, though [Shigekazu] held both the homestead at Shibuya and the other domains, in accordance with Jō-Butsu's autographic letter of devise, the homestead at Shibuya had been seized; \*etc.\*"

"Concerning this point, also, the same circumstance of the repudiation [is pertinent]. [The letter of devise that Shigekazu adduces] is probably a letter written before the repudiation, and therefore invalid as testimony. Next, as regards the homestead at Shibuya, it was disposed of in accordance with the letters of devise and [the *shō-gun's*] order. As for the other domains, since Shigekazu invaded them and acted outrageously, it is hereby petitioned that [his wrongdoings] be stopped. Concerning his evil acts, the deputies' reports are herewith presented. They are acts unparalleled in ancient or modern times. As a warning for others (*bō-hai*) in the future, [Shigekazu] should surely receive chastisement. \*This is the second [point].\*

"Next, as for the orders of investiture which were granted to Myō-Ren and others, they were, while Jō-Butsu was still alive, petitioned for, in order to prevent future difficulties, through Ise *nyū-dō* Gyō-Gwan, and granted after due examination of the petition. What other circumstances could there be? Shigekazu, knowing as he did [the existence of] the order, yet seized, as he avows himself, the domain in Mimasaka and the domain in Satsuma. The guilt of disobeying an order is particularly serious. What he seized should at once be restored, and he should, following other instances, be punished for his offense of disobeying the orders. \*This is the third [point].\*

"Next, as regards his wife, [Shigekazu stated that] she had replied that since she was a woman she did not take part in public affairs, and therefore [the summons] should be addressed to the principal party.<sup>7</sup> When the words 'principal party' are used in a document, it may well be seen [by the judges] that the wife must have been managing affairs as proxy.<sup>8</sup> Since she would not recognize Shigemichi's proxy but acted arbitrarily, the matter was reported, and an order was issued from the Kwantō. Thereupon, as [the execution of the order] was urged from the lords at Rokuhara,<sup>9</sup> the said wife not only disregarded the letter of summons, but also destroyed the order, and [caused?] the messenger Tō-gorō to be beaten and wounded, whose right and left fingers were broken. All this incident the messenger Emi Saburō *nyū-dō* Dō-A saw with his own eyes. If there be any doubt, he might be inquired of, and everything would be clearly seen. Now, the attendance of the said wife is due.<sup>10</sup> She should at once be examined and punished for her offense. \*This is the fourth [point].\*

"Next, as regards the proxy Kageyasu's<sup>11</sup> complaints. The letters of accusation by Myō-Ren and others have frequently been handed down from the Kwantō [to

Shigekazu].<sup>12</sup> How is it that he should, as he did, present his letter of refutation as against Kageyasu's urging letter,<sup>13</sup> in disregard of the original accusations [by the plaintiffs]? It is an extraordinary procedure. It was solely with a view to imposing upon the judges. In short, Shigekazu's evil and illegal acts have been stated in the reports of the proxy. Whether Kageyasu's urging constitutes abusive calumny, is respectfully submitted to official decision. Next: that [Shigekazu] is the chief heir, is also a falsehood. Even if he were the chief heir, he has been repudiated by his father; it is an absurd claim.

"Other points are of minor importance, and need no refutation. In order that at once both parties be summoned and confronted with each other, so that evil acts and outrages be stopped and proper punishments be meted out, and the grievances be remedied, this renewed petition is hereby submitted."

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\* \* The parts placed between asterisks in the translation are written in small characters in the original text.

<sup>1</sup> As was explained in No. 16, the normal trial of a case before the *shō-gun's* court in this period consisted of three repeated charges (*mon*) by the plaintiff and as many refutations (*chin*) by the defendant, each charge being answered by a refutation. Sometimes, when the arguments and the documents had made the issues sufficiently clear at the second matching of charge and answer, a third was dispensed with. On the contrary, if the case was specially involved or had been rendered difficult by new charges or counter charges, a fourth exchange of arguments by the parties was deemed necessary, though only in very rare instances. Often, after this process, the parties might be confronted with each other at the court.

<sup>2</sup> If in the second year of Kō-an, 13 May 1279.

<sup>3</sup> His new name, Tameshige, is not recognized by the accusers or is unknown to them.

<sup>4</sup> An, a transcribed copy, as distinguished from *shō-mon*, the original copy.

<sup>5</sup> See No. 32.

<sup>6</sup> The rise of the warrior class in Japan brought with it a new social order and new social ethics which widely differed from the state of things to which the civilian nobles of Kyōto had been accustomed. Among other things, the new class necessarily emphasized the principles of discipline and obedience. And this spirit found its expression, for example, in the almost complete freedom which was now given to the house-father in the manner of devising his property amongst his children. This privilege was accompanied with his power to revise his testament at will. In the *Jō-ei shiki-moku* occur the following articles:—

"20. Of the estate left by a son who, after getting a letter of devise, predeceases the parents. Even when the child is alive, what is to hinder the parents from revoking [the assignment]? How much more, then, are they [free to dispose of the estate] after the child has died. It must be left solely to the discretion of the father or grandfather."

"26. Of revoking a domain devised to one son, after a writ of investiture has been granted, and then devising it to another son. That matters of this kind are to be left to the discretion of the parents has been already practically laid down in a preceding section. Hence, even when a writ of investiture has been granted in accordance with the earlier devise, yet if the father revokes [the domain] and devises it to another son, it is upon the later devise that our adjudication will be based."

<sup>7</sup> *Shō-in*, literally, the right member.

<sup>8</sup> *Dai-kwan*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. No. 38.

<sup>10</sup> Because she was summoned; see No. 38.

<sup>11</sup> The plaintiff's proxy already referred to.

<sup>12</sup> Each letter of accusation was, as a rule, shown to the defendant, so that he might refute the charges and defend himself to his best advantage. Likewise, each letter of refutation was shown to the plaintiff, who would base upon it his renewed accusation.

<sup>13</sup> Probably a letter urging Shigekazu to cease his wrong and restore what he had seized.

41. JUDGMENT OF THE *SHŌ-GUN*'S COURT ON MYŌ-REN VS.  
YO-ICHI, 1280

(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

"IN regard to Zhitchō North *mura*, in Kawaé *gō*, of Mimasaka *kuni*, and to Tō-no-hara, in Iriki *in*, of Satsuma *kuni*, in dispute(*sō-ron*) between the nun Myō-Ren, widow of Shibuya Goro-shirō Shigetsune *hō-shi*, Buddhist name Jō-Butsu, his son Iya-shirō Shigemichi, and [the latter's] daughter Take-tsuru, [on the one side], and Yo-ichi Tameshige, original name Shigekazu, [on the other side].

"Although the points raised in the accusations and refutations [in the aforesaid case] are many, [the facts] in brief are [as follow]. Jō-Butsu's domains were devised to Shigemichi and the others in the 3d year of Ken-chi [1277]. As for Tameshige, that he was repudiated is evident in Jō-Butsu's autographic letters. Yet [for Tameshige] to have invaded Zhitchō North *mura* and Tō-no-hara and committed outrages, was exceedingly unreasonable. Now, although Tameshige claims that, whereas he held both the homestead at Shibuya and the other domains in accordance with Jō-Butsu's autographic letter of devise, Myō-Ren and the others seized the Shibuya homestead while Tameshige was away in his domain in Mimasaka, Shigemichi and others replied that the said devise was a letter written before the repudiation, and that they dealt with [the domains] in accordance with the subsequent letters<sup>1</sup> and [the *shō-gun*'s] orders; and Tameshige had no word of refutation.

"Also the extreme want of reason on Tameshige's part is apparent in the fact that, whereas, if he possessed a letter of devise, he should [first] accuse Shigemichi and the others, he referred to it in his letter of refutation [only so late as] when they accused him; and then, though he came up [to Kamakura] after receiving frequent summonses, he did not undergo questions and answers, but fled to Mutsu.<sup>1a</sup>

"Next, although Tameshige says that it was wicked duplicity on the part of Shigemichi and the others to have caused the summons of Kō-an 1st year 5th month 19th day to be given [to Tameshige], and, on the 6th month 3d day of the same year, to have secured on a false pretense the order of investiture; when Shigemichi and the others reply that [the investiture] was applied for through the commissioner Ise *nyū-dō* Gyō-Gwan during Jō-Butsu's lifetime, and was granted after official examination, Tameshige does not refute it.

"Then Shigemichi and the others shall, according to Jō-Butsu's letters of devise and the orders of investiture, hold(*ryō-shō*) the aforesaid domains(*sho-ryō*).

"Next, although Shigemichi and the others say that Tameshige should be punished for not having obeyed the summons when he was urged from Rokuhara [to appear], but having on the contrary destroyed the order, and beaten and wounded a messenger and broken his right and left fingers, Tameshige has disputed the matter, and no report has been received from Rokuhara; and, therefore, the matter will not be adjudged (*sa-da*) for the present.

"Next: Tameshige petitions that Kageyasu, the proxy of Myō-Ren and the others, be punished for his abusive calumny, since he stated in his letter of accusation that, while night-attacks, robbery, dacoity, and piracy, were regular offenses for which



penalties had been defined, Tameshige's acts were unparalleled wickednesses. But since Tameshige invaded domains of Shigemichi and the others and wantonly obstructed [their enjoyment of them], the words referred to cannot be dealt with as calumny, and therefore will not be taken cognizance of (*sa-da*).

"In pursuance of the command of the Lord of Kamakura, it is decreed thus.

"Kō-an 2 y. 12 m. 22 d. [24 January 1280].

Sagami-no-kami Taira no Ason,<sup>2</sup> monogram."

<sup>1</sup> See the 26th article cited in n. 6 to No. 40.

<sup>1a</sup> Ō-shū (the extreme northern *kuni* Mutsu) may be a miscopy of Sasshū, *i.e.*, Satsuma.

<sup>2</sup> Hōjō Tokimune, the regent. The successive Hōjō regents (*shikken*) were *ex officio* chiefs of the executive (*man-dokoro*) and military (*samurai dokoro*) offices of the *shō-gun's* government at Kamakura. In fact, the *shō-gun* was the nominal head, and the *shikken* the real ruler of feudal Japan.

#### 42. SHIBUYA ARISHIGE'S WILL, 1280<sup>1</sup>

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, II.)

THE devisor Arishige was the fourth son of Akishige, the second lord of Iriki-in. The latter was succeeded by Kimishige, the eldest son, whose heir was Shigemoto, the devisee of this document. Shigemoto, therefore, on succeeding to his father, united in his possession the domains of his father and uncle. See the genealogical table of the family.

"To devise domains

To Hatsu-dō-Maru.<sup>2</sup>

"One place: one [house, namely] Seita *nyū-dō's* western house, in Shibuya, of Yoshida Upper *shō*, Sagami *kuni*. Also, 5 *chō* of wooded land in Fuji-gokoro, of the same place. The boundaries on the four sides are stated in the original document.<sup>3</sup>

"One place: westward of the Kami-yama temple, at Shimo-mori, in Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*. The boundaries on the four sides are stated in the original document.<sup>3</sup>

"One place: three-fifths of the north part of Kiyoshiki *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"The aforesaid places are Shō-Zen's<sup>4</sup> hereditary possessions. Since he has special thought of Hatsu-dō-Maru, though he is a nephew,<sup>4</sup> [the aforesaid places] are, together with the orders [of investiture] and [the documents of] successive transmission, devised to him for all time. As for the various obligations,<sup>5</sup> they should be rendered according to precedents. Devised thus.

"Kō-an 3 y. 5 m. 8 d. [6 June 1280].

Shami Shō-Zen,<sup>6</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 24 A.

<sup>2</sup> The boyhood name of Shibuya Shigemoto, the fourth lord of the Iriki-in.

<sup>3</sup> By the original document is meant an earlier letter of devise with which the hereditary succession of this same estate began, and in which the boundaries were fully set forth. To this, the later devises, so long as they covered the identical estate, would be considered in the light of appendices. In the present instance, the devise drawn up in No. 24 A above is probably the "original document," *hon shō-mon*.

<sup>4</sup> That is, not a son.

<sup>5</sup> *Ku-zhi*, obligations, in this example, owed to the *shō-gun* by the holder as a *go ke-nin*. See No. 13, nn. 7a and 12.

<sup>6</sup> Shō-Zen was the Buddhist name of Arishige. He fell in battle the following year at the invasion of the Mongols.

43. THE *SHŌ-GUN*'S CONFIRMATION OF SHIMOMURA SHIGEMURA'S HOLDINGS, 1288(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII, and *SK*, VII.)

THE Shimomura branch of the Shihuya family descended from Shigekata, younger brother of the second lord of Iriki-in, Arishige. His eldest son Shigetsugu adopted as his heir his younger brother Shigemura.

"THAT Taira *no* Shigemura shall forthwith possess(*ryō-chi*) *ta* and houses in Fukaya *gō*, of Yoshida Upper *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; the two *mura* Kame-ishi and Hanishi-dani, in Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*; and Soéda *mura*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. The names and the boundaries of the above are set forth in the letter of devise.

"It is hereby decreed, by [the *shō-gun*'s] command, that the aforesaid should, according to his elder brother Shigetsugu's letter of relinquishment<sup>1</sup> dated Kō-an 9th year 6th month 8th day [1 July 1286], possess(*ryō-shō*) [the aforementioned places].

"Shō-ō 1 y. 6 m. 27 d. [26 July 1288].

"Former Musashi *no kami*, Taira *no Ason*,<sup>2</sup> (monogram).

"Sagami *no kami*, Taira *no Ason*,<sup>3</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> *Sari zhō*, a letter surrendering a right in favor of another person. In cases like the present, this is tantamount to a letter of devise.

<sup>2</sup> Osaragi (Hōjō) Nobutoki, the Co-signer.

<sup>3</sup> Hōjō Sadatoki, the Regent.

## 44. ZHU-A'S TESTAMENTS, 1287-1288

(Abridged copies in Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII.)

SHIBUYA HEI-SHIRŌ ARISHIGE, a younger brother of the third lord of Iriki-in, Kimishige, served, as has been said, in the war of national defense on the northern shores of Kyū-shū against the Mongol invasion, and, on 15 July 1281, fell in battle, together with his brothers Muneshige and Shigenao. Arishige does not seem to have left a child. It is not known whether his wife, who was a Shimadzu, survived him; the following wills were written by the father Akishige's widow, dividing the estate left by Arishige among his surviving brothers and other near relatives. The document No. 42 should be compared.

"THE nun Zhu-A's testament,<sup>1</sup> a transcription. Summarized. Kō-an 10th year 1st month 11th day; and Shō-ō 1st year 10th month — day. Estate left by Hei-shirō *nyū-dō*."<sup>2</sup>

"TESTAMENT<sup>1</sup> regarding the distribution of the domains and obligations [of the estate] left by Hei-shirō *nyū-dō*.<sup>2</sup>

"Naka *mura* and lower Kami-yama *mura*, of Hon *gō*, in Kawaé *gō*:—

"Public *ta*,<sup>3</sup> 4 *chō* 8 $\frac{2}{3}$  *tan* 19 *bu*, of which:

"Hei-zhi *nyū-dō*,<sup>4</sup> 1 *chō* 1 *tan* 310 *bu*;

Shō-Gwan *bō*,<sup>5</sup> 1 *chō* 309 *bu*;

Oku *no go-zen*,<sup>6</sup> 1 *chō* 2 *tan*;

Taki *no go-zen*,<sup>6</sup> 1 *chō* 4 *tan*."

"The rest is omitted. Summary.<sup>7</sup>

"North side of Kiyoshiki, in Iriki *in*, shall be held by Hei-zhi *nyū-dō*<sup>4</sup> and Hei-zaburō *nyū-dō* Shō-Gwan *bō*.<sup>5</sup> The boundaries are set forth in the letter of devise."

"Summary. The other articles are omitted.<sup>7</sup>

"Shō-ō 1 y. 10 m. — d. [November 1288]. Zhu-Amida-Butsu, *monogram*."

"Testament on another sheet: in [the letter of] gift to An-yō zhi.<sup>8</sup>

"Ichino-no<sup>9</sup> shall be Shō-Gwan bō's share. Of the revenue of that place, five pieces of silk are the share of this chapel. Certified thus.

"Kō-an 10 y. 1 m. 25 d. [10 March 1287]. Mother nun, *monogram*."

<sup>1</sup> *Oki-bumi*, literally, letter left behind.

<sup>2</sup> Arishige, Buddhist name Shō-Zen.

<sup>3</sup> *Kō-den*, public *ta*. Kawaé was a *gō*, and therefore its *ta* was still "public" (*kō*); see No. 13, n. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The elder brother Kimishige.

<sup>5</sup> The elder brother Shigetaka.

<sup>6</sup> These may be the younger brother Muneshige's daughters, or Taki *no go-zen* may refer to Arishige's younger brother Shidzushige's son Shigetomo's wife, who was daughter of Taki Shigemune.

<sup>7</sup> The copyist's note.

<sup>8</sup> A Buddhist church. Its priest, according to the Miyasato genealogy, seems to have been related by marriage of his sister, to the Iriki-in.

<sup>9</sup> A hamlet to the east of Kiyoshiki.

#### 45. THE SHŌ-GUN'S ORDERS DISTRIBUTING REWARDS FOR SERVICE, 1280

(Iriki-in and Takemitsu docs.; also KK, II and XI, and SK, VII.)

THE Mongol rulers of China extended their arms of conquest to Japan, invading her in great forces in 1274 and 1281 and continuing occasional raids well on to the fourteenth century. Independent existence would certainly have been lost to the nation but for the feudal warriors who gallantly defended the coast of northern Kyū-shū. In this protracted war of national defense, men of all feudal Japan participated, but its burden fell chiefly on the valiant *go ke-nin* of Kyū-shū. In 1274, when the invaders crossed the sea in more than four hundred vessels, ravaged the islands of Iki and Tsushima, and attacked the coast of north Kyū-shū, the warriors of Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga, fighting under Shimadzu Sukenaga, successfully aided in the repulsion of the enemy. From this time on, Hakata was continuously defended, Shimadzu Hisatsune never leaving that garrison till the second great invasion of 1281. The Mongol forces in that year came in a vast fleet of war vessels which covered the face of the sea, but were so stoutly resisted by the defense that they failed to gain a foothold on Kyū-shū. Many desultory encounters took place on the water, when, on 16(?) August, a terrific storm arose, and shattered the enemy fleet; the Satsuma and other forces pursued the fleeing foes in their hattered ships, and cut them down.<sup>1</sup> Hisatsune died at Hakata in 1284, but his work was continued by his son Tadamune, and the rigor of defense was not relaxed for nearly thirty years,<sup>2</sup> or full thirty-five years from the first invasion.<sup>3</sup>

The defensive work consisted in the construction of nearly sixty miles of stone ramparts stretching along the coast, and in maintaining local warriors by rotation at the garrison at Hakata. Men of Satsuma shared in both works, as is testified by authentic documents: the building and repairing of the ramparts were apportioned among the greater chieftains, and the guard service was done for three or four months at a time, and in some years six months.

That the Shihuya warriors took a prominent part in war and council in this critical period may be judged from the single fact that, in 1299, Taki Shigesato was appointed as one of the twenty-four great men in Kyū-shū whose duty it was to assist the *shō-gun*'s deputy at Hakata in his administration of civil justice among local warriors.<sup>4</sup> It has already been said more than once that Iriki-in Arishige and his younger brothers Muneshige and Shigenao died of arrow wounds on sea in the war of 1281.<sup>5</sup> For these merits, Arishige's relatives received a comparatively large reward from the suzerain (see A), a proof of his distinguished service. Arishige had served as proxy for his elder brother Kimishige, the chief of Iriki.

As reward for the services that the greater *go ke-nin* had rendered in saving Japan from a possible foreign conquest, the feudal government at Kamakura granted them various *shiki* relative to territories in the northern third of the island. A list, dated early in 1287, of men so rewarded and of the *shiki* they received, is found in the *Hishizhima mon-zho*, IV; in it again appears the name of Taki

Shigesato as the recipient of the *ji-tō shiki* at Imahara, Chikuzen. The following orders from Kamakura set forth in detail the lands and homesteads whose *ji-tō shiki* were allotted in 1288 to the family of the late Iriki-in Arishige and to Takemitsu (Tomo) Morokane. Similar orders of the same date assigning to other warriors or their families *shiki* in the same general locality appear in the *Kokubun zhi mon-zho* (quoted in *SK*, VII), the *Shiga mon-zho*, I and VI, the *Nezhime uji mon-zho*, and others.

That Arishige's younger brother Muneshige, who also fell in battle in 1281, was granted ten *chō* of land, or a *shiki* regarding it, at Lower Nagao, Chikuzen, may be gathered from No. 46 below.

From the institutional point of view, the grants for service (*kun-kō shō*) which meritorious warriors received should be carefully distinguished from the domains which they had inherited from their fathers and for which they had received the *shō-gun's* writs of reinvestiture at their succession to the estates. The latter were their "original domains" (*hon-ryō*); the former were "new favors" (*shin-on*) or "lands by favor" (*on-chi*). The holders enjoyed less restricted rights of disposition over the inherited lands than over the granted, and the *shō-gun's* government exercised correspondingly greater interference over the second than over the first. Grants were both inheritable and subinfeudable, but did not admit of mortgage and sale, which were conditionally allowed only for "original" domains; and the same restrictions attached to the "favors" even after inheritance and division.

It will be noted that the following rewards are stated to have been assigned by lot (*kuzhi*). This must mean that the *shō-gun's* council had carefully listed lands and homesteads in northern Kyūshū whose *shiki* were available for distribution; grouped them in sets of graded magnitudes; and then assigned by lot to each recipient a set of the grade which the quality of his service merited.

## A

"Assignment of the *ji-tō shiki* of Hii *gō*, Sawara *kōri*, Chikuzen *kuni*, the reward<sup>6</sup> for meritorious services rendered in the Mongol war, in Kō-an 4th year [1281].

"One man, [the late] Shibuya Hei-shirō Arishige *hō-shi's* surviving [relatives, namely,] grandsons Kame-wō and Kame-tsuru,<sup>7</sup> and the adopted son Hei-zhi Kimishige *hō-shi's*<sup>8</sup> widow:

"*Ta* and other lands, 10 *chō*:—

"Yukitake *myō*:

"One place, Yoko-makura, 1½ *tan*;

"One place, Matsumoto, 9 *tan*;

"One place, Sono, 90 *bu*;

"One place, Tsukida, 3 *tan*;

"One place, Shimo Kawarada, 2⅔ *tan*;

"One place, Kakida, 1 *chō* 1 *tan*;

"One place, Sakamoto, 5½ *tan*;

"One place, Tō-shita, 2⅔ *tan*;

"One place, Uchigoé, north, ½ *tan*;

"One place, Uchigoé, 3 *tan*;

"One place, Tsukinoé, 50 *bu*;

"One place, Imagawa *nyū-dō's* *sono*,<sup>9</sup> 60 *bu*.

"In Wakakuni *myō*:—

"One place, Uchigoé, 3 *tan*;

"One place, the same, 300 *bu*;

"One place, Furuya, ⅓ *tan*;

"One place, Yakata-ga-ura, 4 *tan*;

"One place, the same, 1⅓ *tan*;



- "One place, Nasoé,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *tan*;  
 "One place, Kihana, 2 *tan*;  
 "One place, Kakisoé,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *tan*;  
 "One place, Kadota, 2 *tan*;  
 "One place, Kawarada, 3 *tan*;  
 "One place, Sakamoto, 6 *tan*;  
 "One place, Furukawa,  $\frac{1}{3}$  *tan*;  
 "One place, Futsuhara, 69 *bu*;  
 "One place, Okumoto,<sup>10</sup>  $1\frac{1}{3}$  *tan*;  
 "One place, Tsuki-ga-shita, 1 *chō* 3 *tan*;  
 "One place, Naka Osada, 8 *tan*;  
 "One place, Ishizaki, 3 *tan*;  
 "One place, Haruda,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *tan*;  
 "One place, Nishi Muda, 3 *tan*;  
 "One place, Mugita, 3 *tan*;  
 "One place, Yanagita,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  *tan*, of which 2 *tan* 300 *bu*, eastern side.  
 "4 homesteads:—  
 "In Yukitake *myō*:  
 "One house, *Sō ken-gyō*<sup>11</sup> *nyū-dō*;<sup>12</sup>  
 "One house, Rokurō.<sup>12</sup>  
 "In Nagabuchi *shō*:  
 "One house, Iya-tō-zō,<sup>12</sup> Yonemitsu<sup>13</sup> *myō*;  
 "One house, own *myō*.<sup>14</sup>  
 "Hata:—1 *chō* 8 *tan*;  
 "In Wakakuni *myō*:  
 "One place, Nakashima, 4 *tan*;  
 "One place, Yakata-ga-ura, 2 *tan*;  
 "In Nagabuchi *shō*:  
 "One place, Minamida,<sup>15</sup> 7 *tan* 1 *jō*, of the original 8 *tan*, western side; Kinmaru,<sup>15</sup>  
 "One place, 4 *tan* 4 *jō*, of the original 1 *chō*, eastern side; originally Shimo-gawara.<sup>15</sup>  
 "This assignment is made by lot. It is hereby ordered that the customary Buddhist and Shintō services and the domanial lords<sup>16</sup> annual dues [be rendered] in accordance with the precedents and without negligence.  
 "Shō-ō 1 y. 10 m. 3 d. [29 October 1288]. Shami,<sup>17</sup> (monogram).  
Shami,<sup>17</sup> (monogram)."

## B

- "Assignment of the *ji-tō shiki* of Nanakuma<sup>18</sup> *gō*, Sawara *kōri*, Chikuzen *kuni*, the reward<sup>6</sup> for meritorious services rendered in the Mongol war, in Kō-an 4th year.  
 "One man, Takemitsu<sup>19</sup> Saburō Morokane, of Satsuma *kuni*.  
 "Ta and other lands, 3 *chō*:—  
 "In the present *gō*:

"One place, Shimo Hakama,  $7\frac{2}{3}$  *tan*, of which 6 *tan*, eastern side;

"One place, Hashidzume,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  *tan*;

"One place, 1 *chō*;

"One place,  $8\frac{1}{3}$  *tan*, of which  $5\frac{1}{2}$  *tan*, western side.

"2 homesteads:—

"In Kami Otowō-Maru *myō*, Hii *gō*: one house, Ren-Zhō *bō*.<sup>20</sup>

"In Inoué *myō*, Minaki *shō*: one house, Iya-hei-zō.<sup>20</sup>

"Hata, 6 *tan*:—

"In Nanakuma *gō*:

"One place, Takekiyo, 3 *tan* 2 *jō*.

"In Nagabuji *shō*:

"One place, Seto-guchi,<sup>21</sup> 1 *tan*: Yasuyo.<sup>22</sup>

"One place, Kamiza-machi,<sup>21</sup> 1 *tan* 3 *jō*, of the original 3 *tan* 4 *jō*, south side: Tomitake.<sup>22</sup>

"This assignment is made by lot. It is hereby ordered that the customary Buddhist and Shintō services and the domanial lords<sup>16</sup> annual dues [be rendered] in accordance with the precedents and without negligence.

"Shō-ō 1 y. 10 m. 3 d. [29 October 1288].

Shami,<sup>17</sup> (monogram).

Shami,<sup>17</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> See No. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Between 1277 and 1306, *Hishizhima mon-zho*, I, III, and IV.

<sup>3</sup> Between 1275 and 1310, *ibid.*, I-IV, and SK, VII and VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Ei-nin 7 y. 10 m. 4 d., in SK, VII. Cf. our Introduction, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> A local legend says that when Arishige, on his expedition to Hakata in 1281, went as far as Naka-no-hara in Iriki, he shot two arrows eastward, and left word that, to repose his spirit after death, a Buddhist church and a Shintō temple should be erected at the spots where the arrows fell. Zhi-kwō *zhi* was accordingly built at the first point, and at the second the ghosts of Arishige and Muneshige were deified as Wakamiya *myō-zhin*. They were both in Ura-no-myō *mura*, in Kiyoshiki. *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, XII, 5 and 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Shō*, literally, prize.

<sup>7</sup> These grandchildren do not appear in the Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>8</sup> Arishige's elder brother.

<sup>9</sup> *Sono*, upland fields where mulberry trees (for the silk culture), fruit trees, or vegetables were planted. The word was often used interchangeably with *hata*.

<sup>10</sup> The first of the two characters here is written wrong and not legible.

<sup>11</sup> *Ken-gyō* meant, at one time at least, an executive agent; the adjective *sō* indicated that the bearer of the title was chief among several *ken-gyō*.

<sup>12</sup> These three names stand for persons.

<sup>13</sup> The character *yone* may be an error for *sue*.

<sup>14</sup> This expression seems to mean that the *myō* bore the same name as the *shō* itself. Cf. No. 7, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> It would appear that Kin-maru and Shimo-gawara were *myō*, and Minamida, an *azana*.

<sup>16</sup> *Hon-ke*.

<sup>17</sup> Probably Hōjō Nohutoki, the Co-signer, and Hōjō Sadatoki, the Regent.

<sup>18</sup> Nanakuma *gō*, like Hii *gō*, saw its *ji-tō shiki* divided among several persons.

<sup>19</sup> The Takemitsu was a branch of the Tomo family, and prospered mostly in Taki *kōri*. See No. 47. Later many a Takemitsu became a vassal of Iriki-in lords, and hence his documents came in possession of the latter's family.

<sup>20</sup> Personal names.

<sup>21</sup> These may be *aza-na*.

<sup>22</sup> These may be *myō* names.

46. THE *SHŌ-GUN*'S ORDER RELATIVE TO SHIBUYA MUNESHIGE'S ESTATE, 1291(A copy in Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII.)

"IN regard to the wooded land at Fuji-gokoro, in Yoshida *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; a half of Shimo *mura* in Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*; Kiyoshiki *mura*, Satsuma *kuni*; and the *ta* and other lands at Lower Nagao, Chikuzen *kuni*; being the estate left by the deceased father Shibuya Hei-gorō Muneshige, [which has been] in dispute between Tatsu-dō, daughter of Muneshige, and her younger sister Mida-dō.

"As, in accordance with the report of the Da-zai Fu<sup>1</sup> dated the 12th month 11th day of last year [23 January 1291], the aforesaid [dispute] was on the point of being dealt with (*sa-da*), both parties agreed on a compromise<sup>2</sup> on the second day last [27 August]. Therefore, it is hereby decreed, by command of the Lord of Kamakura, that, in pursuance of that letter [of compromise], [the parties] shall henceforth hold [the estate] without disturbance.

"Shō-dō 4 y. 8 m. 28 d. [13 September 1291].

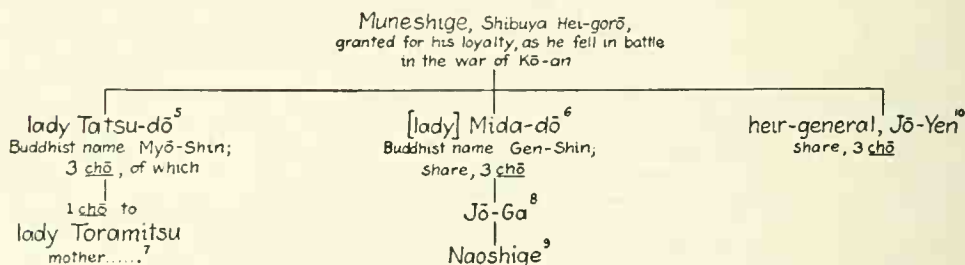
"Mutsu no kami, Taira no Ason,<sup>3</sup> monogram.

"Sagami no kami, Taira no Ason,<sup>4</sup> monogram."

Muneshige was one of the three Iriki-in brothers who died in 1281 in the Mongol war. From the foregoing document, it is seen that he, like his brother Arishige, had been granted lands in Chikuzen. The division of these lands and the order of succession relative to them are shown in the following undated table found in *KK*, VII.

## Annex A

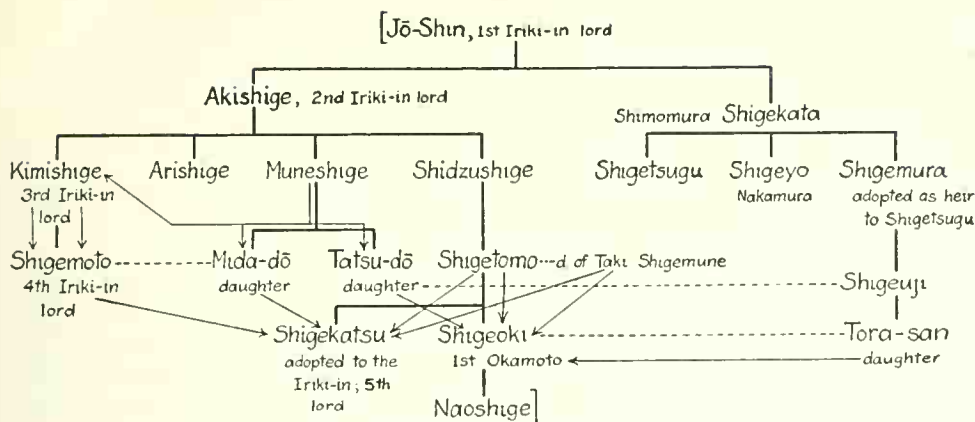
"Order of succession relative to the ten *chō* of *ta* and other lands at Lower Nagao, Chikuzen *kuni*.



"Of this [*i.e.*, 10 *chō*], 1 *chō* is given to Tai-hei *zhi*,<sup>11</sup> in Nagao."

This is the order of succession to the *shiki* at Nagao, not a genealogical table of the family. In order to elucidate the relation between the genealogical order and the order of this particular succession, the following table has been constructed from data found in *KK*, VII. The genealogical relations are shown by heavy lines, the succession to the estate by light lines, and the marital relations by dotted lines. It will be seen how the various *shiki* were finally gathered in the hands of two men: Shigekatsu, the fifth Iriki-in lord, and Shigeoki, the first lord of the Okamoto branch. Both, moreover, received from their mother's side, who was daughter of Shigemune, lord of the Taki branch, one of the five offshoots of the original Shihuya stock, lands in Saga, Hizen *kuni*. As for Shigeoki's inheritance from his father Shigetomo, see No. 60 below.

## Annex B



<sup>1</sup> The Da-zai Fu, formerly the government-general of the whole of Kyū-shū and adjacent islands, under the civil authorities at Kyōto, but now feeble and largely overshadowed by the military commissioner of the island appointed by the *shō-gun*. See No. 6 and n. 3. It is not unlikely that the Sai-fu here meant this commissioner, not the old Da-zai Fu.

<sup>2</sup> *Wa-yo*. When either party to a judicial dispute proposed to cease litigation and come to terms with the other, and a compromise (*wa-yo*) was successfully reached between them, a detailed statement of it was presented to the judges, who thereupon gave a writ recognizing the act and ordering the carrying out of its terms.

<sup>3</sup> Hōjō Nohutoki, the Co-signer.

<sup>4</sup> Hōjō Sadatoki, the Regent.

<sup>5</sup> Muneshige's daughter who married Shimomura Shigeuji, son of Shigemura. Cf. No. 43.

<sup>6</sup> Muneshige's daughter who married Shigemoto, later the fourth lord of Iriki; the latter appears in this table as the recipient of another 3 *chō* of the estate, under his Buddhist name Jō-Yen. See n. 10 below.

<sup>7</sup> A few characters worm-eaten.

<sup>8</sup> The Buddhist name of Shigeoki, the lord of the Okamoto branch of the Iriki-in.

<sup>9</sup> Son of Okamoto Shigeoki and Shigeuji's daughter Tora-san.

<sup>10</sup> The Buddhist name of Muneshige's nephew Shigemoto. In 1280, he received Arishige's estate, as was seen in No. 42; now he got a share of Muneshige's also. Besides these, he inherited, as heir-general, the hereditary holdings of the main Iriki-in family.

<sup>11</sup> A Buddhist church.

## 47. GIFT OF A BEN-ZAI SHI SHIKI AT IRIKI, 1292

(SK, VII, from the Taki documents, at Ōguchi.)

It should always be borne in mind that, in Iriki, as at other places in Satsuma and elsewhere, there were, besides the *ji-tō shiki*, also the *ben-zai shi*, the *myō-shu*, and other *shiki*, of the same land; and that all *shiki* continually tended to be divided among successive heirs and transferred to others by gift and other modes of conveyance; each fragment of a *shiki* preserving as long as was practicable its own institutional character. It is only by grasping this state of things firmly in mind, that one may seek to trace with any degree of success how, in later ages, out of the debris of historic *shiki* arose fiefs, single and complete, which were possessed by men organized in a feudal hierarchy.

The *ben-zai shi shiki* of Iriki in, which is seen in this document to have been split and to be on the point of being further parcelled, had been held by the Tomo family, (cf. No. 2). Later the *shiki*, which covered 55 *chō* of *yose-gōri*, had passed, by marriage, into the hands of Ōkura Tane-



akira, who held several other important *shiki* in various parts of Satsuma, (cf. Nos. 5 and 9). The Tanezoé mentioned in this document must have been a descendant of Tane-akira; the former gave a fifth of the *shiki* to Morokazu, the author of this letter of gift. Now, Morokazu was of the Takemitsu branch of the Tomo family, and therefore related distantly to Tanezoé. The Takemitsu were strongly established in Taki *kōri*, and had come in occasional collision with the branch of the Shibuya which had settled there as *ji-tō*.<sup>1</sup>

It will be recalled that Tomo were the *myō-shu* of Tō-no-bara, Iriki, (cf. Nos. 15 and 16).

"RESPECTFULLY to contribute<sup>2</sup>

The *ben-zai shi shiki* of *ta* and *hata, mura sono*,<sup>3</sup> mountains and rivers, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"The said *shiki* of the aforementioned places have, by its former holder<sup>4</sup> Tanezoé, dividing one-fifth of this *in*, been given for all time to Morokazu. Now, Morokazu, dividing again one-twentieth<sup>4a</sup> of his share, and adding his signature on the reverse side<sup>5</sup> of the transcribed copy of Tanezoé's letter of gift, respectfully contributes<sup>2</sup> [the *shiki*] for all time to Kō-Han, the Reader.<sup>6</sup> As for the various annual dues, [it is requested that] they be rendered as may befit the share. If that is done, [Kō-Han] shall hold [the *shiki*] for future ages in succession without molestation.

"Shō-ō 5 y. 3 m. 14 d. [2 April 1292].

Tomo Morokazu, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> SK, VII, contains a judicial decision by the *shō-gun's* government in 1252 of a dispute between Shibuya Shigehide and Takemitsu Moronaga.

<sup>2</sup> The original word, *yudzuru*, is the same for giving and for devising.

<sup>3</sup> For *sono*, see No. 45, n. 9. Why to this word is affixed *mura*, meaning a peasant community, is hard to see; the character *mura* might possibly be a mistake. If not, *mura-sono* may possibly mean a field cultivated for a purpose which was common to the whole hamlet; or may even be a mere proper name.

<sup>4</sup> *Hon-shu*, literally, original master.

<sup>4a</sup> One-twentieth of a fifth of the original 55 *chō* makes one-hundredtb, or, 5.5 *tan*.

<sup>5</sup> When a *shiki* is transferred, the conveyor might briefly state his act and put his monogram on the reverse side of the main document by means of which he came into possession of the *shiki*. This process was called *ura-han*, "monogram on the reverse side," and constituted an informal procedure of conveyance. Cf. No. 68, n. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Doku-shi*, an official Buddhist priest attached to the Koku-bun *zhi*, provincial church. See signatures at the end of No. 25.

#### 48. NAKAMURA SHIGEYO'S DEVISE OF A LIFE TENURE, 1299

(A copy in Okamoto docs.; also KK, VII.)

SHIGEYO was the second son of Shigetugu, a younger brother of the second lord of Iriki, while Shigemura who appeared in No. 43 was the third son. The following devise was for life only. Such devises were usually made for widows or other women; the present devisee, however, is unknown.

"DOMAINS herewith devised:—

"One place: homestead and *ta, hata*, and wooded land at Shibuya.

"The boundaries on the four sides are seen in the original document.

"One place: Kame-ishi and Hanishi-dani *mura*, in south Zhitchō, Kawaé, Mimasaka *kuni*.

"The boundaries on the four sides are seen in the original document.

"One place: six parts, North part, Ōno new *shō*,<sup>1</sup> Awa *kuni*.

"The boundaries on the four sides are seen in the original letter of division.

"One place: Lower Soéda *mura*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"The boundaries on the four sides are seen in the original document.

"You will completely (*ikkō*) control<sup>2</sup> the aforesaid places during life.

After one life, be so good as to grant them, under your direction, to Shigeyo's sons. The arrangement relating to the servitors<sup>3</sup> will be the same. Therefore, stated thus.

"Shō-an 1 y. 8 m. 17 d. [12 September 1299].

"Taira *no* Shigeyo, respectfully, *monogram*."

"Kindly inform Hitaji *dono*."<sup>4</sup>

"The *shō-gun*'s government wrote at the end of this document the following brief order of recognition,—an informal procedure which would hardly be followed if the devise was not, as in this instance, that of a younger branch of a family and withal temporary. Probably Shigeyo lived on till this time, and hence the long interval between the devise and the recognition.

"It is hereby decreed, by command, that [the devisee] shall hold (*ryō-shō*) [the places], according to this letter.

"Gen-ō 2 y. 12 m. 20 d. [19 January 1321].

Sagami *no kami*,<sup>5</sup> *monogram*.

"Former Mutsu *no kami*,<sup>6</sup> *monogram*."

<sup>1</sup> Ōno *shō*, on the lower Naka river, in Awa, on the east coast of the island Shi-koku, belonged already in 1150 to the Buddhist chapel Hō-shō-gon *in*, in Kyōto, with Fujiwara *no* Suēyuki as *ryō-ke*, yielding 256 *koku* of rice and 4 *koku* of vegetable oil to the *in*, (a Tō *zhi* doc.; in *Awa no kuni chō-ko zasshō*, 334-337). Since the chapel had been recently, in 1132, built for the spiritual welfare of the imperial house (*Hyaku-ren shō*, vii), this *shō* probably had an imperial personage as its domanial lord; then the great Buddhist church Tō *zhi*, of Kyōto, seems to have acquired a superior right of the *shō*. Later its *ryō-ke shiki* passed into the hands of the premier Fujiwara *no* Michi-ie (1193-1252), when a new *shō*, probably around Tatsue, had developed. He devised revenues from the original and new *shō*, in his well-known will dated 1250, to different persons, (see the will in the *Tō-fuku zhi mon-zho*, I). Of the revenues of the new *shō*, a part was in 1270 given by its devisee to the monastery in Kyōtō, Tō-fuku *zhi*, (*ibid.*, II), followed, in 1271, by the gift of a revenue of the original *shō* as well, (see the document dated Ō-an 1 y. intercalary 6 m.; *ibid.*). From the present document and No. 60, we know that, in 1299, the *ji-tō shiki* of a part of the "new" *shō* had passed into the possession of the Shihuya, though we cannot find out when and how. This divided *shiki*, or perhaps another part of the same *shiki*, came under the control of the Okamoto branch of the Iriki-in family, and, after 1322, was further split among children (No. 60). It is unknown how long the Okamoto continued to hold the *shiki* in Ōno new *shō*. In 1380, the *ji-tō shiki* of the same "new" *shō*, called in this instance "North part, Tatsue *shō*," which had apparently been seized by the provincial *shu-go*, was granted by the latter to a vassal, (*Awa no kuni chō-ko zasshō*, 130).

In the meantime, the *hon-ke shiki*, probably in part, had been given at some time by Hō-shō-gon *in* to the church Tō *zhi*, of Kyōto, and in the fourteenth century, likewise forcibly taken by the *shu-go*, (*ibid.*, 340-341). There is little doubt that the *shu-go* had appropriated the general territory, and that in his hands the distinction between the various *shiki* of the *shō*, between the "original" (*hon*) and "new" (*shin*) *shō*, and indeed between the whole *shō* and its neighboring regions, was obliterated, all forming a part of his greater dominion. The history of Ōno *shō* is thus typical of the normal career of many a *shō* in Japan.

<sup>2</sup> *Shin-tai*; see No. 16, n. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Who Hitaji *dono* was is unknown.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Kanazawa Sada-aki.

<sup>3</sup> *Ge-nin*.

<sup>5</sup> Hōjō Takatoki, the Regent.

## 49. TABLE OF DUES FROM TŌ-NO-HARA, 1299

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, I.)

EITHER the *ji-tō* Shibuya or the *myō-shu* Tomo, of Tō-no-hara, Iriki in,—probably the former—had evidently bound himself to render from that place, either to the *kuni* or to the domanial lord, or both, definite annual dues and services. Doubtless the former presented to the latter a “letter of acceptance” (*uke-bumi*), which has not been preserved. The following table, specifying the dues assigned to each of the estates within the area which was “accepted,” yields, imperfect as the document is, so large a sum total of dues, that we infer that they were intended for both *kuni* and *shō*. Refer to the example of “acceptance” in 1258 given in No. 22. For an intensive study, this number should be compared carefully with Nos. 52, 59, and 70.

The table, as usual, contains apparent errors of figures.

“o o o<sup>1</sup> 1st year; table of the *uke-chi*<sup>2</sup> of Tō-no-hara.

“Total<sup>3</sup>

“One piece of silk [is equivalent to] 0.6<sup>4</sup> of rice, or 1.8<sup>4</sup> of barley. One *tan*<sup>4</sup> of *ta* under cultivation<sup>5</sup> is rated at 0.8 of *nobe-mai*.<sup>6</sup>

“[At] Fujiwaki:<sup>7</sup>—

“Value<sup>8</sup> of mulberry trees, 4 *ryō*,<sup>9</sup> commuted to 2 pieces<sup>10</sup> of silk.

“*Hata*, 0.2.2.<sup>4</sup> Barley due, 0.36.<sup>4</sup>

“*Ta*, 0.5.½,<sup>4</sup> of which: failed,<sup>11</sup> 0.3.3½, inclusive of 0.1.4, barren;<sup>12</sup>  
in cultivation, 0.2.2. Rice due, 1.92;<sup>4</sup> commuted to 3 pieces  
silk; balance rice, 0.12.

“For various obligations,<sup>13</sup> 1<sup>14</sup>

“In all, 7, of which, 3½<sup>16</sup> remitted.<sup>15</sup>

“Fixed at 3½

“Iya-zhirō<sup>17</sup> of Adzuki-ana:<sup>7</sup>—

“Value of mulberry trees, 2 *ryō* 16 *mon-me*,<sup>9</sup> commuted to 1 piece silk; balance, 16 *mon-me*.

“*Hata*, 0.9.0. Barley due, 1.35.

“*Ta*, 1.3.2½, of which: failed, 0.6.3½;  
in cultivation, 0.6.4. Rice due, 5.44; commuted to 3 pieces  
silk, inclusive of rice and barley. Half.

“For various obligations, ½

“In all, 6, of which, 3 remitted.

“Fixed at 3

“Estate left<sup>18</sup> by Kusatō *bettō*.<sup>17</sup>

“Value of mulberry trees, 32 *mon-me*.

“*Hata*, 0.1.2. Barley due, 0.21.

“*Ta*, 0.8.3½, of which: failed, 0.4.3½;  
in cultivation, 0.4.0. Rice due, 3.2; commuted to 5 pieces  
silk; balance rice, 0.21.

“For various obligations, 1

“In all, 8½, of which, 5½ remitted

“Fixed at 3

"Estate left by Ryō-Shin:<sup>17</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 32 *mon-me*.

"*Hata*, 0.2.0. Barley due, 0.3.

"*Ta*, 0.5.0, of which: failed, 0.2.2½;

in cultivation, 0.2.2½; rice due, 2., commuted to 3 pieces silk; balance, rice, 0.2.

"For various obligations, 1

"In all, 4½, of which, 1½ remitted.

"Fixed at 3

"Tarō *kwan-su*<sup>17</sup> of Nabe:<sup>7</sup>—

.....<sup>19</sup>

"Zhiro-Tarō<sup>17</sup> of Koba:<sup>7</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 6 *ryō* 8 *mon-me*, commuted to 3 pieces silk; balance 8 *mon-me*.

"*Hata*, 0.9.0. Barley due, 1.35.

"*Ta*, 1.1.4, of which: failed, 0.6.0;

in cultivation, 0.5.4; rice due, 4.64, commuted to 7½ pieces silk; balance rice, 0.14.

"For various obligations, 3½

"In all, 16½, of which, 9 remitted.

"Fixed at 7½

"Rokurō<sup>17</sup> Hōri<sup>20</sup> of Naka-Koba:<sup>7</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 10 *mon-me*.

"*Hata*, 0.2.0. Barley due, 0.3.

"*Ta*, 0.3.0; of which: failed, 0.1.2½; in cultivation, 0.1.2½; rice due, 1.2.

"For various obligations, ½

"In all, 3½, of which 1½ remitted.

"Fixed at 2

"Rokuro-Zhirō<sup>17</sup> of Minekomi:<sup>7</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 2 *ryō*, commuted to 1 piece silk.

"*Hata*, 0.1.1. Barley due, 0.18.

"*Ta*, 0.5.0, of which: failed, 0.2.2½;

in cultivation, 0.2.2½; rice due, 2.

.....<sup>21</sup>

"Fixed at 7

"Share of the Deputy:<sup>22</sup>—

"*Ta*, 2.3.0, of which: failed, 1.2.2½;

in cultivation, 1.0.2½; rice due, 8.4, commuted to 14 pieces silk.

"Value of mulberry trees, 7 *ryō* 24 *mon-me*, commuted to 3½ pieces silk; balance, 24 *mon-me*.

"*Hata*, 0.6.0. Barley due, 0.9, commuted to ½ piece silk.

"In all 18. Balance, 24 *mon-me*.



"Estate left by Ki-shirō:<sup>17</sup>—

"*Ta*, 1.7.2, of which: failed, 0.9.2;

in cultivation, 0.8.0; rice due, 6.4, commuted to 10½ pieces  
silk; balance rice, 0.1.

"Value of mulberry trees, 2 *ryō* 8 *mon-me*, commuted to 1 piece silk; balance, 8  
*mon-me*.

"*Hata*, 0.2.0; barley due, 0.3, [which] together with 8 *mon-me* and rice 0.1 make  
½

"For various obligations, 1

"In all, 13

"Estate left by Yuki-saburō Taira *no nyū-dō*:<sup>17</sup>—

"*Ta*, 0.5.1½, of which: failed, 0.2.3½;

in cultivation, 0.2.2½; rice due, 2.0.

..... 21

"Fixed at 5½

"Estate left by Ayame Mata-roku:<sup>17</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 3 *ryō* 24 *mon-me*, commuted to 1 piece silk; balance, 24  
*mon-me*.

"*Hata*, 0.2.3½, Barley due, 0.405.

"*Ta*, 3.0.1, of which: failed, 1.5.0;

in cultivation, 1.5.1; rice due, 12.16; commuted to 20 pieces  
silk; balance, 0.16.

"For various obligations, 3½

"In all, 29½, of which, 24 remitted, exclusive of temple land.

"Fixed at 5½

"Uchino Iya-saburō:<sup>17</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 7 *ryō* 8 *mon-me*, commuted to 3½ pieces silk; balance, 8  
*mon-me*.

"*Hata*, 0.2.1. Barley due, 0.33.

"*Ta*, 0.8.1, of which: failed, 0.4.0;

in cultivation, 0.4.1; rice due, 3.36, commuted to ½ piece  
silk; balance rice, 0.06.

"For various obligations, 1

"In all, 12, of which, 5½ remitted.

"Fixed at 6½

"Estate left by Tō-tarō,<sup>17</sup> of Mai *no* Mabushi:<sup>7</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 2 *ryō* 16 *mon-me*, commuted to 1 piece silk; balance, 16  
*mon-me*.

"*Hata*, 0.1.2. Barley due, 0.21.

"*Ta*, 1.0.4½, of which: failed, 0.5.2;

in cultivation, 0.5.2½; rice due, 4.4, commuted to 7 pieces  
silk; balance rice, 0.2.

"For various obligations,  $1\frac{1}{2}$

"In all,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , of which, 5 remitted.

"Fixed at  $6\frac{1}{2}$

"Estate left by Mata-zhirō,<sup>17</sup> of the same place, [held by] Zhiro-Tarō:<sup>17</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 3 ryō 24 *mon-me*, commuted to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  piece silk; balance, 24 *mon-me*.

"Hata, 0.3.0. Barley due, 0.45.

"Ta, 0.9. $\frac{1}{2}$ , of which: failed, 0.4.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ;

in cultivation, 0.4.3; rice due, 3.68, commuted to 6 pieces silk; balance rice, 0.08.

"For various obligations,  $1\frac{1}{2}$

"In all 11, of which,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  remitted.

21

.....  
"° ° ° commuted to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pieces silk.

"For various obligations, 1

"In all,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , of which, 5 remitted.

"Fixed at  $2\frac{1}{2}$

"Estate left by Tarō Tayū nyū-dō:<sup>17</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 16 *mon-me*.

"Hata, 0.4.0. Barley due, 0.65.

16 *mon-me* added to barley 0.65 fixed at  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

"Ta, 1.3.0, of which: failed, 0.7.3;

in cultivation, 0.6.0; rice due, 4.8; commuted to 8 pieces silk.

"For various obligations, 2

"In all,  $10\frac{1}{2}$ , of which,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  remitted.

"Fixed at 6

"Estate left by Den-hei-zō:<sup>17</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 2 ryō 8 *mon-me*; commuted to 1 piece silk; balance, 8 *mon-me*.

"Hata, 0.2.2. Barley due, 0.36.

"Ta, 1.0.2, of which: failed, 0.5.2;

in cultivation, 0.5.0; rice due, 4.; commuted to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  pieces silk; balance rice, 0.1.

"For various obligations,  $3\frac{1}{2}$

"In all  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , of which,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  remitted.

21

.....  
"° ° °

"Value of mulberry trees, 8 ryō 32 *mon-me*; commuted to 4 pieces silk; balance, 32 *mon-me*.

"Hata, 2.0. $\frac{1}{2}$ . Barley due, 3.015; commuted to 2 pieces silk, fixed by adding to rice.

"Ta, 2.1.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ , of which: failed, 1.0.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ;

in cultivation, 1.0.4; rice due, 8.64; commuted to 14 pieces silk; balance rice, 0.24.

"For various obligations,  $3\frac{1}{2}$

"In all 24, of which,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  remitted.

"Fixed at  $13\frac{1}{2}$

"Ta-zhirō:<sup>17</sup>—

"Value of mulberry trees, 8 ryō 30 mon-me, commuted to 4 pieces silk; balance, 30 mon-me.

"Hata, 1.3.0. Barley due, 2.4, commuted to 1 piece silk; balance, barley 0.24.

"Ta, 3.8.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ , of which: failed, 1.9.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ;

in cultivation, 1.9.1; rice due, 15.36, commuted to 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  pieces silk; balance rice, 0.06.

"For various obligations,  $3\frac{1}{2}$

"In all, 34 $\frac{1}{2}$ , of which, 18 remitted.

"Fixed at 16 $\frac{1}{2}$

.....  
"Share of Tō-ta nyū-dō:<sup>17</sup>—

"Ta, 0.7.4, of which: failed, 0.4.0;

in cultivation, 0.3.4; rice due, 3.4.

"Value of mulberry trees, 8 ryō, commuted to 4 pieces silk.

"Hata, 0.5.0. Barley due, 0.75.

"Rice and barley together make  $\frac{1}{2}$

"For various obligations, 1

"In all,  $10\frac{1}{2}$

"Share of Naka-hachi:<sup>17</sup>—

"Ta, 4.7.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ , of which: failed, 2.4.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ;

in cultivation, 2.3.0; rice due, 18.4; commuted to 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  pieces silk; balance, rice 0.1.

"Value of mulberry trees, 13 ryō 8 mon-me, commuted to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  pieces silk; balance, 8 mon-me.

"Hata, 0.9.3. Barley due, 1.44.

"Barley, rice, and 8 mon-me together make 1

"For various obligations, 2

"In all 40, exclusive of the share of the sono.

"Of this, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  pieces silk are for obligations from 14.0 of ta.

"Estate left by Tsuru<sup>7</sup> no Shirō:<sup>17</sup>—

"Ta, 0.6.4, of which: failed, 0.3.4;

in cultivation, 0.3.0; rice due, 2.4, commuted to 4 pieces silk.

"Value of mulberry trees, 1 ryō 32 mon-me, commuted to  $\frac{1}{2}$  piece silk; balance, 32 mon-me.

"Hata, 0.1.0. Barley due, 0.15.

"Barley and 32 mon-me together make  $\frac{1}{2}$

"For various obligations,  $\frac{1}{2}$

"In all, 5, of which,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  remitted.

"Fixed at  $3\frac{1}{2}$

"Shō-an 1 y. 10 m. — d. [November 1299].

(Monogram.)"<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The two characters which are evidently "Shō-an" are worm-eaten. The first year of Shō-an corresponds for the most part to the year 1299.

<sup>2</sup> *Uke-chi*, "land accepted," or, land the fiscal obligations from which had been farmed out to the "acceptor." *Uke-chi* is the same as *uke-sho* explained in No. 22, although the former term is not known to have been applied, like the latter, to the farmer, as well as to the farmed land.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 18, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> For the units of land measurements, see No. 9, n. 1, and No. 18, and for those of dry measure, see No. 18. The units of both kinds will again be omitted in this translation of the present document, the areas of land written with decimal points between numbers of *chō*, *tan*, and *jō*, and the dry measures given in *italic* numerals, with the *koku* (equivalent to about 4.9 bushels) as the unit. Thus, 0.5½ will stand for 5 *tan* ½ *jō* of land, and 1.85, for 1 *koku* 8 to 5 *shō* of grain. The other kinds of units used in this document will be explained where they first occur, and then repeated throughout, except the piece of silk in certain connections; the reason for this exception will be stated in n. 14 below.

<sup>5</sup> "Ta under cultivation" is *toku-den*, literally, "rice-land gained," as contrasted with *son-den*, "rice-land lost," or, *ta* whose crop failed.

<sup>6</sup> *Nobe-mai*, literally, "lengthened rice," refers to the customary excess payment of rice added to the regular due in rice. The rate of this surtax was, in the next period, sometimes as high as 25 per cent of the regular rate. Since the term appears here, we know that the custom of rendering it was quite old. Its origin has not been cleared, but in general it must have risen in some way in order to provide against the loss due to the degree of flexibility in volume which was inevitable with such an article as rice. The quantity of grain is, as is well known, much reduced through the processes of hulling, pounding, and repeated measuring and packing. Cf. *Ko-zhi rui-en*, *sei-zhi bu*, IV; *Nō-sei za-yū*, II; *Ken-jī yō-ryaku*, III; etc.

In the present document, the word *nobe-mai* is used carelessly in the sense of the sum of the regular dues and the customary excess, instead of the latter alone; the rates of the two factors cannot be differentiated.

<sup>7</sup> Place-names; probably *aza-na*.

<sup>8</sup> The original word for "value" is *dai* or *shiro*, meaning substitute, commutation, price. It is likely that the word is used here in the sense of dues, from mulberry gardens. Mulberry leaves are the staple food for the silk-worm.

<sup>9</sup> The gold and silver coins issued during the pre-feudal ages must long since have disappeared from the market of the Kamakura period. *Ryō* (which was, if it is assumed that the present standard prevailed also in 1299, about 37.5 grammes, or, 578.7 grains, or nearly 1/10 lb. troy) and *mon-me* (a tenth of a *ryō*) must, therefore, be taken as units of weight of hullion, not as the denominations of gold and silver coins in actual circulation. It should be remembered, however, that *ryō* here referred to the weight of gold, and *mon-me* to that of silver. The current rate of exchange of the time between the two metals cannot be ascertained. In the early seventeenth century, the rate was officially fixed at 1 to 6; at that rate, 60 *mon-me* of silver was equivalent to 1 *ryō* of gold.

<sup>10</sup> No unit-name for the piece of silk is given in this document, but it probably is the usual *hiki*. This unit has much varied in different ages; about 1300, it was presumably less than 2½ feet in width and less than 30 feet in length.

<sup>11</sup> *Son*; see n. 5 above.

<sup>12</sup> *Fu*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ku-zhi*, obligations; commuted, in this instance, in silk. *Ku-zhi* as fiscal obligations no longer, in this period, meant exclusively obligations to public authorities, whether civil or feudal; they might be owed to private landlords and institutions. In 1308 (No. 52), a part of Iriki was rendering *ku-zhi* to the *kuni* government, the domanial lord, a religious house, and others. The present document refers to another part of Iriki and is a few years earlier, but it may be inferred from the



example of No. 52 that the *ku-zhi* of 1299 were probably of a similar character, and not owed, as in Nos. 13 and 42, to the feudal suzerain at Kamakura.

<sup>14</sup> The unit for the numbers without specification in the original must be the piece of silk. See n. 10 above. In order to avoid confusion with some of the other measures, no decimal points have been placed after these numbers.

<sup>15</sup> *Go-men*, excused.

<sup>16</sup> The unusual word *kata-kata* is used for "half" in this document, only in connection with amounts of commuted obligations and pieces of silk.

<sup>17</sup> Personal names.

<sup>18</sup> *Ato*, estate left by a person deceased or removed.

<sup>19</sup> Here is the end of a sheet. Probably what intervened between this and the next sheet was cut off when the sheets were pasted together in a roll.

<sup>20</sup> Some error.

<sup>21</sup> Again some lines missing between sheets.

<sup>22</sup> *Go dai-kwan*, agent of the domanial lord or the governor.

<sup>23</sup> The writer is unknown. See the preface to this document.

## 50. SHIMADZU TADAMUNE'S EXECUTIVE ORDER, 1300

(A copy in Shūin docs., roll II.)

By this order one is again reminded of the complexity of the condition of land in Iriki *in*. Besides the *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*, there were also domains belonging to the temple Niuta Hachiman and the church Mi-roku *zhi* (cf. Nos. 1 and 9) and to the temple Ten-man and the churches An-raku and Koku-hun *zhi* (No. 9). This order relates to the Ichiino domain of the Niuta temple (cf. No. 3), which had been disturbed by a warrior connected with the Koku-bun church. The Shimadzu lord executed the order apparently in the capacity of the *shu-go*, military governor, of Satsuma.

The chief official position in connection with the Niuta temple was that of the *shū-in*, keeper of the seal (cf. No. 3). According to tradition, the first incumbent of the combined hereditary post of *shū-in* of the Niuta and *in-su* of its Buddhist house Go-dai *in* was Yasutomo; he, according to the Kokuhun and Shūin genealogies kept by the present Uwai and Kawakami families,<sup>1</sup> was of the illustrious Koremune stock whose members, including the Shimadzu and the Ichiku, have served in the government of various parts of Kyū-shū. The line of Yasutomo's eldest son Yasukane succeeded to the *shū-in shiki*, and his descendants assumed the family-name Shūin. Yasutomo's younger son Tomohisa settled at Kokuhun-*zhi* (cf. No. 6, and No. 9, nn. 3 and 5), not far from the Niuta, and transmitted to his children in hereditary succession the *bettō shiki* which he held of the Shintō temple Ten-man *gū* connected with the Buddhist church of that place; these made Kokuhun their family-name. Men of both the Shūin and Kokubun branches, mutually related though not always harmonious, were *go ke-nin*, direct vassals of the *shō-gun*, and their chiefs were strong local warriors. As might be expected, they were not always congenial to the Shihuya lords, who came to Satsuma considerably later than they and claimed superior powers in their close proximity.

"IN regard to Ichiino *mura* and the scattered *ta* and *hata*, among the domains of the Niuta temple, Satsuma *kumi*.

"In accordance with the order of the Kwantō, and in pursuance of [the principle of] heredity, Kokubun *Ji-bu bō* Sō-Kai, is hereby restored [to the aforesaid *shiki*]. Moreover, [Sō-Kai says that] since in the winter of last year [Kokubun] Mata-zhirō Tomoié had obtained, under false pretense, the [*shō-gun's*] order [of sanction], and transgressed [the *shiki*], an examination has been made at the Chin-zei, and an order issued. There should be no further difficulty. Henceforth, Tomoié and his relatives shall for all time cease to aspire for [the possession of] this *mura*. The Domanial Lord's<sup>2</sup> command is hereby transmitted, that, so long as [Sō-Kai] renders the annual dues of eighty *kwan*<sup>3</sup> without arrear or neglect, he will not be dismissed.

"Shō-an 2 y. 8 m. 17 d. [30 September 1300].

"*Saémon no zhō*,<sup>4</sup> per order, monogram."

<sup>1</sup> Shown to the editor by courtesy of Mr. M. Kawakami, of Takaoka, and of the Nūta temple.

<sup>2</sup> The *ryō-ke*, the *shū-in*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kwan* and *mon* were the two denominations of monetary units in copper, 1 *kwan* consisting of 1000 *mon*. The *mon* was an actual coin, but not the *kwan*. In view of the great fluctuations in the price of rice in the different periods, and of the lack of uniformity in the copper *mon* in circulation in the feudal ages, it would be impracticable to give any accurate equivalent of a *kwan* in terms of rice, the chief commodity of medieval Japan; but it would not be far wrong to say that, in 1300, one *kwan* must have bought a *koku* more or less of hulled rice; wide margins must necessarily be allowed.

<sup>4</sup> Tadamune, the fourth lord of the Shimadzu.

## 51. LETTER OF COMPROMISE BY ŌSAKI NORIMICHI, 1303

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

It has been shown above<sup>1</sup> how strongly the historic family of Ōsaki had been established in Ketō *in* and Tōgō, and how they disputed the powers of the Shihuya. Early members of the family had filled posts in the civil government of the *kuni* at Tōgō, where the Ōsaki continued, at least till the middle of the fourteenth century, to wield considerable influence, so that the region preserves to this day traditions which closely associate the name of the family with this ancient seat of the provincial government. When the civil posts once held by the Ōsaki had, in the early feudal ages, become mere *shiki* and come to mean but small shares of local dues connected with little or no official business, the family still clung to the *shiki*, and strove to preserve them in the midst of the stronger men into whose hands had fallen most of the superior rights of the place, and through whom only the nominal officials could hope to obtain their meager incomes. The following document exemplifies this state of affairs. The name of the other party to the compromise does not appear, but he probably was Terao Kōreshige, with whom Ōsaki Norimichi thought it politic to compose his difference.

"THOUGH [Norimichi] brought suit that [. . .]<sup>2</sup> had, in violation of precedents, seized the *sho-sei*'s<sup>3</sup> income from Iriki *in*, it has been agreed by compromise that, as regards Tō-no-hara, [. . .]<sup>2</sup> will annually render two *koku* five *to* [of rice]. [This agreement] shall henceforth [be valid] independently of the settlement [that may be made] of the other various *mura* [of the *in*]. This is the letter of compromise.

"Ken-gen 2 y. 8 m. 10 d. [21 September 1303]. Ōsaki Norimichi, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> See the last paragraphs of No. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the other party understood, but unknown to us.

<sup>3</sup> *Sho-sei* means a secretary or clerk. It doubtless refers to the historic position of a clerk in the old *kuni* government, once known as *shi-sei*.

## 52. COMPROMISE REGARDING KIYOSHIKI, 1308

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII.)

THOUGH their personal names are not given, the manner of their signatures shows that the parties to the following compromise were ladies. We further infer that one of them was of the main Iriki-in family, and the other, of its Shimomura branch,—both having sprung from the Taira and Shihuya stock. Very likely they were sisters married, respectively, to an Iriki-in and a Shimomura, whose earlier compromise we have already seen (in 1201, No. 46; also see the table B). Some one of the Shimomura family—probably Shigeuji—had died, and a dispute ensued between the ladies about the southern part of Kiyoshiki; a compromise was reached, whereby the Iriki-in side, here referred to as

Kiyoshiki after the abode of that family, should henceforth share a tenth of the burdens of that place.

"Letter of compromise [regarding] the distribution of the obligations<sup>1</sup> of the estate left by Shimomura *dono*. Toku-ji 3rd year 1st month — day."

"COMPROMISE [in regard to]

The distribution of the various obligations<sup>1</sup> of the south part of Kiyoshiki, Iriki *in*.

One-tenth [is] Kiyoshiki's share.

"Of the rice for the *kuni* government, 3.789138 *koku*,—

Kiyoshiki's share, 0.379 *koku*.

"Of the *ta* exempted<sup>2</sup> for the temple-church,<sup>3</sup> 4 *tan*  $\frac{1}{2}$  *jō*; rice due, 2.5 *koku*,—

Kiyoshiki's share: *ta*, 2 *jō*; rice due, 0.25 *koku*.

"Of the rice for the original service, from the *ta* exempted<sup>2</sup> at Kusumoto, 0.3055 *koku*,—  
—Kiyoshiki's share, 0.0355 *koku*.

"Of the annual tax, copper money, for the *kuni* governor and for the domanial lord,<sup>4</sup> 2 *kwan* 121 *mon*,—

Kiyoshiki's share 1 *kwan* 911 *mon*, for the domanial lord;

210 *mon*, for the *kuni* governor.

"Of the rice for the domanial lord, 3.735738 *koku*,—

Kiyoshiki's share, 0.37358 *koku*.

"Of the cotton, 16 *ryō*<sup>5</sup> 1 *bu*,<sup>6</sup>—

the share of the same, 1 *ryō* 2 *bu*  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *shu*.<sup>5</sup>

"Of the coarse thread, 4 *ryō*, [value in] copper money, 3 *mon*, and *sei-gō*,<sup>6</sup> 2 *mon-me*,—

the share of the same, 1 *bu* 3 *mon-me*, with *sei-gō*.<sup>6</sup>

"Of the copper money in lieu of barley, 480 *mon*,—

the share of the same, 45 *mon*.

"Of the rice for the *sho-sei*<sup>7</sup> since Ka-gen 4th year 3rd month 10th day, [23 April 1306], 0.75 *koku*,—

the share of the same, 0.075 *koku*.

"The aforesaid various obligations are, by reason of compromise, hereby fixed thus.

"Toku-ji 3 y. 1 m. — d. [February 1308].

Taira *uji*,<sup>8</sup> (monogram).

"Taira *uji*, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> *Ku-zhi*, often meaning services or their commutations. The word may also mean, as here, obligations in general. The word occurred also in No. 49 regarding another part of Iriki *in*; to whom those *ku-zhi* were due in 1299 from Tō-no-hara may in part be inferred from the present document.

<sup>2</sup> *Men*; see No. 18, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Miya-dera*, a Buddhist church connected with a Shintō temple.

<sup>4</sup> *Ryō-ke*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ryō*, *bu*, *shu*. For *ryō*, see No. 49, n. 9; it is presumed for the present that this unit was the same for cotton and thread as for the precious metals. A *ryō* consisted in later ages of 4 *bu* or 24 *shu*, but in 1308 the *shu* may have been in a different ratio as regards the *ryō*.

<sup>6</sup> *Sei-gō*, a strong silk fabric.

<sup>7</sup> *Sho-sei*; see No. 51, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Uji*; see No. 12, n. 8.

53. RECEIPT OF DUES FOR THE *KUNI*, 1311(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

THE author of this receipt was probably an Ōsaki, who, for the reasons stated in our preface to No. 51, held a provincial post, and, in that capacity, represented the civil governor of the *kuni*. The latter resided in Kyōto, and merely received a fixed income from Satsuma through his agents there. Here, Michihiro issued this provisional receipt for the *kuni* tax returned from Tō-no-hara, addressing the letter probably to the Terao lord.

"OF the 152 *kwan* of money<sup>1</sup> payable<sup>2</sup> to the *kuni* during the second month,<sup>3</sup>—

"In all, 29 *kwan* 465 *mon*, the share of Tō-no-hara,

"[Michihiro] holds in trust.<sup>4</sup> When they are received in safety by the *kuni* government, [Michihiro] will secure a receipt and hand it to [. . .].<sup>5</sup> If there should be an accident,<sup>6</sup> this money would be returned to the exact amount. Agreed thus.

"En-kyō 4 y. 2 m. 20 d. [10 March 1311].

Michihiro, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> *Yō-to*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sa-da*, whose meaning is flexible; see No. 21, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> February/March.

<sup>4</sup> *Adzukurari-oku*.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the other party not given.

<sup>6</sup> The original does not seem to be *i-gi*, a dispute, but *koto naru gi*, an unusual event, accident; that is, if the money should fail to reach its destination.

## 54. REMISSION OF DUES BY THE DOMANIAL LORD, 1311

(Takemitsu docs.; also *KK*, XI.)

Hō-NIN was the Buddhist name of Morokane, of the Takemitsu branch of the Tomo family. He was brother of the Morokane of No. 47, and probably the *ben-zai shi* of parts of Iriki *in*. It was perhaps in that capacity, acting as representative of the domanial lord, that he wrote the following letter of remission. It was presumably addressed to the Terao lord.

Comparing Nos. 53 and 54, the editor surmises that, in 1311, Iriki *in* as a whole had struck a special agreement with the *kuni* and the *shō*, to both of which the *in* had owed dues as a *yose-gōri*, concerning its obligations to them. It is not unlikely that the *in* thereby freed itself from the whole or a part of these obligations by agreeing to pay a lump sum. The document referred to below probably conveyed the domanial lord's concession in this regard.

"OF the money for the Domanial Lord's document [concerning] Iriki *in*, the share of Tō-no-hara, more than 45 *kwan*, is respectfully remitted as a special favor. If other *mura* should fail to render [their shares of the money], separate agreements about them will be made. Stated thus.

"En-kyō 4 y. 3 m. 4 d. [24 March 1311].

Hō-Nin, (monogram)."

55. TAKEMITSU MOROKANE'S<sup>1</sup> DEVISE, 1312(Takemitsu docs.; Shūin docs., roll 4; *KK*, XI, and *SK*, VIII.)

"To devise

*Shiki* and holdings of *ta* and *hata* inherited from ancestors.

"Iya-saburō Tsunekane's share:

"The *sō-ryō shiki*<sup>2</sup> of the original Man-toku,<sup>3</sup> \*inclusive of the revenue (*sho mu*) of the *ben-zai shi*.\*



"The *ben-zai shi shiki* of Kyūno [?], Kami *mura*.

"The *in-su shiki* and *ta* and *hata* of Sei-sui *zhi*.

"The *zai-chō shiki*;<sup>4</sup> the *sho-sei shiki*<sup>5</sup> of Ushi-kuso<sup>6</sup> *in*; the *sho-sei shiki* of Nangō.<sup>7</sup>

"Nan-bu *mura* and Yake-hara *mura*, in Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*.

"The two *mura* Nan-bu and Yake-hara should later be devised to Saburo-Tarō.<sup>8</sup>

"The *sō-ryō shiki*<sup>12</sup> of Yoshi-eda *myō*.<sup>9</sup>

"3 *chō* of *ta* and 1 tract of *dō-sono*<sup>10</sup> at Masaoka, in Miyasato *gō*, \*with a letter of command.<sup>11\*</sup>

"The *ji-tō shiki* of Nanakuma *gō*, Chikuzen *kuni*, the domain [granted] for distinguished service.<sup>12</sup>

"Saburo-Zhirō Morofuji's share:—

"In Man-toku<sup>3</sup> *myō*:—

Mata-gorō's dwelling *sono*,<sup>13</sup> 1 tract; Gen-tō-zhirō *sono*, 1 tract;

Gen-tō-tarō *sono*, 1 tract; the nun Yamoto *go-zen*'s original *sono*, 1 tract;

Tō-zhirō Yasumoto *sono*, 1 tract.

"These five places alone inclusive of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue (*sho mu*).

"Midzu-ta: Utsugi-nami, 8 *tan*; Mizogoé, 4 *tan*, \*inclusive likewise of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue.\*

"In Yoshi-eda *myō*:<sup>9</sup>—

Nishi-machi, 1 *chō*; Ko-roppon, *tsubo*<sup>14</sup> of 3 *tan* 1 *jō*;

Hosada, 5 *tan*, \*mentioned below;\*

*ta* and *sono* pledged to Shirō *nyū-dō*, 1 tract;

the *zai-chō* grant, 1 *chō*, \*of the original 5 *chō*;\*

Shin-gorō *sono*, 1 tract;

the *in-su shiki* of Nishiwo *dera*, inclusive of *ta* and *sono*.

"Fujita, 1 *chō*, in Nanakuma *gō*, Chikuzen *kuni*, the domain [granted] for distinguished service;<sup>12</sup> *hata*, 1 place, at Nagabuchi, of the same place.

"6 *ryō* of silk, of the 15 [*ryō*] of the silk 'accepted'<sup>15</sup> on the great hunting preserve at Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*.

"Tomo-San Kaneharu's share:—

"In Man-toku<sup>3</sup> *myō*:—Ishi-bashiri, 5 *tan*; Sai-bu, 2 *tan*; Harada-sumi, *tsubo* of 1 *tan* 3 *jō*; \*these *tsubo*<sup>14</sup> alone inclusive of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue;\* the *hakkō*<sup>16</sup> *ta*, 3 *tan*; Gun-bara, 1 tract, \*inclusive of Maé-bara; this part only inclusive of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue.\*

"In Yoshi-eda *myō*:<sup>9</sup>—Hitsu-maru, 6 *tan*; Hosada, 5 *tan*, \*mentioned above;\*

Maki-zaki, at present the joiner's cultivation,<sup>17</sup> *sono* 1 tract.

"5 *ryō* of silk, of the 15 [*ryō*] of the silk 'accepted'<sup>15</sup> on the great hunting preserve at

Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*.

"The *zai-chō* grant, 5 *tan*, \*of the original 5 *chō*.\*

"Hakama-da, 5 *tan*, in Nanakuma *gō*, Chikuzen *kuni*, the domain [granted] for distinguished service.<sup>12</sup>

"Since this *ta* was omitted through neglect in the letter of devise<sup>18</sup> of the 6th month 17th

day, it is again devised herewith.

[Hō-Nin's] *monogram*.

"Mata-Saburō Kanemasa's share:—

"In Man-toku<sup>3</sup> *myō*:—

Iya-zhirō *nyū-dō sono*, 1 tract; at present his dwelling *sono*;<sup>13</sup> \*this lot inclusive of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue;\* also Take-naka *sono*, 1 tract; Maé-ko *sono*, 1 tract; \*though this is Ko-tarō's *sono*, when it is sold to [by?] the original possessor,<sup>19</sup> other people's desires for this should be stopped, and [Mata-Saburō] should buy and possess it. Any child or descendant who violates this arrangement would be considered unfilial.<sup>20\*</sup>

"Aza Midzu-ta, *tsubo*<sup>14</sup> of 2 *tan*; Fuka-machi, *tsubo*<sup>14</sup> of 3 *jō*, \*likewise inclusive of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue.\*

"In Miyasato *gō*:—Shinawo *ta*, *tsubo*<sup>14</sup> of 6 *tan*; . . .<sup>21</sup> bukuro, *tsubo* of 3 *tan*; Ōnomoto, *tsubo* of 3 *tan*; Hei-tō-zhi *ta*, *tsubo* of 2 *tan* 3 *jō*, \*stopping the *ji-tō*'s entire revenue, for which there is a document;<sup>22\*</sup> the original small *ta*, in Masa-tomi, 5 *tan*, \*of which 2 *tan* plucked by the *ji-tō* excluded; 1 *tan* of [the remaining] 3 *tan*, stopping the *ji-tō*'s revenue, for which there is a document.<sup>22\*</sup>

"In Tsuruwō-Maru *myō*:—Ichi *no bō sono*, 1 place, \*likewise stopping the *ji-tō*'s revenue, for which there is a document.<sup>22\*</sup>

"In Waka-yoshi, Go-dai *in*:—Yanagi-ta, 8 *tan*; Ko-higuchi, 2 *tan*, \*originally called 3 *tan*;\* the wild plain, the domain of the Niita temple, 1 tract. \*East is bounded by *ta* 'cultivated'<sup>17</sup> by Masaoka; west, by a ditch of Ōmata *ta*; north, by Kekari *ta*; south, by the boundary of Man-toku.\*

"In Yoshi-eda *myō*:<sup>9</sup>—Matsumoto, 4 *tan*; Hashi-guchi, 8 *tan*; Naga-sono, 1 tract.

"Hashi-dzume, Chikuzen *kuni*, 4<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> *tan* 60 *bu*, the domain [granted] for distinguished service.<sup>12</sup>

"The *zai-chō* grant, 5 *tan*, \*of the original 5 *chō*.\*

"4 *ryō* of silk, of the 15 [*ryō*] of the silk 'accepted'<sup>15</sup> on the great hunting preserve in Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*.

"The daughter Oto-tsuru *go-zen*'s share:—

"In Man-toku<sup>3</sup> *myō*:—Enoki-machi *sono*, 1 tract, \*inclusive of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue.\*

"The *sō-ryō shiki*" of Waka-yoshi *myō*, Go-dai *in*.

"However, Yanagi-ta, 8 *tan*, and Ko-higuchi, 2 *tan*, originally called 3 *tan*, are devised to Mata-Saburō. The remainder should be held [by Oto-tsuru]. Details of the *tsubo*<sup>14</sup> are seen in the original documents.<sup>23</sup>

"To Saburo-Tarō Kanenaga:—

"In Man-toku<sup>3</sup> *myō*: the present dwelling *sono*, \*inclusive of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue.\*

"Midzu-ta: Taketsu-machi, 1 *chō*, \*to hold only after Hō-Nin's death.\*

"Maki-zaki: Kawabuchi *sono*, on the border of Fune-tarō *sono*, 1 tract.

"In Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*: Nan-bu *mura*, Yake-hara *mura*.

"These two *mura* to be held after Tsunekane's death.

"The widow's share:—

"In Man-toku<sup>3</sup> *myō*: the present dwelling *sono*, 1 place—*tsubo* of Nakatsu-mure.

"In Yoshi-eda *myō*: Kata-biraki, 4 *tan*; the *ta* and *sono* sold on condition of re-

purchase,<sup>24</sup> and the *ta* and *hata* sold, \*but exclusive of the mortgaged lands at Yoshi-eda.\*

"Household goods and dependent servitors."<sup>25</sup>

"However, as for the *ta* and *sono* devised Shō-an 3rd year 3rd month 22nd day [1 May 1301], they should be given over to the heir-general after life.

"Tsuru-ishi's<sup>26</sup> share:—

"In Man-toku<sup>3</sup> *myō*:—Nakatsu-mure *tsubo*,<sup>14</sup> \*inclusive of the *ben-zai shi*'s revenue.\*

"To Toyo *go-zen*<sup>26</sup> and Aguri *go-zen*:<sup>26</sup>—

"Hei-shirō *sono*, 1 place. \*To be returned to the heir-general after life.\*

"The before-mentioned *ta* and *sono* should be held according to the several letters<sup>27</sup> of devise. Recorded thus.

"Ō-chō 2 y. 6 m. 17 d. [3 July 1311].

Hō-Nin,<sup>28</sup> (monogram)."

\* \* The parts between asterisks here represent the words written in small characters in the original text.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nos. 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 45, 47, and 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Sō-ryō*, heir-general; see No. 28, n. 2. It should be particularly noted that the *sō-ryō* had already become a *shiki*, that is, had become identified with an income, which might be held even by a daughter. A next step in the evolution of the use of the term would be to identify it with the piece of land which had customarily yielded the income of the *shiki* (cf. No. 64, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Man-toku. We find, in the cadastral report of 1197 (see No. 9 and n. 17), three places called Man-toku, in Taki *kōri*. Of these, the "original" Man-toku, 15 *chō*, had Tomo Morotaka as its *myō-shu*. He was grandfather of the deviser of this document.

There are several places in various parts of the *kuni* of Ōsumi also which were called Man-toku. All lands of that name, both in Satsuma and in Ōsumi, seem to have belonged to the Shintō temple Shō Hachiman, of Ōsumi. The editor was unable to ascertain at that historic institution the origin of the name Man-toku.

<sup>4</sup> *Zai-chō shiki*; see No. 8, n. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Sho-sei shiki*; see No. 51, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ushikuso in lay far to the northeast in Satsuma, along the river Hatsuki, a tributary of the Sendai.

<sup>7</sup> Nan-gō, of Hioki, to the west of Kagoshima.

<sup>8</sup> This is Kanenaga appearing later in the document.

<sup>9</sup> Yoshi-eda *myō* comprised, in 1197, 19 *chō* in Taki *kōri* and 7 *chō* in Tōgō, both *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*; their *myō-shu* was also Morotaka. See No. 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Dō-sono*, upland field near or dedicated to a little Buddhist chapel (*dō*).

<sup>11</sup> This is the letter from the *shō-gun*'s commissioner-general for Kyū-shū recognizing a compromise which had been reached between Takemitsu Tsunekane and Miyasato Masa-ari regarding land in Masa-oka *myō*, Miyasato *gō*, dated 28 December 1308. This document has not been translated, as it does not bear directly on Iriki.

<sup>12</sup> During the Mongol war; No. 45.

<sup>13</sup> *I-sono*, meaning the homestead with *sono* on which the holder dwelt.

<sup>14</sup> *Tsubo* or *hei*, in the pre-feudal system of land measurement, was a square area equivalent to one *chō*. *Hei* in a group were numbered in blocks of 36, and it was customary to refer to any piece of land in the block by the number assigned to the *hei* in which the land was situated. The use of the word in this document is irregular, and seems to be practically the same as "tract," its size varying considerably.

<sup>15</sup> *Uke*, "accepted"; see No. 22, n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Hakkō* or *hakō*, an abbreviation for *Hokke hakkō ye*. One of the annual events with Buddhists of the Tendai sect was to hold eight formal readings, in four days, of the scripture *Saddharma-pundarika* (*Hokke kyō*); these sessions formed the *hakkō ye*, the ritual of eight lectures. As Bud-

dhism and Shintō were largely interwoven with each other throughout the feudal ages, this important Buddhist rite was performed at the Shintō temples Nūta, Shō Hachiman, and others, and lands were set apart in order to devote their proceeds to the expenditures of the ceremony.

<sup>17</sup> *Saku*; this may either be actual cultivation or the mere possession of the "cultivator" (*saku-nin* or simply *saku*) *shiki*. The latter was a right to a fixed income from a piece of land, the tilling and use of which might be in the hands of some one else. See the editor's papers, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1916, I, 321-322, 336-338, and in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1918, XLVI, part 1, pp. 88-96.

<sup>18</sup> The individual letter of devise for Kaneharu, now lost, is meant.

<sup>19</sup> *Hon-shu*.

<sup>20</sup> *Fu-kyō*; that is, would be disowned as child; see No. 26.

<sup>21</sup> One character wrong and unintelligible.

<sup>22</sup> That is, an official document that may be adduced to support the claim.

<sup>23</sup> See No. 42, n. 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Hon-sen gaéshi*, "returning of the original money," a sale in which it was agreed that the vendor of land would repurchase it under certain terms. In effect, it was a mortgage, but the buyer had both title and possession before the repurchase. Similar to the German *Verkauf auf Wiederkauf* and the French *vente à réméré*. (See Professor Nakada Kaoru, in *Kokka gakkwai zasshi*, XX, 1, 49.) The following example of this species of sale dated 1325 is taken from KK, VIII:—

"To sell an estate in *hon-motsu gaéshi*:

One house, of Zhirō of Taéma, situated at Taéma, Taki *kōri*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"The aforesaid house is a possession of the nun Gyō-Butsu, but, since there is need [of money], it is hereby entered as *hon-motsu gaéshi* at the price twenty-two *kwan*. So long as the original price (*hon-motsu* literally, 'original thing') is not returned (*kaésu*), there shall be no molestation of the possession [of the property taken over by the purchaser]. It will, however, be [subject to] repurchase (*uku*) during twenty years. If there should arise any trouble regarding this homestead, it would be recalled (*sa-da shi kaésu*) [by the seller] for [a sum] twice as large as the original [price, namely], forty-four *kwan*. Since this [agreement has been made], there should not, by special arrangement, be the slightest interference, even if an order of *toku-sei* should be promulgated. Therefore, stated thus."

*Toku-sei* (literally, "virtuous administration") referred to in this document meant, at that time, not the arbitrary cancellation by official order of debts and mortgages contracted by the warriors, with which acts the term was later identified, but the more equitable judicial measures which had been temporarily adopted by the *shō-gun's* government at Kamakura with a view to protecting the landholdings of his immediate vassals. In order to prevent the loss of these holdings through sales and mortgages, their recovery was generally made easy and the expiration of their terms was arrested. These measures so grievously disturbed credit, that, quickly as they were revoked, documents of sale and mortgage continued to retain a specific clause, as in the example just given, that a *toku-sei* would not affect the results of the transaction. See Professor Miura Hiroyuki's *Hō-sei shi no ken-kyū*, 767-842.

<sup>25</sup> *Sho-zhū ge-nin*.

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps granddaughters.

<sup>27</sup> Of the individual letters of devise referred to, the one relative to Tsunekane, the heir-general, alone has been preserved. It is dated and signed the same as this general devise, and enumerates the identical *shiki* that are mentioned here as the share of Tsunekane, but adds the following statement at the end:—

"The aforementioned *shiki* and *ta* and *sono* are devised for all time. As for the various obligations (*ku-zhū*) of the *ta* and *sono* devised to the other children and grandchildren, and of the granted (*kyū*) *ta*, those should be apportioned [among the devisees and grantees] according to their defined shares. Beyond that, [Tsunekane] should not infringe [their rights] in a single matter. This is the letter of devise."

<sup>28</sup> The Buddhist name of Takemitsu Morokane.



## 56. RECEIPT OF DUES FROM TŌ-NO-HARA, 1319

(Terao docs.; also KK, VIII, and SK, IX.)

(Marginal note:—"A receipt of the Domanial Lord.")

"RECEIVED:—the various annual dues(*nen-gu*) for the summer of Gen-ō 1st year, for the Domanial Lord, from Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"Total

"Cotton: of the 54 *ryō* 1 *bu* [that are due], now rendered 46 *ryō* 2 *bu*;

still due, 7 *ryō* 3 *bu*;

Coarse thread, being *sei-gō* thread: of the 14 *ryō*, now rendered 6 *ryō*;

still due, 8 *ryō*;

*Hana-gami*:<sup>1</sup> of the 5 *jō*, now rendered 2 *jō*; still due 3 *jō*;

Hemp: of the 50 *ryō*, all still due;

Silk for *ko-sode*,<sup>2</sup> being dues on mulberry trees: 1 piece, still due;

White cloth:<sup>3</sup> 1 piece, still due

"The before-mentioned are for the present received.

"Gen-ō 1 y. 11 m. 14 d. [26 December 1319]. The nun Shin-Ri,<sup>4</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> A species of paper.

<sup>2</sup> *Ko-sode*, ladies' garments worn under the large outer robe.

<sup>3</sup> Grass-cloth.

<sup>4</sup> Though Shin-Ri had taken that Buddhist name and called herself a nun(*ama*), she had not retired into a monastery, but still lived among the laity and saw worldly affairs. She had merely shaved her head and did simple daily acts of devotion. Shin-Ri cannot be identified, but probably was a lady of the Konoé household. Similar receipts and letters of appointment signed by the same person, five documents in all, dated Shō-wa 4 y. (1315) and Bun-po 3 y. (1319), are given in SK, IX, from the Kishira documents.

## 57. THE SHU-GO'S ORDER TO TERAOKORESHIGE, 1320

(Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

A DISPUTE had again arisen in the Terao family. The reader is referred to the previous contention of 1277-1280, in Nos. 26, 27, 32-41. The same Yoichi who then received an adverse judgment at the *shō-gun's* court again appears as a party to the new suit.

"CONCERNING the *ta* and *hata* and houses(*zai-ke*) in Terao *mura*, Sagami *kuni*, of which Shibuya Yoichi *nyū-dō* Zen-A writes, a transcribed copy of [*shō-gun's*] order, together with [Zen-A's] letter of accusation, is herewith forwarded to you. In accordance with the command, you are requested to present a letter of acknowledgment. Very reverently.

"Gen-ō 1 y. 12 m. 25 d. [4 February 1320]. Minamoto no Sadatsuna,<sup>1</sup> (monogram).

"Respectfully addressed to Shibuya Mago-saburō<sup>2</sup> *dono*."

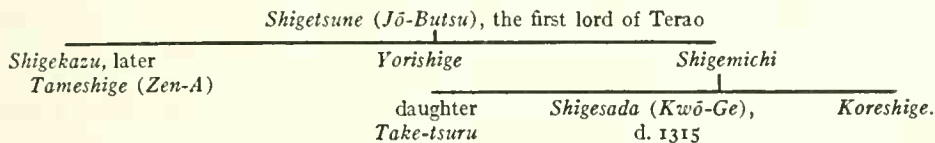
<sup>1</sup> The *shu-go's* deputy.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an error for Mago-zhirō, who was Terao Koreshige, the younger brother of Yoichi. See the genealogical table of the next No.

## 58. TERA0 ZEN-A'S ACCUSATION, c. 1320

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

THE following mutilated document, which lacks the first lines and of which the copyist failed to write the date, we presume to have been written c. 1320. It evidently is a renewed accusation by Zen-A of Koreshige. The latter had, we infer, refuted the first charges that the former, as is implied in the preceding document (No. 57), had preferred. The outcome of the litigation is unknown. The following brief genealogy will clarify the relative position of the parties:—



" . . . [Koreshige's letter of refutation states] . . .<sup>1</sup> confirmation, therefore he interfered, \*etc. Summarized.\*

"As regards this article [of Koreshige's refutation], since [Zen-A] held [the *shiki*]<sup>2</sup> according to his nephew Kwō-Ge's autographic letter of renunciation, he secured its confirmation [by the suzerain]. But on Koreshige's wilful interference with the confirmation, the matter has been under examination at this city.<sup>3</sup> [For Koreshige] to aver in his letter of refutation that [Zen-A] framed up new issues, is beneath notice. When Kwō-Ge's autograph is evident, why should [Koreshige] impute [to Zen-A] the invention of new issues? \*This is the third [point].\*

"According to the same letter, since Zen-A himself admits that he has been seizing [the *shiki*] since the first year of Bun-po [1317], he should receive punishment for [the act], \*etc. Summarized.\*

"As regards this article, when [Zen-A] holds [the *shiki*], as has been said above, in accordance with Kwō-Ge's autographic letter of renunciation, why should [Koreshige] impute seizure to [Zen-A]? [On the contrary], as Koreshige has acknowledged (*shō-buku*) that he was seizing, since the death of Kwō-Ge, in Shō-wa 4th year 7th month [August, 1315], the *ta*, *hata*, and houses, of the estate of the late Maé-toko Naka-saburō, of Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, which are among [the *shiki*] comprised in the said letter of renunciation, both the soil itself and its yearly revenues should be ordered restored [to Zen-A]. \*This is the fourth.\*

"According to the same letter, Kwō-Ge's letter of renunciation presented by Zen-A is a palpable forgery, \*etc. Summarized.\*

"As regards this article, Koreshige never breathed a word of dispute of the letter of renunciation, and fully admitted (*shō-buku*) [its authenticity]. As its autographic character is manifest, [Zen-A] petitions that, after due examination, Koreshige's guilt of seizure be punished according to prescribed rules. \*This is the fifth.\*

"According to the same letter, since Zen-A was repudiated as unfilial by his late father Shibuya Shiro-zhirō *nyū-dō* Jō-Butsu, he should not hold a foot of the latter's estate; [Zen-A] should not be given [any *shiki*] contrary to the intention of its original

holder; how much less must he be entitled to land held by other persons? \*etc. Summarized.\*

"As regards this article, it is a baseless falsehood that [Zen-A] was repudiated as unfilial by his late father Jō-Butsu. The fact is that though Jō-Butsu left a letter of devise in behalf of Zen-A, it was withheld by his step-mother; this was stated the other day. That the step-mother withheld the devise is known to all people of this and other families. It is a palpable lie to say that [Zen-A] should not hold a foot of land. Next, as regards the intention of the original holder, what is that intention? Such fanciful statement deserves no cognizance. Next as regards land held by another, it has been previously explained and needs no repetition.

\*This is the sixth.\*

"According to the same letter, the letter presented by Zen-A contained many errors, \*etc. Summarized.\*

"As regards this article, the alleged errors are not specified. Arbitrarily to impute errors is a manifest knavery. \*This is the seventh.\*

"According to the same letter, land has been given away out of another's holding, \*etc. Summarized.\*

"Since this article has been discussed in an earlier section, there is no need of reiteration. \*This is the eighth.\*

"[Zen-A again charges]:

"That Koreshige should not hold the estate left by Kwō-Ge.

"Koreshige, acting as plaintiff, made an unwarrantable litigation regarding the estate left by Kwō-Ge, and composed a compromise; and with the letter of compromise petitioned this commissioner's<sup>4</sup> office to grant him an order [of confirmation]. Since, however, this was not permitted, how might he hold the estate left by Kwō-Ge? And yet falsely to state, as he does, that he holds it by virtue of documents of succession, is a knavery. Kwō-Ge's sons, priest Myō-Ichi *bō*, and his younger brother priest Shin-Ryō *bō*, actually hold the rice-land and houses in the estate of their late father; how then could Koreshige, a younger brother, own documents of successive possession to the exclusion of the sons? It is strongly desired that [the documents] be called for [and examined]. \*This is the ninth.\*

"Koreshige's knaveries:

"It was an extreme knavery that Koreshige arbitrarily seized the houses [and accessory land] in Tō-no-hara, Satsuma *kuni*, which Kwō-Ge had bought for all time from Zaikokushi Saburo-zaémon *nyū-dō* Dō-Ei,<sup>5</sup> of the same *kuni*, and from Takemitsu *Kamon-saémon-no-zhō*,<sup>6</sup> Hida Iya-shirō-byōe *nyū-dō* Zui-Gwan, and Inoué Saémon-zhirō Tomoari, residents of the same *kuni*; and, secretly making a compromise, secured the influence of his cap-father<sup>7</sup> Shibuya Zhiro-saburō Sukeshige,<sup>8</sup> and obtained by false pretense [the *shō-gun*'s] mandate confirming [Koreshige's holding of these properties]. Therefore, [Zen-A prays that] at once that letter of compromise and other documents, as well as the order of confirmation, be examined, and proper punishment be inflicted [upon Koreshige]. \*This is the tenth.\*

"The aforementioned points are thus briefly stated. In short, since Koreshige has recognized (*shō-buku*) Kwō-Ge's letter of renunciation, it is prayed that a decision be

granted; and since he has admitted (*shō-buku*) a wilful seizure, both the soil itself and the yearly revenues that he has seized from it be restored. As for his penalty, it is prayed that it be administered according to the established law. That Koreshige knows [the authenticity of] that letter of renunciation will [be brought out] when [he and Zen-A] confront each other at court. Therefore, again a brief petition is thus made."

\* \*These parts are written small in the original text.

<sup>1</sup> The first two sections are wanting.

<sup>2</sup> See the next section of this document.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently Zen-A was on a guard duty at Hakata, on the north coast, and the examination was conducted under the authority of the *shō-gun's* deputy in Kyū-shū, who was stationed there.

<sup>4</sup> Namely, the *shō-gun's* deputy for Kyū-shū.

<sup>5</sup> An Ōsaki; see Nos. 8 and 51.

<sup>6</sup> A Tomo.

<sup>7</sup> *Eboshi-oya*, cap-father. When the warrior reached majority, his hair was dressed, and a black cap, *eboshi*, was placed on his head, as sign of his coming of age; he then assumed a new personal name suitable to his state, given by his lord or some other man of distinction. The warrior who capped the youth was the latter's *eboshi-oya*, and stood thenceforth in a peculiarly intimate relationship with his protégé. Further see No. 134.

<sup>8</sup> Younger brother of Shigemoto the 4th Iriki-in lord.

## 59. REGISTERS OF TA IN KIYOSHIKI, 1322

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, I.)

THESE registers, if carefully compared with Nos. 49, 52, and 70, should throw welcome light upon the character of a *jitō*-fief in the late Kamakura period: its composition as a whole; its division into holdings of residents and *suh*-grants to the lord's relatives and retainers; the composition of each holding or grant; the size and nature of the lord's demesnes; etc. Also, many an item reveals the transitional state in the differentiation of the warrior and the peasant and of their tenures, and in the development of the true fief slowly emerging from the earlier state in which a vassal served at once under a military lord and economically or predially under one or more domanial patrons.

The following modifications from the original documents have, purely for the sake of convenience, been made in this translation:

1. Every item in the original is checked with a short red line, though, as a matter of fact, the figures are not always correct. The red marks are not reproduced here.

2. Every statement of an area is prefixed with the phrase "one place" in so extremely an abridged cursive form that few Japanese would be able to decipher it; and this phrase is used, by force of habit, even after the explicit phrases, "two places," "four places," etc. The conventional "one place" has been dispensed with in the translation.

3. The measurements of rice and land-areas are again given in the conventional forms used in No. 49. (See the explanations in n. 4 to that No.) However, the new unit of surface measurement, *bu*, written in a character meaning "part," (not the same as the *bu*, literally, "pace," that is, 1/360 of a *tan*, explained in No. 9, n. 1), that is introduced in these registers, is repeated in the translation. Owing to the infrequency of the use of the *bu*, and to apparent errors in the figures from which its extent might otherwise be inferred, it seems impossible to determine the area of a *bu* relative to that of a *jō*.

The proper names in small letters, excepting those few personal names that are so noted, are either *aza-na*, that is, small place-names, or other convenient phrases indicative of the positions of plots. Though it is no longer possible today actually to identify all the places, it is owing to the presence of these names that we are enabled to observe at least how scattered at different places were the plots of individual holders, and how mingled at single places were plots of various holders.

The names are also interestingly suggestive of the origins of *aza-na*. Some names, such as Maé-toko and Utsu, were clearly old and well established; the original meanings of most of these names were probably forgotten. Others were newer, and many of them were still in a fluid state, not far removed from mere brief descriptions of the location: (1) some of these descriptions consisted either



of a conspicuous landmark or some other remarkable feature of the place, like *Kaki-no-ki* ("persimmon tree"), *Mori-ta* ("ta near a grove"), and *Ō-hata* ("large *hata*"), or of the position of the locality relative to a distinguishing point near-hy, such as *Dō-maé*, ("in front of a chapel"), *Michi no kashira* ("head of the road"), and *Tani no kuchi* ("mouth of the vale"); (2) some were indicative of the tenure, whether past or present, of the land in question, as, for example, *Hatsu Shin-motsu* ("first offering"), and *Kyō-den* (*ta* provided for the reading of a Buddhist scripture). There is little doubt that many of the older proper names had originally been some such descriptive phrases, and also that some of these newer half-common and half-proper names would in course of time further be simplified and conventionalized into definitely fixed *aza-na*. In order that the reader should not be totally lost among these names, a simple glossary of them, with probable meanings of terms, has here been appended:

*Abumi*, stirrups; *Adzuki-zaki*, pea(-field) point; *Ama-kashi*, sweet oak; *An-shitsu* [?] *no soé*, heside retired Buddhist's hut (?).

*Besshin*, (?).

*Dō-maé*, in front of chapel; *Dō-zhi*, a minor Buddhist deity.

*E-gi*, (?).

*Funa-se*, ferry; *Fu no tomari*, stopping of . . . (?); *Furu-dono*, old hall (?); *Furu-i*, old well; *Furu-kawa*, old river; *Fu-shuku*, (?); *Futa-mure*, two hamlets.

*Hachi-ana*, hasin hollow; *Hagi no moto*, heside *hagi* wood; *hara*, plain; *Hatsu Shin-motsu*, first offering; *hi*, water-pipe; *Hi no hara*, pipe plain; *Hi no kuchi*, mouth of pipe; *Hi no shita*, below pipe; *hira*, flat; *Hira Koba*, flat wood-yard; *Hira-take*, flat peak; *Hishi no sako*, lozenge-shaped narrow; *Hōki*, hroom; *Hō no ki*, *hō* tree.

*I*, well; *Ide no hara*, dike plain; *Ide no ki*, dike tree; *Ide no kuchi*, dike mouth; *ié*, house; *I-no-shiri*, well tail; *Ishi ga hana*, stone nose; *Ishi-tatami*, stone mat; *Ishi-tō*, stone pagoda.

*Kaji-michi*, road to the smith; *Kado-ta*, angle *ta*; *Kago-ya no sumi*, theasket-maker's corner; *Kai-moto*, (?); *Kaki no ki*, persimmon tree; *Kama-bushi*, (?); *kami*, upper, above; *Kanoko*, (?); *Kari-atsumari*, hunting meet (?); *kashira*, head; *Kata-ga-no*, . . . (?) plain; *kawa*, river; *Kawa-bata*, river-side; *Kawa-go*, leatherasket; *Kawara*, river hasin; *Kawa-ya*, leather maker; *Kisa-no-ki*, *kisa* tree; *kita*, north; *Ko-ba*, wood-yard; *Ko-bata*, little *hata*; *Kokawo* [?], (?); *Komoi-ta*, (?); *Ko-mure*, little hamlet; *Ko-take-hara ta*, little hamhoo plain *ta*; *Kowata*, (?); *kuchi*, mouth, end; *Kuki-Utsu*, (?); *Kukume*, (?); *Kuri*, *Kuri-no-ki*, chestnut, chestnut tree; *Kuro mu-sha*, hlack warrior (?); *Kyō*, *Kyō-den*, (Buddhist) scripture, scripture *ta*.

*Machi*, paths (between fields); *Made-no*, . . . (?) plain; *maé*, in front of, before; *Maé-toko*, front hed; *magari*, hend; *Uma-goé*, horse pass; *Maro-uri*, (?); *maru*, (suffix to some proper names); *matsu*, pine; *Matsu-mine*, pine ridge; *Matsu-no-ki no moto*, near pine tree; *Matsu-o*, pine . . . (?); *Matsu no sako*, pine narrow; *Ma-ya*, stahle; *men*, "exempt," (see No. 18, n. 5); *Michi no kashira*, road head; *Mi-kaburi*, (?); *Mina-kuchi*, water-mouth; *minami*, south; *Minatsu-ta*, (?); *miya*, (Shintō) temple; *Miya-da*, temple *ta*; *mizo*, ditch; *Mochi-ta*, glutinous rice *ta*; *Mori no ki*, forest trees; *Mori-ta*, forest *ta*; *moto*, heside, near; *Mugi-ta*, harley *ta*; *mukaé*, opposite; *mure*, hamlet.

*Nabe*, kettle; *Naga-no*, long plain; *Naga-take*, long hamhoo; *Naka-maru*, middle one; *Naka-no*, middle plain; *Naka no hira*, middle flat; *Naka no sako*, middle narrow; *Naka-o*, middle . . . (?); *Naka-da*, middle *ta*; *Naka-take*, middle peak; *Naka-Tsuru*, middle Tsuru; *Naka-yama*, middle mountain; *Nawa-biki*, rope stretcher; *nishi*, west; *Nishi no hara*, west plain; *no*, of; *no* wild plain; *Noge-ta*, . . . (?) *ta*; *No-hira*, wild flat; *No-ine*, wild rice; *No-naka ta*, *ta* in midst of wild; *No-soi*, along a wild.

*Ō-hata*, great *hata*; *Oi no kura*, (?); *Okoshi*, (?); *Orio*, (?); *Ō-sako*, great narrow; *Ototo-tsukuri*, younger brother's "cultivation."

*Saka*, slope; *Saka-moto*, near a slope; *sako*, narrow; *saku*, "cultivation," (see No. 55, n. 17); *Sa-watari*, (?); *Se no kuchi*, mouth of a ford; *Shima-meguri*, around an island; *Shimo*, lower; *Shimo-tsuka*, lower mound; *shino*, slender bamboo; *Shin-motsu*, presents, offerings; *Shiwo-uri*, salt vender; *Shira-saka*, white slope; *shiri*, tail; *shita*, below; *Sui-san*, (?); *sumi*, corner; *Sunako-ta*, . . . (?) *ta*; *Suwa no machi*, path of Suwa (temple); *soé*, *soi*, alongside; *sono*, garden, (see No. 45, n. 9); *Sono-ta*, *ta* beside or converted from *sono*.

*Taka-kowa*, high . . . (?); *Taka-tsuki*, high *tsuki* tree; *Taka-ya*, high house (?), hawk house (?); *Take-shita* or *Take-no-shita*, below a bamboo grove; *take-hara ta*, *ta* in a bamboo plain; *tana*, terrace; *tane-ta*, seed *ta*; *tani*, vale; *tani no kuchi*, mouth of a vale; *Tate-yama no maé*, before Mount Tate; *Tera-toko*, church bed (?); *Terako* [?] *no kashira*, head of . . . (?); *Toku hōshi*, a buddhist priest's abridged name; *Toku-nashi*, unprofitable (?); *Tō no shita*, below the pagoda; *Tōrō-ta*, *ta* providing for a stone lantern; *Tsubaki maé*, before camelia trees; *tsubo*, (see No. 55, n. 14); *Tsubuki*, (?); *Tsuka-se*, (?); *tsukuri*, (same as *saku*); *Tsuru*, (?).

*Ué*, *uwa*, above, upper; *Utsu*, (?).

*Waki-ta*, side *ta*; *Wata-se*, ford; *Wata-uchi*, cotton-thrasher.

*Yama no kuchi*, end of mountain; *Yama-shita*, below mountain; *yanagi*, willow tree; *ya-shiki*, house lot; *Yoko-makura*, lying pillow; *Yoshino machi*, . . . (?) path; *Yu-ana*, thermal spring; *Yu-no-ki no sako*, *yu* tree narrow; *Yuwaya*, grotto (?).

## A.

"REGISTER of *ta*, south part of Kiyoshiki.

"Gen-kō 2 y., *midzu-no-é inu*,<sup>1</sup> 3 m. 13 d. [31 March 1322].

"Total

"THE ISHI-TŌ<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Taka-ya 0.1.0.	same place 0.0.2½.	Matsu-sako 0.1.4½.	Matsu-sako shiri 0.0.2.
Kaki-no-ki 0.3.0.	Kaki-no-ki ta 0.5.3.	Kuri no sako 0.0.2.	Tera-toko 0.0.3½.
Se no kuchi 0.0.½.	Uma-goé 0.0.2.	Uma-goé 0.1.0.	Uma-goé new, 0.0.2.
Ide no ki 0.0.3.	Ide no hara 0.0.1.	Utsu new, 0.1.0.	Miya-da 0.0.4.
Miya-da no soi 0.0.0.20 bu.	Tsuka-se 0.1.0.	Tani no kuchi 0.0.2.	<i>sono</i> , <i>men</i> for dō 0.0.1½.
Sono-da 0.0.1.	Sono-da no mina-kuchi 0.0.2.	Dō-zhi sono 0.3.0.	Kawara no mukaé new, 0.1.2.
Mukaé 0.1.2.	Hi no kuchi 0.1.2.	Hi no hara 0.0.2½.	Hi no hara 0.0.1, Gorō.
Made-no 0.0.4.40 bu.			

"In all, 2.9.2, of which: temple [*ta*], 0.0.4,  
church [*ta*], 0.0.1½,  
*sono*, 0.3.0, [inclusive of] new *sono-ta*, 0.2.0.

"[Remainder] 2.3.3½, of which:

crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.1.3,

new 0.6.0, of which 0.3.4½, rice due 0.78,

remaining, 0.2.½;

original 1.7.3½; rice due 5.58, inclusive of the newly opened [*ta*].

"THE NAKA-NO SAKO-HEAD<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Kari-atsumari 0.0.4.	Orio no kuchi 0.0.3.	Kanoko-ta Dai-maru, 0.3.3, of which 0.0.2, not cultivated.	Kanoko-ta 0.3.2.
Shino sako Saka no shita 0.0.3.	Kawa-ya no sako 0.1.2.	Kuri-no-ki 0.3.0.	

"In all, 1.3.2, of which:

not cultivated, 0.0.2;

crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.1.0;

in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 1.3.0, of which

new, 0.1.0.20 *bu*; rice due, 0.28.

Rice due, 2.71, inclusive of the newly opened.

"THE LOT OF IYA-SABURO,<sup>3</sup> NAKA-NO:<sup>2</sup>—

Ide no kuchi Kanoko-ta 0.0.3.	Ko-bata 0.0.1½.	Kawako no inomoto 0.0.1.	Ide no uwa 0.0.1.
Ide no moto 0.0.3½.	Kanoko-ta Kami-maru, 0.2.0.	Naka-mura, [kanoko-ta] 0.1.1.	Yu-ana no kuchi 0.2.0.
Yu-ana 0.0.1½.	Saka no shita 0.0.3.	0.2.0, of which 0.1.0, <i>dō men</i> .	Shira-saka no ué 0.1.1.
Shira-saka no shita 0.1.0.	Sono-ta Furu(-i) no soé, 0.0.3.	Kita no sako 0.1.1.	

"In all, 1.4.½, of which: *dō-men*, 0.1.0; crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.0.4;

in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 0.9.2, of which 0.1.4½ new; rice due, 0.38.

Rice due, 3.14, inclusive of the newly opened.

"THE LOT OF MAGO-TARŌ,<sup>3</sup> NAKA-NO:<sup>2</sup>—

Mitsu-kawa no (?) 0.3.0.	same place 0.3.2.	Yama-no-kuchi no i-no- shiri 0.0.1.	Mochi-ta no kashira 0.2.1.
temple- <i>ta</i> 0.0.4.	Nabe 0.1.2.	Yama shita 0.2.3½.	Yoshino machi 0.5.3.
Hatsu shin-motsu ta no ué 0.0.2.	Sui-san 0.1.2, uncultivated.	Naka-maru 0.1.4½.	Shima-meguri 0.0.1.

"In all, 2.3.1, of which: temple *ta*, 0.0.4; crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.1.0;

in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 1.7.2, of which 0.4.0 new; rice due, 1.2.

Rice due, 8.4, inclusive of the newly opened.

"THE LOT OF KI-TÔ-TARÔ,<sup>3</sup> YAMA-GUCHI:<sup>2</sup>—

Suwa no machi 0.3.0. 0 0 08	Ototo-tsukuri 0.1.2.	Mochi-ta 0.0.4.	Naka-no i-no-shiri shita 0.0.2.
0.0.2.	Kaji-machi 0.1.0.	Nabe 0.1.3.	
Suwa no machi 0.1.0, barren, 0.0.1½.	Suwa-no 0.0.4½.	Um a-watari 0.0.1.	Dô-maé 0.0.3½.
Maé-da 0.0.2½, 0.0.1½, not cultivated.	Yû-ana no kuchi 0.0.1½.	Shimo Mori-ta 0.0.3.	Hei-shichi saku, <sup>7</sup> inclusive of Abumi 0.1.2.
Suwa-no 0.1.0.	Suwa-no, in Naka-no 0.0.3.	Um a-watari 0.0.0.10 <i>bu</i> .	Yama-guchi dô-maé 0.1.0.
Maé-da 0.1.1½.	I-no-ué new, 0.0.0.10 <i>bu</i> .	Matsuki no moto 0.0.2.	Suwa-no machi no kashira 0.0.1.
Kuri-no-ki no moto 0.0.1½.	Kyô-den no kashira 0.0.1½.	Ide no shita 0.0.1½.	Kukume no saka no shita 0.1.3.
Furu-i no moto 0.0.0.5 <i>bu</i> .	Tsubuki 0.1.4.	Taka-tsuki 0.1.4.	

"In all, 2.3.3½, of which: not cultivated, 0.0.3; crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.2.1½;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 1.7.2, of which 0.3.2.15 *bu*, new; rice due, 0.34.

Rice due, 8.4, inclusive of the newly opened.

"0.1.1½, of which 0.0.2½, not cultivated; 0.0.1, crop failed.<sup>4</sup>

Rice due, 0.24. Yasu-saburo.

"KI-TÔ-ZÔ,<sup>3</sup> FUTA-MURE:<sup>2</sup>—

Hôki no sako 0.2.0.	Ié no uwa 0.0.1.	Furu-dono 0.0.1½.	No-ine no hara 0.0.2½.
Hi no kuchi no ué 0.0.4½.	Hi no shita new, 0.1.4.	Furu-dono 0.0.4.	Matsu no sako 0.0.1.
Yanagi no sako 0.0.2.	Naka no no-naka Tô-tarô, 0.1.1.	I no moto same place 0.1.1, of which not cultivated, 0.0.1.	Ko-bata same place 0.1.3.
No-ine no hara 0.3.4.	Naka-ta 0.2.3.	Hô-no-ki no minami 0.0.2.	Hô-no-ki 0.4.0.
Hônoki no sono shita 0.1.1.	Hônoki no . . . (?) 0.1.1.	new, 0.1.2.	0.0.3.
Mukô, 0.0.2½.	4 places, 0.1.4.	0.0.1½.	

"In all, 2.7.4, of which, 0.0.1, not cultivated; 0.1.1, provision for wells;  
crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.1.4;

in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 2.4.1, of which, 0.7.0, new;

0.3.2; rice due, 1.292;

0.3.3; rice due, 1.08.

Rice due, 9.372, inclusive of the newly opened.



"ROKURŌ NYŪ-DŌ'S<sup>3</sup> LOT:—

Hi no kuchi no mukae  
0.1.1.

Hatsu shin-motsu  
0.1.0.

No-ine no hara  
0.4.0.

"In all, 0.6.1; rice due, 1.5.

"Total, 12.2.1; rice due, 38.982.

"GRANTED LOTS.<sup>8</sup>"Uémon-no-zho:<sup>3</sup>—

Suwa no magari  
0.2.0.

Kama-bushi  
0.2.0.

Kukume no shita  
0.1.0.

2 places, 0.1.0.

Shima-meguri  
0.2.0.

No-ine no hara  
0.0.2.

Kawara no ué  
0.0.2.

0.5.0.

0.1.1.

new, 0.0.4.

Yu-no-ki no sako  
0.0.0.5 *bu*.

Kuro-musha no *men*

Kawa-bata  
0.0.1½.

same place  
new, 0.2.1.

same place  
0.0.2.

Hi no ué  
0.1.2.

Yuwaya no kuchi  
0.1.0.

temple [*ta*]  
0.1.0.

Sono-ta  
0.0.3½.

I no shiri  
0.0.½.

new, 0.2.0.

"In all, 2.1.1½. 5 *bu*, of which crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.1.3.

Inclusive of Kuro-musha [*men*].

"Mata-gorō nyū-dō:<sup>3</sup>—

Egi mina-kuchi  
new, 0.0.1½.

new

new

0.1.0.

0.1.3.

0.2.0.

Ié no maé

Shimo-Tsuka

Naka-Tsuru

No-ine no hara

new, 0.0.4.

0.1.3.

0.2.0.

0.0.1.

same

Hi no kuchi

Kaki-no-ki no moto

Kaki-no-ki

0.0.1.

0.0.2.

0.1.1½.

0.0.1.

Mina-kuchi

Iya-tō-zō's saku

Funa-se

Hi no hara

barley, 0.0.2.

0.2.0.

0.3.3, Dō-maé.

new, 0.1.3, Ishi-tō.

"In all, 1.7.1, of which crop failed, 0.2.½.

## "Iya-gen-ta:—

Made-no  
0.3.2.

Ide no kuchi  
0.0.1½, Shin-tarō.<sup>3</sup>

Kai-moto  
0.3.4, of which  
0.0.2½, not cultivated.

Tane-ta  
0.3.3.

Kuri-no-ki no soi

Mizo no ué

Kanoko-ta

Kai-moto no soi

Hi no hara

0.0.1.

0.2.3.

new, 0.0.3.

0.0.0.6 *bu*.

Furu(-i) no maé

Hi no hara

Mizo no shita

new, 0.0.0.3 *bu*.

new, 0.0.2.

"In all, 1.4.2.9 *bu*, of which crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.1.3.

"Iya-tarō:<sup>3</sup>—

No-ine no hara lot

Ho-no-ki  
0.0.1½.Shiwo-uri no sako  
0.1.0.Ko-bata  
0.1.0.Ko-bata no kashira  
0.0.4.

Naka no hira lot

Ya-shiki no soé  
0.0.½.Shin-tarō's saku<sup>9</sup>  
0.0.0.5 *bu*.Naka no hira  
0.1.0.Naka no hira  
0.0.0.20 *bu*.  
0.0.½, [?].Hi no hara, Ishi-tō  
0.0.4.Yama no kuchi lot  
0.0.4.Yama-shita  
0.0.2½."In all, 1.2.3½.5 *bu*, of which crop failed, 0.0.2½."Uémon-tarō:<sup>3</sup>—Kado-ta  
0.1.0.Hagi no moto  
0.2.0.Sono-ta  
0.1.0.Hi no shita  
0.0.2."In all, 0.4.2, of which crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.0.1.

"Naka-mura

0.6.0; Nakao Ryō-Shō<sup>3</sup> opened 0.4.0. —Hiko-shirō,<sup>3</sup> Idzumi.<sup>2</sup>

"Shirō [?] no Utsu

0.1.0. —Yasu-zhirō,<sup>3</sup> Tsuru.<sup>2</sup>"0.2.0. —Hei-tarō *nyū-dō*.<sup>3</sup>

"Okoshi

0.0.4½. —Zhiro-tarō,<sup>3</sup> Ko-bata.<sup>2</sup>

"Okoshi

0.3.1; new, 0.0.3. —Iya-roku,<sup>3</sup> Yanagi no sa-watari.<sup>2</sup>

"Naka-Tsuru no ma-ya

0.1.1. —Go-rō,<sup>3</sup> Ishi-tō.<sup>2</sup>

"Furu no maé

0.0.2. —Tora-hachi.<sup>3</sup>

"Kanoko hara

0.0.1½; new, 0.0.0.20 *bu*. —Zhu-rō,<sup>3</sup> Tsuru.<sup>2</sup>"0.0.1½. —Shiro-tarō.<sup>3</sup>"0.0.2½. —Myō-I [?] *no go-bō*.<sup>3</sup>"DOMAIN LOTS:<sup>10</sup>—Kuri-no-ki no moto  
0.2.3.Tsubuki  
0.1.0.Naka-o  
0.5.3.Mikaburi  
0.4.0.

## "CHURCH [LOTS]:—

Funa-se  
0.0.3.No-ine no hara  
0.4.0.An-shitsu no soé  
0.0.2.Ishi-tō  
0.0.1½.Naka-no  
0.1.0.

## "TEMPLE [LOTS]:—

Kuro-musha  
0.1.0.Ishi-tō  
0.0.4.Naka-no  
0.0.4.

"THE SUTRA<sup>11</sup> [LOTS]:—

0.3.0.

Not cultivated, 0.1.0, Kami-suki.<sup>12</sup>

Not cultivated, 0.1.0, Suwa no machi.

## "KUKI-UTSU.

Taxable,<sup>13</sup> in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 1.5.3.

"Grand total, wet rice-land, 27.4.3.9 *bu*,  
inclusive of church *ta*, temple *ta*, domain,<sup>10</sup> grant lots,<sup>8</sup> the *hyaku-shō's*<sup>14</sup> lots,  
uncultivated [*ta*], provision for the wells, and Kuki-Utsu.

"Nishi no hara:<sup>2</sup> opened by Myō-Gen,<sup>3</sup> 0.3.0;

New, Tō shita,<sup>2</sup> 0.1.2;

New, Suwa-no machi,<sup>2</sup> 0.1.2."

## B.

"Register of *ta*, north part of Kiyoshiki.<sup>15</sup>

Gen-kō, 2 y., *midzu-no-é inu*, 3 m. 13 d., [31 March 1322].

"Total

"THE TAKE-HARA-DA<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Minawa-ta

0.1.2.

Komohi-ta

0.0.4.

Take-shita

new, 0.0.1½.

Oi no kura

0.0.1½.

Minawa-ta

0.3.1.

Ō-hata

0.1.2.

Yama-guchi

new, 0.0.½.

Minawa-ta

0.1.1.

Ō-hata

0.3.2½.

Miya-da no soé

new, 0.0.2.

Besshin no soé

new, 0.0.2.

Kai-moto, inclusive of

Uma-watari

0.2.1.

Ié no maé

new, 0.2.1.

"In all, 1.7.4, of which:—

0.4.3½, of which: original, [0.4.0: rice due,] 1.46;

new, 0.0.3½: rice due, 0.21. —Saburo-tarō.<sup>8</sup>

0.2.1: rice due, 1.6. —Hashi-moto.<sup>3</sup>

0.7.1½, of which: new, 0.2.3: [rice due,] 1.04;

original, [0.4.3½: rice due,] 1.38. —Genpachi *nyū-dō*.<sup>3</sup>

0.2.3, of which: new, 0.0.3: [rice due,] 0.28;

original, [0.2.0: rice due,] 0.877. —Mata-roku.<sup>3</sup>

"THE FU-SHUKU<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

1.2.1½: rice due, 3.99.

"THE ADZUKI-SAKI<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Take-shita

2 places, 0.0.2½.

Hishi no sako

0.0.2.

I-zhiri

0.4.0.

Naka-take, Hi no kuchi

0.0.2.

Maé

0.0.1½.

Tate-yama no maé

0.0.½.

Orio, *ta-shiro*<sup>16</sup>

0.2.0.

"In all,  $0.7.3\frac{1}{2}$ , of which: crop failed,<sup>4</sup>  $0.1.3\frac{1}{2}$ ;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup>  $0.6.0$ : [dues] commuted<sup>17</sup> in silk, 2;<sup>18</sup> [balance] rice due,  $0.2$ .

"THE HIRA KO-BA<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Hishi no sako		Ko-bata	
$0.0.1\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.0.2$ .	$0.2.3$ .	$0.2.3$ .
$0.1.2$ .	$0.2.2$ .	$0.0.2$ .	$0.0.3$ .
	Mugi-ta		
$0.1.1$ .	$0.1.0$ .	$0.1.3$ .	$0.0.3$ .

"In all,  $1.5.\frac{1}{2}$ , of which: crop failed,<sup>4</sup>  $0.2.\frac{1}{2}$ ;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup>  $0.1.3$ : rice due,  $2.0$ .

"THE HIRA-TAKE<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Provision for well	Ama-kashi	Hi no kuchi	Five places
4 places, $0.0.3$ .	$0.0.\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.3.3$ .	$0.0.3$ .

"In all,  $0.4.3\frac{1}{2}$ , of which: crop failed,<sup>4</sup>  $0.0.3\frac{1}{2}$ ;  
provision for the well,  $0.0.3$ ;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup>  $0.3.3$ : rice due,  $0.0$ .

"THE KATA-GA-NO<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Noge[?]-ta	same place	same place	same place
$0.2.0$ .	$0.4.4$ .	$0.1.0$ .	$0.0.1$ .
same place	same place		same place
$0.2.0$ .	$0.1.2\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.1.0$ .	$0.3.\frac{1}{2}$ .
Nawa-biki	Ishi-tatami	Matsu-o	
$0.1.3$ .	$0.0.\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.1.\frac{1}{2}$ .	

"In all,  $1.5.1$ , of which:  
 $0.9.0$ , of which, crop failed,<sup>4</sup>  $0.0.3$ ;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup>  $0.8.2$ : commuted in silk, 3;<sup>18</sup> for the remaining  
 $0.0.4\frac{1}{2}$ : rice due,  $0.27$ ;  
 $0.6.1$ , of which, crop failed,<sup>4</sup>  $0.1.1$ ;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup>  $0.5.0$ : commuted in silk, 2.<sup>18</sup>

"THE NAKA-YAMA<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Ishi ga hana			
$0.2.0$ , of which	$0.0.2\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.0.2$ .	$0.0.2$ .
$0.1.0$ , <i>men</i>			
$0.0.1\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.1.\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.1.0$ .	$0.0.0.5$ <i>bu</i> .
	Tate-yama no maé		
$0.0.3\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.2.1$ .		

"In all,  $0.7.3.5$  *bu*, of which: crop failed,<sup>4</sup>  $0.1.3.5$  *bu*;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup>  $0.6.0$ : commuted in silk, 2;<sup>18</sup> [balance] rice due,  $0.25$ .

"THE NO-HIRA<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

$0.0.0.5$ <i>bu</i> .	$0.0.1$ .	$0.0.\frac{1}{2}$ .	$0.0.4$ , Maé.
$0.0.4$ .			



"In all, 0.1.4½.5 *bu*, of which: crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.0.2.5 *bu*;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 0.1.2½; rice due, 0.45.

"THE TOKU HŌ-SHI<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

Idzumo-tsukuri<sup>19</sup>

0.1.0.	0.0.2.	0.1.1.	0.0.2.
0.0.2.	0.1.0.	0.1.0.	0.0.2.
0.1.1.	0.1.0.	0.1.0; of the dues, <sup>20</sup>	0.0.3.
		0.15, <i>so men</i> . <sup>21</sup>	
0.0.4.			

"In all, 1.0.1, of which: crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.2.1;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 0.8.0, of which 0.4.0: rice due, 1.26, —Iya-zhūro;<sup>3</sup>  
0.3.0: rice due, 1.14, —Shin-hei-zō.<sup>3</sup>

"THE MAÉ-TOKO<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

new, 0.3.0.	0.0.½.	0.0.1.	0.0.0.10 <i>bu</i> .
0.0.0.7 <i>bu</i> .	0.0.0.3 <i>bu</i> .	0.0.0.10 <i>bu</i> .	

"In all, 0.3.2, of which: crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.0.1;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 0.3.1: rice due, 0.96.

"THE KO-MURE<sup>2</sup> LOT:—

0.1.0.	Wat a-se	Naka-take	Orio <i>ta-shiro</i> <sup>16</sup>
same place	0.0.1.	0.3.1.	Hi no shita, 0.2.0.
Hi no ue, 0.1.0.	Hi no kuchi no tana	No-soi	same place
	same place, 0.3.0.	same place, 0.1.0.	0.2.0.

"In all, 1.3.2, of which: the provision for the well, 0.1.0;  
crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 0.1.0;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 0.1.2: [dues] commuted in silk, 4;<sup>18</sup> balance rice due, 0.35.

"THE NAGA-NO<sup>2</sup> LOT,—SABURO-ZHIRŌ:<sup>3</sup>—

Toku hō-shi	Kago-ya no sumi	
0.1.3: rice due,	0.0.2½: rice due,	0.2.0: rice due,
0.252.	0.13.	0.63.
Wata-uchi	Maro-uri	
0.1.2: rice due,	0.1.3: rice due,	0.0.1: rice due,
0.44.	0.38.	0.07.
Sunako-ta	No-naka ta	
0.0.3: rice due,	0.1.1: rice due,	0.0.1½: rice due,
0.2.	0.43.	0.07.
Kami Saka-moto	Maé-ta	
0.1.1: rice due,	0.5.3: rice due,	0.0.3: rice due,
0.39.	2.24.	0.13.

"In all, 1.6.4½: rice due, 5.362, of which 0.362 *men*.

"THE NAGA-NO<sup>2</sup> LOT, —GYŌ-BU:<sup>3</sup>—

Toku-nashi 0.3.0 : 0.75.	same <i>tsubo</i> , shimo 0.3.2; uncultivated, 0.0.4 : [due], 0.85.	Kawa no higashi 0.1.2 : 0.38.
Miya no tani 0.1.2½ : 0.4725.	Wata-uchi 0.0.2 : 0.12.	Kuri-no-ki 0.1.0 : 0.2.
Wata-uchi 0.0.2 : 0.12.	0.0.3½ : 0.26.	Kisa-no-ki 0.0.2½ : 0.2.
Mori no ki 0.1.	0.3.3 : 1.44.	Terako no kashira 0.0.2 : 0.7.
new, 0.1.2½ : rice due, 0.375.		

"In all, 1.6.3½.

4.9625, of which 0.2, Hō-no-ki . . .<sup>22</sup> 0.0005;  
0.162, *men*.

Inclusive of dues of the newly opened, 0.375.

"Total of Naga-no, 3.3.3 : rice due, 10.3245.

"Total, 14.3.4½.10 *bu*, of which:

crop failed,<sup>4</sup> 1.3.1½.10 *bu*,—of this, for the well, 0.1.3;  
in cultivation,<sup>5</sup> 13.0.3 : rice due, 30.61, of which:

2.8, excepted,	—Toku-nashi; <sup>2</sup>
2.9, excepted,	—Hira Koba. <sup>2</sup>
Taxable, <sup>13</sup> rice, 24.91;	
hesides, silk 13 <i>hiki</i> . <sup>18</sup>	

"GRANT LOTS.<sup>8</sup>

"Shin-zhirō *nyū-dō*,<sup>3</sup> Uéno:<sup>2</sup>—

Tsuhuki 0.3.3.	same place 0.2.0.	Naka no maru 0.1.1.	Tō-ro ta 0.0.4.
Yoko-makura 0.3.2.	Sono-ta 0.1.0.		

"In all, 2.4.4, Hira Ko-ba, 1.3.0, included.

"Suke *bō*:<sup>3</sup>—

Naka no maru 0.1.0.	Yama-guchi 0.2.0.	Hi no shita 0.3.1.	new, 0.1.1.
Kyō-den <sup>11</sup> for Waka- miya <sup>24</sup>	Yakushi-dō soi	Michi no kashira	
0.1.2.	0.0.2.	0.3.4.	

"In all, 1.3.0, of which: temple [*ta*], 0.2.2;

inclusive of Kawa-go.<sup>25</sup>

"Hiko-shirō,<sup>3</sup> Idzumi:<sup>2</sup>—

Kokawō 0.3.0.	Besshin 0.4.0; 0.0.1½, eroded by river.	Nakao 0.6.0, south part.
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"In all, 1.3.0, of which 0.0.1, eroded by river.

"Hida Saémon Gorō:<sup>3</sup>—

Sono-da 0.1.0.	Shimo-tsuka 0.1.4; 0.0.2, eroded by river.	Taka Ko-ba 0.2.0.	Ō-sako Sakai, 0.0.2.
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Tsubaki haé  
3 places, 0.3.2.

"In all, 0.6.1, inclusive of Tsubaki-haé.

"Yasu-zhirō:<sup>3</sup>—

Matsu-mine 0.2.2.	Waki-ta 0.0.2.	new 0.2.0.	new 0.2.2, before the house.
Fu-no-tomari no Furu-kawa 0.2.0.	Kaki-no-ki 0.0.2.	Naga-ta 0.1.2; not cultivated, 0.0.1.	Fu-no-tomari 0.2.0.

"In all, 1.3.0, inclusive of the new 0.4.0.

"Hachi-ana

0.1.1, —Zhippō.<sup>3</sup>

0.2.3, —Ko-zhirō.<sup>3</sup>

0.1.0, —Iya-shichi.<sup>3</sup>

0.3.1, —Hashi-moto.

0.1.4, —Shiro-tarō.<sup>3</sup>

0.1.0, —Zhū-gorō.<sup>3</sup>

The Toku hō-shi<sup>2</sup> grant,—Yo-zhi.<sup>3</sup>

1.1.0, of which 0.1.0, for the well, —Goro-shirō *dono*,<sup>3</sup> Funa-se.<sup>2</sup>

1.9.0, of which 0.1.0, for the well, —Iya-goro *dono*,<sup>3</sup> Ko-ba.<sup>2</sup>

0.2.0, —Mori *dono*.<sup>3</sup>

1.4.1, the original 0.1.2, inclusive, —domain.<sup>10</sup>

"In all, 15.1.3.

"TEMPLE [LOTS]:—

Ō-miya <sup>23</sup> new, 0.1.0.	Ō-miya <sup>23</sup> 0.2.0.	Waka-miya <sup>24</sup> 0.1.0, 9-day. <sup>26</sup>	Naga-no miya 0.1.0.
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"CHURCH [LOTS]:—

Naga-no 0.1.0.	Yakushi dō 0.1.0.	Waka-miya kyō-den 0.1.2.
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"In all, 0.8.2, of which, church *ta*, 0.2.0;  
temple *ta*, 0.6.2.

"Ko-take-wara *ta*

0.7.0, Kai no . . .<sup>22</sup> *on-kata*.<sup>27</sup>

"NEWLY OPENED LOTS AT TSURU:—

0.3.0, —Iya-gen-ta. <sup>3</sup>	0.5.4, —Dō-Nen. <sup>3</sup>	0.5.0, —Sa-kon <i>nyū-dō</i> . <sup>3</sup>
0.2.3, including dues of the original <i>ta</i> , —Gen-pachi <i>nyū-dō</i> . <sup>3</sup>		
0.2.1, —Yasu-saburō. <sup>3</sup>	0.0.3, —Iya-tarō. <sup>3</sup>	0.4.0, —Yasu-zhirō. <sup>3</sup>
0.4.0, —Uémon-no-zhō. <sup>3</sup>		

"In all, 2.7.1, inclusive of original dues in rice.

"Grand total, 33.8.½.15 *bu*,

inclusive of temple *ta*, church *ta*, provision for the wells, domain,<sup>10</sup> grant lots,<sup>8</sup>  
and the *hyaku-shō*'s<sup>14</sup> lots."

<sup>1</sup> The 50th year in the sexagenary cycle.

<sup>2</sup> Place-names.

<sup>3</sup> Personal names.

<sup>4</sup> *Son*; see No. 49, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Toku*; see No. 49, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Rubbed off in the original.

<sup>7</sup> *Saku*, the *shiki* of the "cultivator." See No. 55, n. 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Nin-kyū bun*, literally, parts granted to persons, or parts for personal grants. See No. 18, nn. 9 and 15.

<sup>9</sup> The original says *kusa*, which is evidently an error for *saku*. See n. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Yō-saku bun*, literally, parts for use and cultivation. The terms *yō-saku* (use and cultivation) and *tsukuri-da* (ta for cultivation) are applied to lands reserved for the exploitation by a lord or his intendant, and may well be rendered as "demesne" or "domain." (Cf. No. 15, n. 3; No. 18, n. 4.) It is not always possible to guess who the lord might be whose domain the lots constituted. We may suppose that, in the present documents, the *ji-tō* is implied.

<sup>11</sup> *Kyō*, sutra, or, a Buddhist scripture. Here is meant the *ta* assigned for the maintenance of the ritual of reading the *kyō*.

<sup>12</sup> Paper-maker.

<sup>13</sup> *Jō*, taxable; see No. 18, n. 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Hyaku-shō*, literally, one hundred family-names. The term is historic, and the gradual change of its real meaning through the ages is indicative of the general history of the social classes in Japan. Originally adopted from the Chinese language, the term meant, in the seventh and eighth centuries, the free, taxable citizens of the country, who bore family-names; after the seventeenth century, *hyaku-shō* had come to mean peasants, who as a rule were not permitted to bear family-names. Between these two periods, the intervening ages saw a gradual transition of the meaning from the one extreme to the other. In the early feudal ages, the *hyaku-shō* constituted the bulk of the lower warrior class and probably also of the chief armed residents of the provinces. Since, however, both these classes were at that time settled on land, and were intimately associated with the tilling of the soil; and since the gradual trend of social changes was toward a more and more marked differentiation of the warrior and the peasant;—from these circumstances it naturally came about that the term tended to remain with the class that clung to the soil, that is, to become identified, not with the warrior, who was in an increasing degree growing into a special class, and therefore detached from the farm life, but with the agriculturist, whose work was becoming as special, but who alone, with his folks, was destined to remain settled upon the land. At the time of the present documents, in 1322, we find ourselves at a rather early stage of this transition, when *hyaku-shō* must have meant men most of whom were still resident upon land, overseeing its tillage and managing its affairs, but capable on an instant's notice of donning their armor, saddling their horses, and riding out to battle as fully equipped warriors. Further see the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1916, I, 324-325 and especially the notes, where the present editor has discussed the evolution a little more fully.

<sup>15</sup> The errors that the editor found in the mounting of the sheets of the original document he has rectified for this translation.

<sup>16</sup> *Ta-shiro*, literally, substitute of *ta*. This seems to mean, in this instance, land nearly equivalent to *ta*.

<sup>17</sup> *Dai*.

<sup>18</sup> The unit for silk is the *hiki*. See No. 49, n. 10.

<sup>19</sup> *Tsukuri*, the same as *saku*; see n. 7.

<sup>20</sup> *Sho-tō*, dues.

<sup>21</sup> *So*, land tax in rice; *men*, exempt.

<sup>22</sup> One character here is unintelligible.

<sup>23</sup> *Ō-miya*, literally, great temple; the main temple.

<sup>24</sup> *Waka-miya*, literally, young temple, meaning a branch temple. The reading of Buddhist sutras was performed in Shintō temples also.

<sup>25</sup> *Kawa-go*, literally, leather-basket.

<sup>26</sup> Whether this is nine days or ninth day is unknown.

<sup>27</sup> A lady.



## 60. OKAMOTO SHIDZUSHIGE'S DEVISE, 1322

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII.)

THE position of the devisor, Shidzushige, of the Okamoto branch of the Iriki-in family, will be seen in the Iriki-in genealogy and in table B in No. 46 above. Also see No. 23. Shigetomo and Shigebumi, brothers, were Shidzushige's sons, and Oto-dō *me*, his daughter.

This document, though brief and relating to the remote Awa in Shi-koku, affords, nevertheless, data too valuable to be ignored. Among other things, it will be seen here that the older customs of dividing an estate equally among children,—in this case, as an intestate holding,—and of assigning to females landed interests for life only, still obtained, while for new lands the eldest son was now accorded a major share;<sup>1</sup> and that the same services as before were owed to the *shō-gun* from the new, smaller holders of the *shiki*, despite its division.

For a brief history of Ōno new *shō* in Awa, see No. 48, n. 1.

"To devise ○ ○ ○<sup>2</sup>

To the nun<sup>3</sup> Kyō-A,  
at Tatsu-é, Ōno new *shō*,<sup>4</sup> Awa *kuni*:  
the *ji-tō shiki*.

"The boundaries on the four sides are seen in the third letter of division by lot.

"The aforesaid place shall be held [by Kyō-A] as widow's lot. After her death, however, Shigetomo, Shigebumi, and Oto-dō *me*,<sup>5</sup> shall divide it equally and hold it for all time without interference. If new *ta* are made, Shigetomo and Shigebumi shall divide and hold them, Shigetomo two-thirds and Shigebumi one-third.<sup>6</sup> As for the Buddhist and Shintō affairs and the obligations<sup>7</sup> for the Kwan-tō, they shall be discharged according to precedents. Written for the future thus.

"Gen-kō 1 y. 8 m. 18 d. [30 September 1322]. Shidzushige (monogram)."

"Oto-dō *me* shall possess, during her life, the house, *ta*, and *hata*, of Suge-Saburō *nyū-dō*, of Oka.

"The same month and day.

(The same monogram.)"

<sup>1</sup> One would be reminded of the distinction between hereditary property and "acquests" that obtained in the history of real rights among many peoples in all parts of the world.

<sup>2</sup> *Sho-ryō*, holdings, seems to be the missing word.

<sup>3</sup> *Ama*, nun; see No. 56, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> For Ōno *shō*, see No. 48, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Me*, woman.

<sup>6</sup> One way in which one's holdings became scattered.

<sup>7</sup> *Ku-zhi*; see No. 13, nn. 7a and 12; No. 42, n. 5; No. 49, n. 13; and No. 52, n. 1.

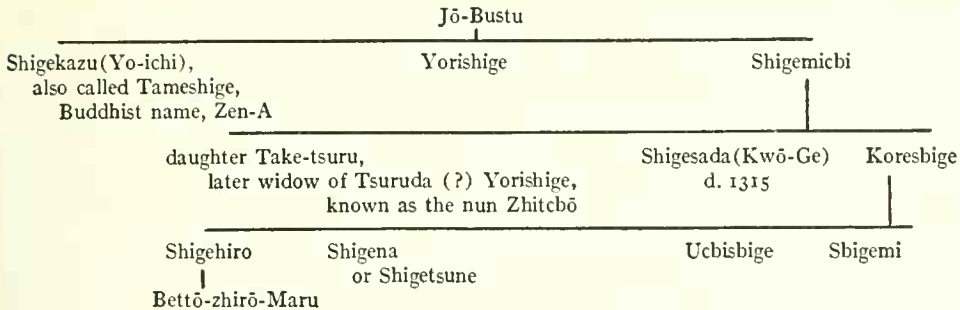
## 61. TERAOK KORESHIGE'S LETTER, c. 1322

(A copy in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

WITH this letter we again enter a controversy in the Terao family concerning Tō-no-hara. It is singularly fortunate for the student that contentions relative to this place arose so often, for nothing reveals the institutional life of a society so clearly as documents of legal disputes: each side would strive to present its own case in the most favorable and that of its opponent in the most unfavorable light possible, and, in the process of mutual attack and refutation, all the circumstances, some of which would never be recorded but for the controversy, would be thrashed out. The very number of the documents, however, and the increasingly complicated situation which they present, constituting as they do their great value, require that their study should be painstaking and intensive. All the circumstances should be carefully traced and well controlled.

It should, first of all, be remembered that the *ben-zai shi shiki* of Tō-no-hara was held by the

Tomo family, and its *jī-tō shiki* by the Terao branch of the Iriki-in; and that each was pursuing its own intricate lines of division and transmission. In this and the immediately following documents, we have to do only with the *jī-tō shiki* and the Terao. We have already seen (Nos. 19-21) that, in 1251 and 1253, Jō-Shin, the first lord of Iriki, devised this *shiki* to his son Jō-Butsu, and that the latter likewise willed it, in 1277 (Nos. 28 and 34), to his younger son Shigemichi. Of Shigemichi's transmission of the *shiki* to his sons Koreshige and Shigesada, no letters of devise have been preserved.



Koreshige wrote the following letter, it may be inferred, about 1322 shortly before his death, though the date of neither event can be established with certainty. The original copy of this letter is the most difficult to read of all the documents of the Iriki-in family and its branches. It is clear, however, that Koreshige here referred to the devise of the heir-general's *shiki* of Tō-no-hara which he had made to his grandson Bettō-zhirō-Maru. The latter, according to No. 63, had lived with his late mother's father, the Shihuya lord, at Taki. This letter was later used by Bettō's side in his dispute with Shigena, in support of a claim to Tō-no-hara (No. 64), but the editor can hardly vouch for the authenticity of the document.

"KORESHIGE has said to Bettō<sup>1</sup> *go-zen*<sup>2</sup> of Taki that he has given to him, though regrettably inadequate, the successive documents of the heir-general's<sup>3</sup> [*shiki*] of the estate [that would be] left by [Koreshige]. He has reported this matter to Ō-kata *dono*,<sup>4</sup> of Taki. May the gods bear witness. For a certain reason, [Koreshige] will secure [for Bettō *go-zen*] a confirmation<sup>5</sup> at Kamakura for this. . . .<sup>6</sup> With high respect.

"6th month 1st day.

Taira no Koreshige, *monogram*.

"Respectfully addressed to Shimo-osa *dono*.<sup>7</sup>

"Postscript. Be so good as to inform Kawachi *dono*<sup>8</sup> also.

"(The rest is abridged.<sup>9</sup>)

"As regards Bettō<sup>1</sup> *go-zen*, [Koreshige] went to Taki the day he left Satsuma,<sup>10</sup> and told Ō-kata *dono* about the matter. But he would be grateful if you would also speak to him. [Koreshige] would be grateful if [Ō-kata *dono*] heard and understood that Tō-no-hara, of Satsuma, it being [Koreshige's] domain, [had been devised to Bettō].<sup>11</sup> With high respect."

<sup>1</sup> Bettō is written Bentō in the original, following the local pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> *Go-zen* is an honorific generally applied to a lady, but is here used for a boy.

<sup>3</sup> *Sō-ryō*, heir-general; see No. 28, n. 2, and No. 55, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently Tōgō Shigefuji, Bettō's mother's father.

<sup>5</sup> *An-do*; see No. 12, n. 15, and preface to No. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Obscure in the original.

<sup>7</sup> Not identifiable; he is referred to as Shimo-osa *gon no kami* in No. 64.

<sup>8</sup> Probably Kawachi *no gon no kami* Shigesato, the third lord of Taki, (see preface to No. 45), grandfather of Bettō's mother. He may have been away from Taki at this time.

<sup>9</sup> The copyist's note.

<sup>10</sup> Probably on his way to the domain in Ise; see No. 63.

<sup>11</sup> This is a likely construction, itself clumsy, of this awkward sentence.

## 62. TERA0 BETTŌ'S PETITION REGARDING TŌ-NO-HARA, 1323

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

"KORETOMO, the proxy<sup>1</sup> of Shibuya Bettō-zhirō-Marū, respectfully prays

That, since [the latter's] elder uncle,<sup>2</sup> Iya-shirō Shigetsune,<sup>3</sup> disregarding the two orders<sup>4</sup> [of the *shō-gun*'s government], does not appear and plead his case, [the matter of] the *ta* and *sono* in Tō-no-hara *gō*, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, be adjudicated in pursuance of the established rule.

"Presented herewith:

2 documents: copies of the orders.<sup>4</sup> One document was presented before.

"Whereas Bettō-zhirō-Marū held the aforementioned *gō*, having bequeathed it from the hands of his grandfather Koreshige, Shigetsune,<sup>3</sup> without bearing a single document, seized *ta* and *sono* in this *gō* and committed the outrage of cutting off the paddies;<sup>5</sup> wherefore, orders have been twice issued; but [Shigetsune], being conscious of his own guilt, is in default (*nan-zhū*). Such being the case, it is again prayed that forthwith an examination be held and a decision granted. [Bettō-zhirō-Marū] makes a renewed petition thus.

"Gen-kō 3 y. 6 m. — d. [July 1323]."

<sup>1</sup> Proxy for a minor.

<sup>2</sup> *Haku-fu*, father's elder brother, as distinguished from *shuku-fu*, father's younger brother.

<sup>3</sup> This is Terao Shigena; his boyhood name, Take-wō.

<sup>4</sup> *Mi kyō-sho*; see No. 25, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Kari-ta no rō-zeki*, the outrage of cutting rice from the fields, a heinous offense.

## 63. TERA0 SHIGENA VS. SHIGEHIRO: SHIGENA'S REPLY, c. 1325

(Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

THIS is evidently Shigena's answer to the charges made by his elder brother Shigehiro, father of Bettō-zhirō-Marū. See the genealogy prefixed to No. 61. This document lacks the heading and the last two characters, both which may readily be supplied, and the date, which we suppose to be in the same year as the next document, namely, 1325.

〃〃〃〃

"As regards the above, Koreshige, in last Gen-kō < >,<sup>1</sup> but Mago-zhirō Shigeshiro, without bearing a single document, under the title 'eldest son'<sup>2</sup> forcibly seized several holdings left [by Koreshige]; and, in order to conceal his own guilt, established his son Bettō-zhirō-Marū, and ostentatiously upholding Kore<shige's

< letters>,<sup>1</sup> wilfully accused Shigena, [whose] original name was >,<sup>1</sup> of < ><sup>1</sup> Tō-no-hara, which he,

as his share in accordance with < ><sup>3</sup> command, was holding. Therefore, charges and refutations were matched at the Chin-zei,<sup>4</sup> and, on the basis of the [Commissioner's] report, a decision was granted [by the *shō-gun's* government], ruling that [that place] should, as being intestate, be [equally] divided. [Shigena's] desires were thereby gratified. And yet, according to Shigehiro's [new] statement, since it is evident in <Koreshige's let-><sup>1</sup> ters that Bettō-zhirō-Maru is the 'eldest son',<sup>2</sup> there could be no dispute; and as for Shigehiro, he should, as he is the eldest son<sup>2</sup> by birth, receive as his natural share a treatment befitting the 'heir',<sup>2</sup> etc. This is an unreasonable statement. The letter alleged to have been received [from Koreshige] by Bettō-zhirō [merely] states that, although Shigehiro had previously given birth to several sons and daughters by a concubine, Bettō-zhirō-Maru was offspring of the daughter of Kawachi Tarō of the same<sup>5</sup> Shibuya stock, and therefore issue of [Shigehiro's] legal wife. [This letter] then settled only [the question concerning] Shigehiro's own holding. Since it has already been decreed that Koreshige's estate was intestate, this letter is now of minor consequence. If, however, the authorities should, by considering this letter as expressive of the intention of the original holder,<sup>6</sup> establish Bettō-zhirō as the 'eldest son',<sup>2</sup> Shigehiro should not aspire to [the position of] the 'eldest son';<sup>2</sup> or if Shigehiro should be established as the 'eldest son' for his birth as such, then Bettō-zhirō-Maru should be totally excluded from the number of the inheritable relatives.<sup>7</sup> When the original holder dies intestate, how could his son and grandson together hope to be the 'heirs'?<sup>2</sup> Of course, either the father or the son<sup>8</sup> should at both places<sup>9</sup> be excluded from the list of inheritable relatives.<sup>7</sup> Not only is Shigena a second son [of Koreshige] by the right of birth, but also, says Koreshige's autographic letter written in *kana*<sup>10</sup> (dated without year, but intercalary third month thirteenth day):<sup>11</sup> 'From whatever cause I may die, I shall assign to you no less a lot than to Mago-zhirō',<sup>12</sup> etc. Since the autographic statement is clear that [Shigena's] share should not be inferior to the eldest son Mago-zhirō's,<sup>12</sup> the official decision could hardly be otherwise. But while Shigena holds his late father's affectionate letter, Shigehiro does not bear a single letter, but advances fanciful claims which are as contrary to his father's [intentions] as is water to fire. Whereas [Shigena] should be given a second son's share without hesitation, Shigehiro obstructs it and avers that since Shigena is an <adopted><sup>1</sup> son of his aunt, the nun Zhitchō, he is not one of the inheritable relatives<sup>7</sup> entitled to the real father's estate. This is a statement of especial malignity. The nun Zhitchō was Koreshige's elder sister. As she was old, he wholly supported her; and, when he went to his domain in Ise, he left Shigena with the nun Zhitchō, in Satsuma, leaving also his younger brother Shigemi (in boyhood known as Myō-nin *bō*) beside Shigena. The letter referred to, therefore, says: 'To any one who disobeys Zhitchō *dono's* command about any single thing, not even a house will be apportioned,' etc. Though merely sister and brother,<sup>13</sup> since Koreshige was respectful of his eldest sister, and since she was an aged woman, he simply left Shigena to care for her. If Koreshige had thought Shigena was an adopted son of another, he would have addressed his letter to Zhitchō Iya-shirō;<sup>14</sup> but since he never thought so, the letter was addressed to Terao Iya-shirō,<sup>14</sup> etc. Terao is Koreshige's second [family] name.<sup>15</sup> By actually contravening an autographic letter of his late father and falsely calling [Shigena] an adopted son of another, is not Shige-



hiro grievously disobeying his father's behest? Moreover, if one may be called an adopted child of another with whom he has merely lived for a time, [then Shigehiro will fall into the following dilemma]. When Bettō-zhirō-Maru lived in Taki *kōri*, Satsuma *kuni*, in dependence upon his mother's father, and when Bettō-zhirō resided in the same house with Shigena's younger sister, the nun Myō-Gon *bō*, a letter written [her] by Koreshige said: 'I long for Bettō *go-zen*. Pray tell the great mistress<sup>16</sup> that I feel special affection for him,' etc. Shigehiro upholds this and other letters<sup>17</sup> and [on their strength] desires to be considered the 'eldest son,'<sup>12</sup> and so has already admitted of his own accord that it is not the place of sojourn but the will of the original holder that should be followed. Then, there is no reason why the letter obtained by Shigena should be disregarded. After it having already been decreed that [Tō-no-hara] as intestate should be divided, [for Shigehiro] to uphold his letters and to aver that he could not be overruled, is contrary to reason. If the matter seems dubious, the nun Zhitchō, who is alive, might be inquired of, and it would be revealed that [Shigena] was not her adopted son. Both as birthright and according to the original holder's<sup>6</sup> autographic letter, [Shigena's claim] is clearly [established]. Shigena's share should not be less than Shigehiro's share. Therefore, it is petitioned that the assignment be immediately ordered. With rever<-ence>."

<sup>1</sup> Worm-eaten parts.

<sup>2</sup> Since custom accorded to the eldest son a major part of inheritance by devise, there was a tendency, as seen in this document, to regard the terms "eldest son" and "heir" as almost interchangeable. "Eldest son," as here used, did not, therefore, mean the oldest male child.

The Japanese terms are: *chaku-shi* for eldest son; *ka-doku* for heir; *sō-ryō* for heir-general. The last two terms (literally meaning, respectively, "command of the house" and "general possession") were virtually synonymous. *Sō-ryō*, "general possession," as has been shown, did not mean a complete inheritance by the eldest son of the entire estate of his father, but in reality its major share, accompanied by a power of general supervision over the junior members of the family. This term, however, is not employed in the present document.

<sup>3</sup> Two characters unintelligible because shorn of their context.

<sup>4</sup> The Chin-zei means Kyū-shū, but here refers to Hakata, the seat of the government of the *shō-gun's* commissioner.

<sup>5</sup> Both the Terao and the Taki families were branches of the Shibuya.

<sup>6</sup> That is, Koreshige.

<sup>7</sup> *Toku-bun shin*, inheritable relatives, a legal phrase. Contents of the customary law regarding the relatives entitled to receive shares of an intestate estate, may be gathered from this document. Here, we observe that grandchildren whose fathers were living, even the eldest child of the eldest son, were excluded. It will be seen below, also, that sons adopted in other families were likewise ineligible.

<sup>8</sup> That is, the son and the grandson, Shigehiro and Bettō.

<sup>9</sup> The meaning of "hotb places" is obscure.

<sup>10</sup> The phonetic syllabary used by Japanese in writing. In the Middle Ages, the most formal documents were written wholly in ideographs, but less formal ones, specially when they were written by women or addressed to young or unlettered persons, were often written in a mixed use of ideographs and *kana*, sometimes entirely in *kana*.

<sup>11</sup> The intercalary month occurred in the 3rd year of Shō-wa, making the date 28 April 1314.

<sup>12</sup> Namely, Shigehiro.

<sup>13</sup> That is, without any particular relation existing between them besides the fact.

<sup>14</sup> Iya-shirō is Shigena.

<sup>15</sup> Families could at will adopt as their names those of the localities where they resided or held domains. A branch of the Taira which held Shihuya, Sagami, called itself Shibuya; one of its divi-

sions was, at least from the 15th century, designated Iriki-in, deriving the name from the locality in Satsuma where it was established; this branch in turn had ramified into several families, one of which adopted the name of its domain in Sagami, that is, Terao. Members of the Terao could call themselves indifferently Taira, Shibuya, or Terao. Their various offshoots settling in different places would likewise assume the local appellations, and so spread on. (Further see No. 136, n. 3 and the preface to the Iriki-in genealogy.)

<sup>16</sup> Probably the wife of the lord of Taki.

<sup>17</sup> The letters might be cited in support of the claim of Bettō as the "eldest son." Shigena writes as though Shigehiro, the father, used the letters for his own advancement, but in reality the latter's claim was hound up with that of his son, which two might therefore be treated as of one piece.

#### 64. TERA0 SHIGEHIRO VS. SHIGENA: BETTŌ'S STATEMENT, 1325

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

THIS is a renewed accusation by Shigehiro's son Bettō-zhirō-Maru against Shigena. The first lines are unfortunately lost. By referring to the genealogical chart given above (with No. 61), we can infer that the opening words of the extant document must have been immediately preceded by a reference to the division by Terao Shigemichi, Shigehiro's grandfather, of his estate between his sons, Shigesada, whose Buddhist name was Kwō-Ge, and Koreshige, father of Shigehiro.

" . . . calling the northern part [of Tō-no-hara] held by Shigesada 'Sō-ryō'<sup>1</sup> and the southern part apportioned as Koreshige's lot 'Sho-shi,'<sup>1</sup> [both men] held [their respective shares] for years; and then Kwō-Ge [namely, Shigesada] transferred his heir-general *shiki* to his younger brother Koreshige. Thus, Koreshige, after holding both Sho-shi and Sō-ryō, devised the southern part which was the original lot of the younger son to his son by the main wife, Zhiro-saburō Uchishige. As for the heir-general's *shiki*, it was, as is patent in the documents formerly presented, devised, together with the letters of successive [holding], to the eldest grandson, Bettō-zhirō-Maru. Also, Koreshige devised to his nephew, Kawakita Mata-zaburō Nobushige, now deceased, the house, *ta* and *sono*, at Uchino, of the same place, which is therefore a part of Sho-shi. How could it unreasonably be said, [as was done by Shigena], that there could be no appellations Sō-ryō and Sho-shi? Especially, the letter by Koreshige to Shimo-osa *gon-no-kami* says: '(Koreshige has said)<sup>2</sup> to Bettō go-zen (of Taki)<sup>2</sup> that he has given him, though regrettably inadequate, the successive documents relative to the heir-general's [*shiki*] of the estate [that would be] left by him.' (The rest is abridged.) And the postscript of the same letter says: [Koreshige] would be grateful if [Ō-kata *dono*] heard that Tō-no-hara, of Satsuma, it being [Koreshige's] domain, [had been devised to Bettō go-zen]. Be so good as to inform Kawachi *dono* also.' ° ° °<sup>3</sup> The several autographic letters by Koreshige are explicit; who but Bettō-zhirō-Maru could aspire to that estate left? And yet, for Shigena, while calling [the place] an intestate estate, at once wilfully to seize *ta* and *sono* at several places in this *gō*, and also to [petition] that he be granted an official decree to divide them, is an act of duplicity and unreason. Next, Shigena was, as is known to all the family, from his infancy adopted and brought up by Taketsuru-*me*, now called the nun Zhitchō, widow of Shibuya Zhirō-*zaémon-no-zhō* Yorishige, wherefore his boyhood name was Take-wō, succeeding to the name of his adopting mother. How should he entertain hopes concerning his real father's estate? Moreover, according to the rules of Gen-kō 1st year [1321], persons adopted by others, though they might wish to share their real fathers'

estates, would not be recognized, if they did not possess letters of devise, etc. Since the [*shō-gun's*] rules are strict, Shigena should have no aspirations, even if the estate were intestate; much less, when it is, [as it in fact is], land disposed of [by a will]. It is prayed that, in accordance both with the new rules and with the succession by Bettō-zhirō-Maru, Shigena's wilful seizure be terminated. Therefore, an additional statement is made thus.

"Shō-chū 2 y. 6 m. [July/August 1325]."

<sup>1</sup> These terms mean, respectively, heir-general and younger son. *Sō-ryō* has more than once been explained; see No. 28, n. 2, and No. 55. *Sho-shi*, as distinguished from *chaku-shi* (see No. 63, n. 2), meant any of the younger sons who was not the heir of his father; at times the term applied to sons by secondary wives or concubines.

The reader will note that the two terms are here used to indicate, not the sons, but the lands which they held. Not infrequently, when a division of an estate took place, the main portion that fell to the hands of the heir came itself to be called *Sō-ryō*, as in this example, and likewise the younger sons' shares were known as *Sho-shi*. Several instances of this translation of the nouns of personal status to place-names have survived to this day.

<sup>2</sup> The words in the parentheses are supplied from the fuller copy of the letter that constitutes No. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Two or three characters are worm-eaten.

## 65. TERA0 SHIGEHIO VS. SHIGENA: SHIGENA'S REPLY, 1325

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

THE first lines are wanting. Moreover, the lower edge of the sheets is so damaged that many a line in the original lacks the last character or two. Fortunately, however, the meaning of all the missing characters is readily inferred from the context, and so has been filled in below.

It will be noted that Shigena, declaring that all argument and documents had been exhausted by his opponent and that the latter's renewed accusation was a mere reiteration of his former charges, declined to present a formal refutation. This document is in the form of a semi-formal letter addressed to some lord who was in close relation with the feudal judges.

"° ° ° The additional documents latterly presented by Bettō-zhirō-Maru that have been handed down to [Shigena], he has examined and now respectfully returns. It is a strict rule in the law that, in all investigations of charges and refutations which are made [at litigations] in three successive questions and answers, all the documents [pertaining to each case] should be exhaustively furnished before the second question <and answer> [are completed]. That, in this affair alone, documents of the same import [as were presented before] should be, as they have been, passed down, would be conducive to a delay in judgment. Moreover, the set of muniments(*gu-sho*) presented [by Bettō-zhirō-Maru] is, though they are open to suspicion, on the whole of the same import as the original letter of accusation; and, therefore, [Shigena] cannot [again] make a full statement [in defense]. It is now all the more clearly exposed that Bettō-zhirō-Maru does not possess <any letter of> devise. Since Shigena has from the first, as has been said in the former refutations, entertained no aspirations to the heir-general *shiki*, [Bettō-zhirō-Maru's charges] are surely unimportant. As for the matter of intestacy, there can be no dispute about it also, since it is manifest both from the original accusation and from the additional documents latterly presented by Bettō-zhirō-Maru. Shigena's conduct is merely this: whereas he, as Koreshige's second son, was loyal and

blameless, his elder brother Shigehiro, conceiving an idea of a sole control, upheld his youthful son, ran counter to the interest of the family and to his own agreement, and < > having committed various outrages, finally made accusations [of Shigena] in the name of his son, in order to prevent his own punishment; and, therefore, Shigena has merely petitioned that, following similar examples, a division of the intestate [estate] be <decreed>. But since the body of documents newly presented differs in no way from the original accusation, [Shigena] cannot go into the detail. Next, as regards [the charge that Shigena] was an adopted son of another person, he is unaware of the person named Shibuya Zhirō-*zaémon-no-zhō* [whom the plaintiff mentions]. Perhaps Saémon-zhirō Yorishige is meant. His wife was elder sister of Kwō-Ge and Kore-<shige>, and hence elder aunt<sup>1</sup> of Shigena and Shigehiro, but it is a baseless untruth that [Shigena] is her adopted son. When her real sons actually existed, why should she adopt Shigena? This [the judges] may graciously divine. That to such fabrication Shigehiro had recourse, because he had been brought to his wit's end in his attempt at a false accusation, may be said to have been exposed of itself. Until the hour of Koreshige's death, [Shigena] followed him in city and in country without a moment's interruption. If, according to Bettō-zhirō-Maru's petition, members of the clan (*zoku*) and other people were inquired of, the truth of this matter would at once be revealed. Next, as regards the rule [of the *shō-gun's* government], it may be said to be undeserving of discussion, inasmuch as the language is falsely quoted. Moreover, the matter could hardly be taken cognizance of, because Shigena is not an adopted son of another person. In short, the documents now presented [by Bettō-zhirō-Maru] are the same set of muniments (*gu-sho*) as [accompanied] the original accusation. Since, also, it is untrue that [Shigena] is an adopted son of another, it is begged that, in accordance with similar examples, a speedy sanction be granted in regard to the holdings left by Koreshige, [to wit]: Terao *mura* in Yoshida *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; Dai-ku-den at Mida, Ise *kuni*; *ta, sono*, and homesteads in Nagaya *gō*, Sawara *kōri*, Chikuzen *kuni*; *hata* land and *sono* in Nagabuchi *shō*, Chikugo *kuni*; and Tō-no-hara in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. Pray convey the import of this letter [to the judges]. With reverence.

"Shō-chū 2 y. 7 m. [August 1325]. Taira *no* Shigena. (Monogram on the reverse side.)"

<sup>1</sup> Elder aunt, *haku-bo*, as distinguished from younger aunt, *shuku-bo*, for the former is an elder and the latter a younger sister of one's parent. Cf. the eldest and younger uncles, in No. 62, n. 2.

## 66. TERA0 SHIGENA VS. UCHISHIGE: SUMMONS FOR UCHISHIGE,

1327

(Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

Now the dispute lay between Shigena and his younger brother Uchishige. According to No. 64, the latter had received from Koreshige, his father, the *sho-shi* share of Tō-no-hara, in its southern part. It was to the control of this that Shigena now directed his effort. The following is an order concerning this litigation issued by Hōjō Hidetoki, the commissioner of the *shō-gun*, who was stationed at Hakata, on the northern coast of Kyū-shū. It is addressed to the warrior bearing the ancient title "*gun-zhi*," *kōri*-magistrate, of Akune, who doubtless was a *go ke-nin*, and was expected to carry out within the limits of his own authority orders of the *shō-gun's* commissioner.



"The renewed statement by Yū-Shin, the proxy for Shibuya Iya-shirō Shigena, regarding the *ta*, *hata*, and houses (*zai-ka*), of the southern part of Tō-no-hara, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, is sent herewith. Since Shibuya Zhiro-saburō<sup>1</sup> disobeyed summons, it has been commanded that he be urged [to attend the court]. An answer should be presented within a few days. Therefore, [the order] is conveyed thus.

"Ka-ryaku 2 y. intercalary 9 m. 28 d. [12 Nov. 1327]. *Shuri-no-suke*,<sup>2</sup> (monogram).

"Akune *gun-zhi dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Namely, Uchishige.

<sup>2</sup> This is Hōjō Hidetoki.

## 67. A LETTER CONCERNING TŌ-NO-HARA, AFTER 1328

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

MUKAÉ *dono*, the recipient of the following letter, is probably *nyū-dō* Dō-Ken, son of Shigena, hut the writer, Shin-Sō, can hardly be identified.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that Shigena had, probably as a result of a compromise, won temporarily at least his claim as the chief member of the Terao family; its genealogy at any rate accords him the place as the successor of Koreshige. To Shigena's son, therefore, was sworn faithful observance of the terms of the private settlement.

"Regarding the affair of Tō-no-hara, since, owing to the assistance of men,<sup>2</sup> it has all been settled peaceably, if hereafter there should arise any interference of your actual holding (*tō chi-gyō*), [Shin-Sō] would leave aside the wrong and support the right side.

"May Hachiman<sup>3</sup> witness. There shall be no violation [of the pledge]. With high respect.

"12 m. 6 d.

Shin-Sō (monogram).

"Mukaé *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> If Shin-Sō is a miscopy of Sō-Shin, then he was Taki Shigemune, father-in-law of Shigetomo, of the Okamoto branch of the Iriki-in family.

<sup>2</sup> *Men-men no ku-nyū* (*kuchi-ire*).

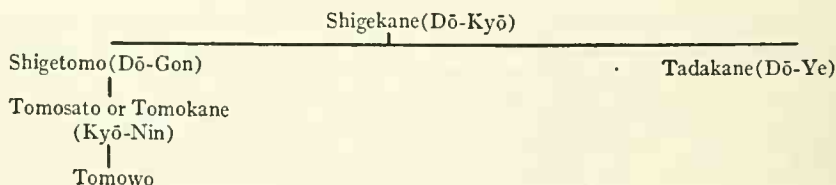
<sup>3</sup> Hachiman, the Shintō deity worshipped by the *shō-gun*'s family as its guardian, and peculiarly devoted to hy warriors all over Japan. As has been noted, there was, as there still is, an ancient temple, the Niiita Hachiman, not far from Iriki, popularly supposed at that time to be dedicated to the same deity.

## 68. SALES OF LAND TO THE NUN OF TŌ-GŌ, 1327

(Copies in Shūin docs., roll V.)

THE once great Shūin family (see the prefaces to Nos. 3 and 50) had been much weakened by its unequal competition with the vigorous branches of the Shibuya stock. In these documents, the Shūin are seen to be parting with their hereditary domains by sale to their very rival.

The following table will show the genealogical relation of the sellers of land:—



The buyer, the nun of Tōgō, was doubtless widow of a late Shibuya lord of that place. This is the family from which has sprung Admiral Tōgō, the hero of the battle of the Sea of Japan of May 1905, in the war with Russia.

Kusumoto and Nakamura were situated opposite Tōgō across the river Sendai and on both sides of the Hiwaki, and constituted the northwestern part of Iriki *in*. Nagari or Nagatoshi lay west of the *in* beyond a mountain range.

SK, XII (also *Dai Nihon shi-ryō*, VI, ii, 532) contains an order from the *Zasso ketsu-dan sho*, dated 29 August 1335, summoning a Tōgō and others to Kyōto, regarding lands sold and mortgaged by the *Shū-in*.

## A

"RESPECTFULLY to sell

1 *chō* at Tsuchi-ana, in Nagatoshi *myō*, being the *ta* deducted in lieu of the *tsunemi*<sup>1</sup> *ta* exempt<sup>2</sup> for the Hachiman Niita temple; and 5 *tan* of the *ta* exempt [for the same temple] at Kusumoto, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

The above exempted<sup>2</sup> *ta* [we] have held without interference, but, having need [of money], respectfully sell and transfer for all time for the price thirty-five *kwan* of copper money to the *ama go-zen*<sup>3</sup> of Tō-gō. So shall [she] hold [them] as lands in complete fiscal immunity.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, for future days, the deed of sale is [made] thus.

"Ka-ryaku 2 y. 7 m. 30 d. [17 Aug. 1327]. Koremune Tomowo, *monogram*.

*Sha-mi*, Dō-Gon, *monogram*."

## B

"To sell:

1 *chō* at Uso-goé, in Nakamura, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, [which is] among the holdings of the *shū-in shiki* of the Niita Temple, of the same *kuni*.

The above mentioned land Dō-Ye has held by hereditary succession without interference, but, having need, respectfully sells and transfers for all time for the price forty *kwan* of copper money to the *ama go-zen*<sup>3</sup> of Tō-gō. However, for a certain reason, [Dō-Ye] has presented his elder brother, Shū-in *nyū-dō* Dō-Gon, and his son Tomokane,<sup>5</sup> Buddhist name Kyō-Nin, a letter of agreement<sup>6</sup> concerning this *ta*; and, consequently, Kyō-Nin, as he consents to this sale, has added his monogram to that latter. Moreover, in order to [clear any] doubt, [Dō-Ye should present] the letter of devise by his father Dō-Kyō and letter of succession by Dō-Gon and Kyō-Nin; but since the original documents are connected deeds,<sup>7</sup> [Dō-Ye] has sealed copies on the reverse side,<sup>7</sup> and presents them herewith. [The *ama go-zen*] shall hold [this land] in accordance with these [copied] letters. Since this land has from the first not been burdened with the miscellaneous obligations (*ku-zhi*) and irregular services (*yaku*), it shall be held as a land of complete immunity.<sup>4</sup> If unexpectedly any trouble should arise about this land, [Dō-Ye] would recall it for twice the original money.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, for future days, the deed of sale is [made] thus.

"Ka-ryaku 2 y. 10 m. 28 d. [11 Dec. 1327].

*Sha-mi* Kyō-Nin.

*Sha-mi* Dō-Ye."

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this phrase, which occurs more than once in the *Shū-in* documents, is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> *Men*; see No. 18, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ama* means a nun; *go-zen* is honorific.

<sup>4</sup> *Ichī-yen fu-yu*, completely tax-free. In the pre-feudal ages, *fu-yu* and *fu-kwa* were two different forms of fiscal immunity, the former meaning freedom from the land-tax, and the latter, from the corvée or its commutation in money or in kind and from the tributes in kind. This distinction

in the use of the terms ceased to be observed in strictness during the feudal ages, as indeed the whole system of finance was altered and confused. In our text, *fu-yu* is the term used, but the actual immunity to which the word referred plainly comprised *fu-kwa*.

<sup>6</sup> The same as Tomosato.

<sup>6</sup> Very likely these two men, father and son, had thereby transferred the title to Dō-Ye under certain conditions.

<sup>7</sup> *Ren-ken*, "connected deed," meant a document covering an estate of which only a portion was now conveyed. In such case, instead of handing over the original deed to the buyer, a copy of it was made, as in this instance, and the seller endorsed it on the reverse side, stating the part that was now transferred and writing his monogram. This process was called "sealing" (*fū*) the "reverse" (*ura*). In fact, the added statement might be written on the margin of the copy on the same side as the text, and still the same expression, *ura wo fū zu*, was employed. Cf. No. 47, n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> See No. 55, n. 24.

## 69. A LIST OF WARRIORS IN CENTRAL SATSUMA, 1328

(A copy in Gon-Shūin docs., roll VII.)

THE list was prepared for a special purpose, which may be conjectured from the mutilated heading, and, therefore, may not be regarded as an exhaustive catalogue of the *go ke-nin* in the places named. Nevertheless, the list is of much value to the student, as it throws light on the state of the feudal society of this general region on the eve of a great civil war.

"REPORT: [The names of]<sup>1</sup> the men of whom an inquest may be made as to whether they have heard it said that, since Kokubun Suke-zhirō *nyū-dō* Dō-Nen held the orders ° ° °<sup>1</sup> Niita Temple, [ ] should be bought from ° ° °<sup>1</sup> the Temple.

"In all

"Men of Shibuya: Shin-hei-zhi *nyū-dō*;<sup>2</sup> Iya-hei-zō *nyū-dō*;

Kuruma-uchi Mata-zhirō *nyū-dō*; Kitao, of Soéda; Terao; the *ji-tō* of Nakamura; Yamaguchi, of Soéda; Deputy *ji-tō* of Kusumoto.

"*Hyō-go no zhō*, son of Sakawa Hei-nai-byō-é, the deputy *shu-go* of this *kuni*.

"Taki *kōri*:

The deputy *ji-tō*, Ōkura Saémon *nyū-dō*; Emon-zhirō *nyū-dō*, the deputy *ji-tō* of Yuta; Awoto, the deputy *ji-tō* of Kwannon-Maru; the collector<sup>3</sup> Tarō-byō-é *nyū-dō*; the Zai-koku-shi brothers; Takemitsu Mago-saburō *nyū-dō*; his younger brother, Tomo-saburō *nyū-dō*; Kamimura Rokurō *nyū-dō*; his younger brother, Saburō *nyū-dō*.

"In Satsuma *kōri*:

The *ji-tō* of one half, Honda Minbu *nyū-dō*; the *jitō* of one half, Odawara Iya-zhirō *nyū-dō*; the *gun-zhi*, Yoshitomi Mata-tarō *nyū-dō*; the lord<sup>4</sup> of Nariéda, Uéno Shiro-tarō; his younger brother Saburō-shirō; Naritomi Tarō; his younger brother Hiko-zhirō; Yamada Kurō *nyū-dō*; Nobutoki Tominaga; [Akasaki Shō-Sen];<sup>5</sup> Mitsutomi Mata-zhirō *nyū-dō*; Shirahama Saburō *nyū-dō*; the same [family name] Gorō *nyū-dō*; the same Mago-roku *nyū-dō*.

"Miyasato *gō*:

The *ji-tō*, Shikibu Mago-shichi; the *ji-tō* of two-thirds, Takasaki Zhirō *nyū-dō*; the *gun-zhi*, Kurō *nyū-dō*; Matsumoto *nyū-dō* at Masutomi; Iya-gorō *nyū-dō*; Mata-saburō *nyū-dō*; Mata-tarō *nyū-dō*; Mata-zhirō *nyū-dō*; Iya-shirō *nyū-dō*; Saburo-zhirō; Iya-roku *nyū-dō*; Zen-Ri *bō*; the *in-su* of An-yō *zhi*; Tsuruwō-

Maru Shō-Sen;<sup>6</sup> Ishidzuka Saburō *nyū-dō*, of Takaé; the same Mata-tarō *nyū-dō*; the same Hei-shichi *nyū-dō*; the same Ko-shirō *nyū-dō*; the same Saburo-shirō; Mata-shirō *nyū-dō*; Dai-saburō *nyū-dō*; Goro-tarō *nyū-dō*; Ki-hei-zō *nyū-dō*; Ki-tō-go *nyū-dō*; Zhō-Gwan *bō*, of Nagasaki *dera*; Gen-Chō *bō*; Masaki Saburo-gorō *nyū-dō*; Horikiri Rokuro-tarō *nyū-dō*; Ryō-Shō *bō*; Rokuro-zhirō *nyū-dō*.

"Ichiku Mago-tarō.

"Tōgō Saburo-zaemon *nyū-dō*; his son, Saemon *nyū-dō*;

Zai-koku-shi Shirō *nyū-dō*, of Tori-maru.

"The above list of the names of the men of whom inquiries may be made is provisionally reported thus.

"Ka-ryaku 3rd year [1328].

<sup>1</sup> Worm-eaten.

<sup>3</sup> *Shū-nō shi*.

<sup>6</sup> Cancelled thus in the original; the same as <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Abridged in the original copy into a single stroke.

<sup>2</sup> This is the fourth lord of Iriki-in, Shigemoto.

<sup>4</sup> *Ryō-shu*, "holder."

## 70. REPORTS ON TERA0 KORESHIGE'S ESTATE, 1329

(Copies in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

APPARENTLY a dispute had again arisen between the Terao brothers, Shigehiro and Shigena, and both parties had been ordered to make full reports to the *shō-gun's* government of the estate left by their late father Koreshige. Shigehiro's report(A) was presented first, and Shigena, probably as the defendant in a new litigation, was thus enabled to define wherein his claims differed from that of his opponent.

KK contains three nearly identical copies of Shigena's report(B). SK, XI, also gives a copy, but it was apparently confused a little with Shigehiro's report(A), and therefore should not be relied upon.

### A. REPORT BY SHIGEHIRO

"REPORT:

Respecting the estate left by Shibuya Mago-saburō Koreshige.

"Total

"In Terao *mura*, Shibuya upper *shō*, Sagami *kuni*:—

*Ta* and land, 4 *tan*;

Houses(*zai-ke*), 2, of which

1, the *ji-tō's* homestead(*ya-shiki*);

also hill and wild land, 1 *chō*;

Houses, 5, to which are attached hills and wild land.

These have been seized by Sō-Man *bō*, the *in-su* of Hō-on *zhi*.

"Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*:—

Public *ta*,<sup>1</sup> 18 *chō* 7½ *tan*, to which are attached hills, river, and wild waste land.

Of this: the *ji-tō's* homestead, 1 place. Akasaki Ku-nai *nyū-dō* Ryō-Zen, Nagayoshi Naka *nyū-dō* Kwan-Shō, and Gorō *nyū-dō* Sai-Nen, reside here. It includes 3 *tan* of *ta* at Kabame.

"Houses, 42:—



Zhō-komori *mura*; houses 4: Kawabuchi *nyū-dō*; Iya-shirō *nyū-dō*;  
Hei-shirō; Hiko-shirō *nyū-dō*.

Fujiwaki *mura*; 1 house: no 'cultivator.'<sup>2</sup>

Kariya-zaki *mura*; 2 houses: Yamaguchi Zhirō; *Gyōbu nyū-dō*.

There is a market place (*ichi-ba*).

Ōsono *mura*; 2 houses: Mata-zhirō *nyū-dō*; one house has no cultivator.<sup>2</sup>

[Estate]<sup>4</sup> left by Tō-kurō *nyū-dō*; 1 house: no 'cultivator.'<sup>2</sup>

Nakasato *mura*; 3 houses: Rokuro-shirō; Mata-zhirō; Oka-roku,—this is held for  
one life by Sō-Man *bō*.

Furuya *sono*; 3 houses: [estate] left by Gotō Roku *nyū-dō*; [estate] left by the  
tanner *nyū-dō*; the potter's 'cultivation.'<sup>3</sup>

Kabame; 1 house: Iya-tō-ta *nyū-dō*.

Nakatsuka; 1 house: Ki-shirō *nyū-dō*.

Yoko-makura; 1 house: the commissioner.<sup>5</sup>

Kume-kata; 1 house: Gen-tarō *nyū-dō*.

Utsugi-nami; 4 houses: Taira *nyū-dō*; Hei-tayū *nyū-dō*; Tarō-dayū *nyū-dō*; Nishi-  
wara has no 'cultivator.'<sup>2</sup>

Tsukawara; 1 house: Tō-zaburō.

Kawaya; 1 house: Shirō *nyū-dō*.

Tashiro; 3 houses: [estate] left by Saburō-dayū; [estate] left by Dō-Bō; [one]  
has no 'cultivator.'<sup>2</sup>

Konoha; 1 house: Mata-gorō.

Kanaya; 1 house: half, Iya-saburō-dayū *nyū-dō*; one-fourth, Tō-zhi; one-fourth,  
Rokuro-zhirō.

Hashiguchi; 2 houses: Kuro-zhirō; Sakon *nyū-dō*.

Hiwaki; 1 house: Gotō Tayū *nyū-dō*.

Murakoda; 3 houses: two houses have no 'cultivators';<sup>2</sup> one house, Goro-tarō  
*nyū-dō*.

Maétoko; 2 houses: Moro-zhirō *nyū-dō*; Tō-shichi *nyū-dō*.

Kakinoki-hara; 1 house: Iya-shirō.

Mine-goshi; 1 house: Ishi-wō.

Matsu-maru; 1 house: the tanner, Mata-tarō *nyū-dō*.

Yunoki-da; 1 house. Of this, however, 2 *chō* have been seized by the *myō-shu*, and  
are just now under examination.

"Lots actually cultivated as demesnes:<sup>6</sup>

9 *tan*, of which: Izhiri, 1 *tan*; Sakuragi, 3 *tan*; Tsuki-kata, 1 *tan*; Kabame,  
3 *tan*. The *ji-tō*'s homestead attached.

"Kuchi-machi, 1 *chō*.<sup>7</sup>

"Kashira-da, 1 *chō*.<sup>7</sup>

"Lower Nagao *shō*, Sawara *kōri*, Chikuzen *kuni*:

"Ta and land, 10 *chō*, of which

2 *chō*, in actual holding (*tō chi-gyō*);

*hata*, 2 *tan*, in actual holding.

"Homesteads, 4 places, of which  
in actual holding, 1 place: Ken-gyō Zhirō.

"In Tominaga *myō*, Minaki *shō*, Chikugo *kuni*:  
*hata* at . . .<sup>8</sup>-gawara, 1 *chō*: the *myō-shu*'s own.<sup>9</sup>

"In Dai-ku-den, Ise *kuni*,—at Mida:  
*ta* and land, 1 *chō*.

"The above are reported thus.

"Ka-ryaku 3 y. 12 m. 21 d. [21 Jan. 1329]. Taira no Shigehiro, *monogram*."

## B. REPORT BY SHIGENA

"Corrected and returned."

"Correcting and returning [the report of the estate] left by Shibuya Mago-saburō Koreshige.

"In Terao *mura*, Shibuya upper *shō*, Sagami *kuni*:—

*ta* and land, 4 *tan*;

houses, 2, of which

1 house, homestead of Naka-saburō *nyū-dō*,—*good* [quality];

1 house, homestead of Gotō Tarō,—*poor* [quality];

"According to Shigehiro's report, one of the 2 houses is the *ji-tō* homestead, etc.; this is a baseless falsehood, both being [from] formerly *hyaku-shō* homesteads.

Also hill, wild land, and wooded land.

"Houses, 5, to which are attached hills and wild land.

"These have been seized by Sō-Man *bō*, the *in-su* of Hō-on *zhi*.

"Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*:—

"Public *ta*,<sup>1</sup> 18 *chō* 7½ *tan*.

"This is only the public *ta*. Though there is a large residue, I cannot report it in full, as I do not possess the land-register for tax collection. Since Shigehiro cunningly omits to present with his report his book of collection, despite his possession thereof, it should perhaps be ordered to the commissioner for the Chin-Zei,<sup>10</sup> that the public *ta* he divided, and the residue of the soil he [granted us] to hold according to capacity.<sup>11</sup>

"Houses:—

1 place, the *ji-tō*'s enclosure;<sup>12</sup> *good*.

4 places, Zhō-komori *mura*; *good*:

1 house, Fujiwaki; *medium*.

In this, there are Bishamon *dō* and the Twelfth *miya* and its grounds and exempted *ta*.

2<sup>13</sup> houses, Kariya-zaki; *good*.

There is a market-place. *This is a profitable land; its division is greatly desired.*

1 house, Tō-kurō *nyū-dō*; *medium*.

2 houses, Ōsono; *medium*.

In this, there are Ten-zhin [temple] grounds and exempted *ta*.

3 places, Nakasato; *medium*. Of these

1 house, called Oka-roku's house, is Sō-Man *bō*'s share for one life; the future holder should be decided.

3 places, Furuya-sono; *poor*. Of these:

1 house, Shigena's actual residence.

In this there are Yakushi *dō* and Mishima temple and its grounds and exempted *ta*.

1 house, Kabame; *poor*.

In this, there are Amida *dō*, its grounds and exempted *ta*.

1 house, Naka-tsuka; *good*.

In this, there are Waka-miya and its grounds and exempted *ta*.

1 house, Yoko-makura; *poor*.

1 house, Kume-kata; *best*.

4 houses; Utsugi-nami; *best*.

In this, there are Gon-gen *dō* and its exempted land and exempted *ta*.

1 house, Tsuka-wara; *poor*.

1 house, Kawayu; *medium*.

3 houses, Tashiro; *medium*.

1 house, Konoha; *medium*. According to Shigehiro's report, '1 house, etc.'; how can he escape the guilt of concealment?

2 houses, Kanaya; *good*.

1 house, Hiwaki; *poor*.

3 houses, Murako-da; *poor*.

At this place, there are Kwannon *dō*, 1 house, and its grounds and exempted *ta*.

2 houses, Maétoko; *poor*.

In this, there are Suwa shrine and its grounds and exempted *ta*.

1 house, Kakinoki-hara; *poorest*.

1 house, Mine-goshi; *poor*.

1 house, Matsu-maru; *medium*.

"The *hata* that Shigehiro completely conceals:

1 house, Tō-zhi, *poor*; 1 house, Naga-yoshi *nyū-dō*, *poor*; 1 house, Goro-tarō *nyū-dō*, *poor*; 1 house, Akasaki *nyū-dō*, *poor*; 1 house, Minahara, *poor*.

"Yunoki-da:

Lots cultivated as demesne,<sup>14</sup> 9 *tan*, of which:

1 *tan*, Izhiri, *good*; 2 *tan*, Tsuki-kata, *medium*; 3 *tan*, Sakuragi, *medium*; 3 *tan*, Kabame, *good*.

1 *chō*, Kuchi-machi, *good*.

1 *chō*, *medium*, Kashira-da. In this there is a temple *ta*.

Besides these, there are immense lots of hills, wild land, and river; these may be divided according to capacity.<sup>11</sup>

Also there is [land] which is said to have been seized by the *myō-shu* of Yunoki-da and is just now under examination.

"In Lower Nagao *shō*, Sawara *kōri*, Chikuzen *kuni*:

*ta* and land, 2 *chō*;

*hata*, 2 *tan*;

homestead, 1 place.

"In Minaki *shō*, Chikugo *kuni*; *poor*.

*hata*, 1 *chō*

"In Dai-ku-den, Ise *kuni*; good:  
rice-land, 1 *cho*.

"The above are reported thus.

"Ka-ryaku 4 y. 5 m. — d. [June, 1329.]

Taira no Shigena."

<sup>1</sup> *Kō-den*, public rice-land. See No. 9, n. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Saku-nin*.

<sup>3</sup> *Saku*.

<sup>4</sup> This item is checked with a short line,—probably cancelled.

<sup>5</sup> *Jō-shi*, literally, regular messenger.

<sup>6</sup> *Tō shō-saku bun*. The editor hopes the construction is right.

<sup>7</sup> No other notes accompany these two items. In B, these appear to be also demesnes.

<sup>8</sup> The two characters here are evidently wrong, and the place is unidentifiable.

<sup>9</sup> "Own 'cultivation'" is probably meant.

<sup>10</sup> That is, the *shō-gun*'s deputy at Hakata.

<sup>11</sup> Namely, according to the extent of the present holdings of the parties.

<sup>12</sup> *Hori-uchi*, "within the moat." The warrior's house usually had ditches around it, in order to make it defensible at need by drawing the bridges. Warfare at that time depended largely on bow and arrow.

<sup>13</sup> 3?

<sup>14</sup> *Shō-saku*.

## 71. THE *SHŌ-GUN*'S DECREES OF INVESTITURE, 1329

(Copies in Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII, and *SK*, XI.)

At length the contention relative to the estate of Koreshige, which had divided the Terao family against itself for many a year, was settled, apparently as intestate, by the *shō-gun*'s court; and the feudal government granted to members of the family the following decrees signed by the regent (*shikken*), Hōjō (Akabashi) Moritoki, investing them with their respective shares of the estate. The eight letters that remain are probably all that were issued, for their recipients comprise Koreshige's widow and four sons and three grandchildren.

However, from these decrees, it is seen that a separate document setting forth the details of the individual shares was also issued; unfortunately, it has not been preserved.

The decrees are *ge-chi* (cf. No. 25, n. 6). They are all identical excepting the first indented lines that form the heading, in which the individual holdings are set forth. The first letter is given below in its entirety, and the others are here cited only by their headings. The whole documents may readily be restored by repeating after the headings of the other documents the same text, date, and signature as those of the first, merely changing the words "her" and "she" to "his" and "he," and "husband" to "father" or "grandfather," as the case may be.

It will be observed that the eldest son, Shigehiro, received the largest share; that his son, Bettō-zhirō-Maru, and the younger brother by the main wife of Koreshige, Shigena, received equivalent lots, while the widowed mother was honored almost equally; and that to the younger sons and more distant, youthful relatives fell smaller, graded portions.

### A. DECREE FOR THE WIDOW MYŌ-CHI

"That forthwith the nun Myō-Chi shall hold two *chō* five *tan* of *ta* and five houses at Tō-no-hara, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*The details are seen in the letter of division.\*

"The above is apportioned from the estate left by her late husband Shibuya Mago-saburō Koreshige. She shall forthwith, in accordance with precedents, hold [the same]. By order [of the *shō-gun*], it is decreed thus.

"Gen-toku 1 y. 10 m. 20 d. [11 Nov. 1329]. Sagami no *kami*, Taira no Ason."



## THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI

## B. DECREE FOR SHIGEHIRO

"That forthwith Taira no Shigehiro shall hold four *tan* of *ta* and two houses in Terao *mura*, Shibuya *shō*, Sagami *kuni*, and six *chō* of *ta* and twelve houses at Tō-no-hara, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*The details are seen in the letter of division.\*

"....."

## C. DECREE FOR BETTŌ-ZHIRŌ-MARU

"That forthwith Bettō-zhirō-Maru shall hold two *chō* nine *tan* of *ta* and —<sup>1</sup> houses at Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*The details are seen in the letter of division.\*

"....."

## D. DECREE FOR SHIGENA

"That forthwith Taira no Shigena shall hold two *chō* nine *tan* of *ta* and nine houses at Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*The details are seen in the letter of division.\*

"....."

## E. DECREE FOR UCHISHIGE

"That forthwith Taira no Uchishige shall hold one *chō* eight *tan* of *ta* and three houses at Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*The details are seen in the letter of division.\*

"....."

## F. DECREE FOR SHIGEMI

"That forthwith Taira no Shigemi shall hold one *chō* of *ta* and two houses at Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*The details are seen in the letter of division.\*

"....."

## G. DECREE FOR TSURU-WŌ-MARU

"That forthwith Tsuru-wō-Maru<sup>2</sup> shall hold five and one half *tan* of *ta* and one house at Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*The details are seen in the letter of division.\*

"....."

## H. DECREE FOR A GRANDDAUGHTER

"That forthwith Taira *uji*, *aza-na*,<sup>3</sup> shall hold three *tan* of *ta* and one house at Tō-no-hara *gō*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*The details are seen in the letter of division.\*

"....."

---

\* \* These sentences here enclosed between asterisks are written in small characters in the original decrees.

<sup>1</sup> The number is wanting in the original copy; probably nine.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Take-tsuru's son.

<sup>3</sup> Whose daughter? The name (*aza-na*) is wanting.

## 72. RECORDS OF TAXES AT TŌ-NO-HARA, c. 1330

(Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

THE two documents that follow are undated, but A would seem to date after the settlement of dispute that had resulted in the investitures already cited, (No. 71), and before the death of any of the invested persons; and an examination of B shows that its date could hardly be far removed from that of No. 70. So here they are provisionally dated 1330.

A indicates the sharing of the payment of the dues to the *kuni* by the chief members of the Terao family. B is an incomplete account of the holdings in the northern half of Tō-no-hara upon which, it appears, a tax of 40 *mon* per *tan* had been levied, perhaps by the *shō-gun's* government for an unusual reason. Of the proper names in this document, some are the names of estates, while the others are the names of holders, present or original, with which the estates had become so closely associated that the personal names of the former were used to indicate the latter. The two documents together throw light, and at the same time call up important problems, on the institutions at Iriki in the last days of the Kamakura period (1186-1333).

## A

"ARRANGEMENT about the annual tax(*nen-gu*) for the *kuni* from Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*.

"Total

"Rice, 11,27608 *koku*, of which:—

1.7894 *koku*, the share of Iya-shirō<sup>1</sup> *dono*;

1.467 *koku*, the share of Zhiro-saburō<sup>2</sup> *dono*;

.657 *koku*, the share of Iya-saburō<sup>3</sup> *dono*;

.34 *koku*, the share of Rokuro-saburō *dono*;

.1851 *koku*, the share of the daughter;

.244 *koku*, the share of the estate left by Kawakita Mata-saburō<sup>4</sup> *dono*, of Uchino;

5.474 *koku*, the share of the heir-general.<sup>5</sup>

"Money for the 'light articles,'<sup>6</sup> 700 *mon*; requisition at the installation,<sup>7</sup> 4 *kwan* 449 *mon*; of which:

At installation, .790, and light articles, .115, share of Iya-shirō *dono*;

at installation, .687, and light articles, .099, share of the widow;

at installation, .490, and light articles, .067, share of Zhiro-saburō *dono*;

at installation, .272, and light articles, .040, share of Iya-saburō *dono*;

at installation, .140, and light articles, .025, share of Rokuro-saburō *dono*;

at installation, .083, and light articles, .012, share of the daughter;

at installation, .121, and light articles, .016, share of Uchino;

at installation, 2.166, and light articles, .245, share of the heir general."

## B

(On the reverse side), "Share of the northern side."

"The account of ° ° °° forty *mon* per *tan*.

"Total

Originally<sup>8a</sup>

Ki-tō-zhi,—1.6.1½,<sup>9</sup> of which

0.3.0, *ta* deducted,<sup>10</sup>

- 0.1.2½, half [due],<sup>11</sup>  
 0.2.0, not cultivated;  
 taxable<sup>12</sup> *ta*, 0.4.4, inclusive of the grant lot.<sup>13</sup>  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Kaki-no-ki hara,—0.4.2.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Tsuka-wara,—0.7.2½, of which *ta* deducted,<sup>10</sup> 0.1.0;  
 taxable<sup>12</sup> *ta*, 0.6.2½.  
 Moro-tarō,—0.1.4; not cultivated, 0.0.1½.  
 0 0 08  
 Zhūrō-dayū,—0.6.3; not cultivated, 0.4.1½.  
 Iya-gorō *ken-gyō*,—0.7.4½, of which  
 0.2.0, *ta* deducted,<sup>10</sup> called in as demesne;<sup>14</sup>  
 taxable *ta*, 0.5.4½, inclusive of the grant lot.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Furu-ya *sono*,—1.0.3½: *ta* deducted and half,<sup>11</sup> 0.1.2½;  
 taxable *ta*, 0.9.1.  
 Maé-da,—0.3.½.  
 Ō-Mure,—0.5.2: not cultivated, 0.1.1.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Iya-saburō, Tashiro,—1.1.3½: not cultivated, 0.3.3½;  
 ○<sup>15</sup> Kuma-tsuru, of the same place,—0.8.0.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Estate left by Hō-Chi,—0.7.1½.  
 Kubota,—0.6.3.  
 ○<sup>15</sup> Fuji-waki,—0.5.½.  
 Kawa-ya,—2.5.0; not cultivated.  
 Uchi-no,—0.8.0.  
 ○ Ko-ba,—1.1.3.  
 ○ Mine-goshi,—0.5.0: this is a place of half.<sup>11</sup>  
 Taxable *ta*, 0.2.2½.  
 Ima-bo  
 ○ Estate left by Kusa-tō Bettō,—0.8.3½.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Tō-kurō *nyū-dō*,—0.7.0, half.<sup>11</sup>  
 ○ Kado-oka,—0.7.2; not cultivated, 0.3.0.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Naka-sato Zhiro-tarō,—1.3.0.  
 ○ Estate left by Ta-hei-zō,—1.0.2.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Awata *nyū-dō*,—1.3.0.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Estate left by Shin-hei-zō *nyū-dō*,—2.0.0.  
 Originally<sup>8a</sup>  
 Mago-shirō,—0.7.0.

Originally<sup>8a</sup>

Lower Ō-sono,—0.7.0.

Originally<sup>8a</sup>

Upper Ō-sono,—0.7.0.

Originally<sup>8a</sup> Kariya-saki?

Estate left by Ta-tō-ta *nyū-dō*,—1.2.3.

Matsu-maru,—0.3.0.

Gyō-bu Zhirō,—0.6.3.

Originally<sup>8a</sup>

Estate left by Hashiguchi *nyū-dō*,—0.6.2½; not cultivated, 0.4.0.

Tō-shichi, Maé-toko,—0.6.0; exclusive of Kokoro-no, 0.3.0.

Moro-zhirō,—1.4.0.

(The rest is lost.)

<sup>1</sup> Shigena.

<sup>2</sup> Uchishige.

<sup>3</sup> Shigemi.

<sup>4</sup> Nobushige, a nephew of Koreshige, who died some time before.

<sup>5</sup> Shigehiro.

<sup>6</sup> *Kei-motsu*. See No. 22, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> It was customary, when a new *kuni* governor was appointed, to require all prominent residents to pay something toward the expenses of his induction to office.

<sup>8</sup> Worm-eaten.

<sup>8a</sup> *Hon*(original) or *moto*(originally); the character admits these two readings. If "original" is intended, that must mean that the holding had not changed hands.

<sup>9</sup> The units are *chō*, *tan*, *jō*.

<sup>10</sup> *Hiki ta*.

<sup>11</sup> This probably means a half tax.

<sup>12</sup> *Jō*. See No. 18, n. 9.

<sup>13</sup> *Kyū-bun*.

<sup>14</sup> *Yō-saku*; see No. 59, n. 10.

<sup>15</sup> These marks appear in the original.

### 73. SHIBUYA SHIGEMOTO'S LETTER OF DEVISE, 1331

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II.)

THE devisor, Shigemoto, Buddhist name Jō-Yen, the fourth lord of Iriki, had adopted as his heir Shigekatsu, the eldest son of Okamoto Shigetomo, the cousin of Shigemoto. The devisee, Shō-zhu-Maru, as Murao Shigemune was known in his boyhood, was Shigekatsu's son, and therefore Jō-Yen referred to him in this document as his "young adopted child." Shigemune assumed as his family-name the name of the place here granted.

"To devise to Shō-zhu-Maru

Murao, in the north part of Kiyoshiki, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"The four sides are bounded:—

east by the little creek below Kawa-toko and above Wata-se;

south by the boundary between Adzuki-no-saki and Tsubaki-haé;

west by the boundary between Ō-no-da and Tsubaki-haé;

north by the high road up to the river Fushuku.

"The aforesaid place is within the north part [of Kiyoshiki, which is] Jō-Yen's hereditary holding. Now, as Shō-zhu-Maru is a young adopted child, it is devised to him for all time. However, the three *to* of rice [owed] in lieu of the obligations<sup>1</sup> to the various quarters shall be annually rendered to the heir-general.<sup>2</sup> Other various charges



are stopped. Therefore, unto future ages [Murao] shall be held and possessed (*chi-gyō ryō-shō*) without interference. The letter of devise is [made] thus.

"Gen-kō 1 y., *kanoto hitsuzhi*,<sup>3</sup> 9 m. 11 d. [13 Oct. 1331].

*Sha-mi, Jō-Yen* (monogram).

<sup>1</sup> *Ku-zhi*.

<sup>2</sup> Shigekatsu, the 5th Iriki-in lord, adopted from the Okamoto family, and father of Shō-zhu-Maru.

<sup>3</sup> The 8th year of the sexagenary cycle.

#### 74. OKAMOTO (?) NORISHIGE'S PETITION, 1333

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII, *SK*, XII, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, i, 9.)

ABRUPT was the downfall of the feudal government at Kamakura. It is needless here either to analyze the causes of the upheaval or to narrate the stirring events which had led up to this culmination. It is enough for our purpose to note the bare facts, that the emperor Go-Daigo had plotted an overthrow of the feudal government, in 1324 and 1331, and failed and been exiled to the island of Oki; that suddenly men of varied motives and aspirations had risen in revolt in many parts of Japan, and Go-Daigo was safely restored to the throne at Kyōto; and that Hōjō Takatoki, the regent, having lost to the enemy strategic points which formed his outer defenses, and been closely invested in his own stronghold at Kamakura, died gallantly with his followers, on 4 July 1333—a century and a half after the establishment of the feudal government by the first *shō-gun* Minamoto no Yoritomo. The deputy (*tan-dai*) in Kyū-shū, Hōjō Hidetoki, succumbed to local insurgents three days after.

In this war in Kyū-shū, which resulted in the death of the deputy, *go ke-nin* from many parts of the island participated. Among them were men of the Shihuya family. In the following document will be seen one of them referring with pride to the services he had done on the field of battle, and pleading for a permission, as was the custom that had spread all over the country with remarkable rapidity, to go up to the imperial Capital with a view to laying his case before the government of the restored emperor for consideration and reward. This little instance is an index to a general scramble which was fast gathering its force, for hundreds and hundreds of men to besiege the inexperienced court at Kyōto with claims for recognition and recompense in the form of grants in land and *shiki*.

It should be remembered that the feudal government had vanished, and that the warriors who had till lately been nominal *go ke-nin* of the *shō-gun* at Kamakura had suddenly found themselves released from ties of vassalage to any suzerain, but subject directly to the emperor, while still more or less under the supervision of the *shu-go* of the *kuni* in which they lived. This state of things could continue but for a short while. This and the next few documents date from that abnormal intermission in the feudal history of Japan.

"SHIBUYA KURŌ NORISHIGE<sup>1</sup> respectfully petitions

"That at once, both in accordance with similar examples and for the reason of his loyal merits, a leave of absence be granted, so that he might repair to the Capital and report in detail that he rendered loyal services in war on the 5th month 25th day [7 July] of this year.

"That, in the battle aforementioned, [Norishige] rendered at different places loyal services to the best of his ability, Mutō Chikugo Mago-zhirō and Tsushima *Sa-kon no shō-gen* witnessed with their own eyes. Accordingly, [Norishige] would appeal [to the Imperial government], but since [His Highness]<sup>2</sup> has come to this place, [Norishige's] visit to the Capital for the purpose of presenting a petition has been delayed to this day. It is hereby petitioned respectfully that at once in accordance with similar

examples and for reason of his loyal merits, a leave of absence be granted him, so that he might repair to the Capital.

"Gen-kō 3 y. 8 m. — d. [September 1333]."

<sup>1</sup> Norishige might be an early name of Okamoto Shigeoki, who, as will be seen in subsequent documents, was a warrior of considerable military power.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase in the brackets has been supplied, for the personage here referred to must be, as the editors of the *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō* suppose (VI, i, 10), the imperial prince Takanaga, who arrived at Da-zai Fu on 8 July, the day after the fall of Hakata (*ibid.*, 33-38).

## 75. CONFIRMATIONS BY THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT, 1333

(Iriki-in, Okamoto, and Terao docs.; also *KK*, II, VII, and VIII; *SK*, XII; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, i, 277.)

FOLLOWING its decree of August that the domains held by all persons who had not aided the cause of the late regent would not be interfered with (*Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, i, 145), the imperial government granted to members of the Shihuya family the following letters of confirmation (*an-do*).

As these documents are all worded the same and bear the same date and signature, only the first document is given intact.

These are examples of that less formal style of imperial orders known as *rin-shi*. When a *rin-shi* was addressed to a high personage, its ending was couched in a more polite sentence.

"THE land in actual holding<sup>1</sup> of Shibuya Shin-hei-zhi *nyū-dō* Jō-Yen<sup>2</sup> shall not be disturbed. The Imperial pleasure is hereby conveyed.

"Gen-kō 3 y. 11 m. 9 d. [16 December 1333]. *Shiki-bu dai-zhō*,<sup>3</sup> (monogram)."

Identical letters were addressed to "Shihuya Hei-zhi-gorō Shigekatsu," who was the fifth lord of Iriki; to "Shihuya Kurō Norishige," the author of the petition already quoted (No. 74); to "So-Shun, the widow of Shihuya Hei-zō Shigemune";<sup>4</sup> to "Taira uji me Tora-san," daughter of Terao Shigeuji; and to "Shun-A, the widow of Shihuya Iya-sahurō *nyū-dō*," that is Terao Shigemi.

<sup>1</sup> *Tō chi-gyō chi*, land in actual holding.

<sup>2</sup> This is Shigemoto, the fourth lord of the Iriki-in.

<sup>3</sup> One who bore the official title *dai-zhō* in the *shiki-bu* department. He transmits the imperial decree.

<sup>4</sup> Murao Shigemune; see No. 73.

## 76. KETŌ-IN SHIGETOSHI'S LETTER OF SURRENDER, 1333

(Iriki-in docs.; also *SK*, XII, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryo*, VI, i, 280.)

THE wrapper of this document bears the remark: "Concerning the boundary of Ichi-no-no, Kawa-toko, and Naka Ko-ha, of Ketō in, and of Kuro-ki and Naka-tsu-gawa, of Iriki in. (Monogram.)" From this it seems probable that all the five *mura* had been in dispute between the two Shihuya families of Ketō-in and Iriki-in, and that, while now the Ketō-in by the following letter yielded to the Iriki-in the first three *mura*, the latter by another letter, now lost, surrendered its claim to the last two places. Ichi-no-no, Kawa-toko, and Naka Ko-ha, lay east of Kiyoshiki; Kuro-ki and Naka-tsu-gawa were some eight miles further north.

"To surrender<sup>1</sup>

Ichi-no-no, Kawa-toko, and Naka Ko-ba *mura*, on the border between Ketō in and Iriki in, Satsuma *kuni*.

"As regards the aforementioned places, Shigetoshi's great grandfather, Shibuya Zhirotarō *nyū-dō* Myō-Gyō, on the 25th day of the 12th month of the 3rd year of Shō-an [24 January 1302], received a decree of the Chin-zei.<sup>2</sup> They are, therefore, in [Shige-

toshi's] actual holding by heredity. Now, although Shibuya Rokurō *bō* Shidzushige, now deceased, by an appeal<sup>3</sup> [to Kamakura] instituted a litigation, and for many years the case has been undecided, since it is contrary to his wish to harbor a dispute within the family, [Shigetoshi] does hereby surrender and deliver for all time to Shibuya Hei-zhirō Shigekatsu the said *mura* Ichi-no-no, Kawa-toko, and Naka Ko-ba, together with the decree<sup>2</sup> granted to Myō-Gyō. For future testimony, Shibuya *Saémon no zhō* Shigemune<sup>4</sup> has also affixed his monogram. In order that hereafter there shall be no disturbance, the letter of surrender is [made] thus.

"Gen-kō 3 y. 11 m. 10 d. [17 December 1333.] Taira *no* Shigetoshi, (monogram).  
*Saémon no zhō* Shigemune,<sup>4</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> *Sari-watasu*, to surrender and deliver. This letter is a *sari zhō*; see No. 43, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> A *ge-chi* of sanction from the *shō-gun's* deputy at Hakata.

<sup>3</sup> *Yesso*, appeal. This may be an appeal to Kamakura.

<sup>4</sup> Lord of Taki; he should not be confused with Murao Shigemune, mentioned in Nos. 73 and 75; the "mune" in the two names are written in different characters.

## 77. IMPERIAL CONFIRMATIONS, 1334

THE name of the person to whom the first of the following documents was addressed is lacking, but may be inferred from No. 79 below. Moreover, it will be seen, by referring to No. 48, that the domains enumerated in document A, are those of the Nakamura branch of the Shibuya family.

The orders emanated from a new judicial office of the imperial government called the *Zasso ketsu-dan sho*, "office for the deciding of miscellaneous petitions." This bureau, together with the revived *Ki-roku zhō*, "record (-examining) office," endeavored to receive and pass upon the numerous petitions for adjudication of claims of all kinds which were pouring into the court. The business of the two offices was organized and executed with tolerable efficiency, but their work was continually frustrated by private acts of favoritism which were committed with singular lack of forethought in the inner palace. The resulting confusion and discontent were largely responsible for the speedy failure that overtook the imperial autocracy restored by Go-Daigo in 1333.

### A

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII, *SK*, XII, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, i, 608.)

"The *Zasso ketsu-dan sho*'s communication to ° ° °]

"Regarding the Kitao homestead, *ta*, *hata*, houses, and woodland, in upper Fukaya *mura*, Yoshida Upper *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; *ta*, *hata*, and houses, at Hanishidani *mura*, in Zhitchō South *mura*, Kawaé *shō*, Mimasaka *kuni*; and *ta*, *hata*, and houses, at Soéda *mura*, in middle *mura*, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"[It is decreed that his] actual holding of the above-mentioned [places] shall not be disturbed. [We do] hereby communicate.

"Ken-mu 1 y. 6 m. 3 d. [4 July 1334].

*Shō han-zhi*, Nakahara *no* Ason, (monogram).

"*Sa chū-ben*, Fujiwara *no* Ason (monogram)."

### B

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ii, 28.)

"The *Zasso ketsu-dan sho's* communication to Taira *uji me aza-na* Tora-San's place,

"Regarding one *chō* of Shiki-den, in Hirano *mura*, Mimasaka *kuni*.

"Communication: [it is decreed that her] actual holding shall not be disturbed. It is communicated thus. [We do] hereby communicate.

"Ken-mu 1 y. 10 m. 18 d. [15 Nov. 1334]. *U dai-shi*, Abe (monogram).

<i>Shō</i> 2nd rank, Fujiwara <i>no Ason</i> (mono-gram).	<i>Shō han-zhi</i> , also <i>Saémon no zhō</i> , Naka <i>no Ason</i> , (monogram).
<i>Shō</i> 2nd rank, Fujiwara <i>no Ason</i> (mono-gram).	Former <i>kami</i> of Tango, <i>Ōé no Ason</i> (monogram).
<i>Zhu</i> 3rd rank, Taira <i>no Ason</i> (mono-gram).	Doctor of law, also <i>Uémon dai zhō</i> , Naka <i>no Ason</i> , (monogram).
<i>Gon dai-bu</i> of the Shiki-bu, Fujiwara <i>no Ason</i> , (monogram).	<i>U chū-ben</i> , Fujiwara <i>no Ason</i> , (monogram).

## 78. ANNUAL DUES OF AN ESTATE, 1334

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II, and *SK*, XII.)

THIS is apparently a report by the deputy of the Iriki lord, the *Ji-tō*, of the latter's revenue from the holdings of a vassal in Tō-no-hara. Some of the items are difficult to understand.

[On the margin]:

"Report by the lord of Kiyoshiki, in *kinoé-inu*,<sup>1</sup> of the revenue from Futa-mure."

"REPORT of the revenue in the year of the houses<sup>1a</sup> of Rokuro-zhirō *nyū-dō* of Futa-mure.

"[For] the *ji-tō*:—

7.7 <i>koku</i>	the additional rice <sup>2</sup> shall be a level measure; <sup>3</sup>
1 <i>kwan</i> 300 <i>mon</i>	raw silk, commuted;
500 <i>mon</i>	indigo and madder, commuted;
395 <i>mon</i>	money for the <i>fu</i> , <sup>4</sup>
1 <i>kwan</i>	for the obligations; <sup>5</sup>
300 <i>mon</i>	<i>kauwo</i> [?], commuted;
100 <i>mon</i>	<i>toriko</i> [?] thread;
300 <i>mon</i>	dues of the <i>sono</i> and mulberry land [?], being the dues of the house at No-ine no hara.

"Additional rice<sup>2</sup> for 7 *tan*, 1.55 *koku*, No-ine no Hara.

"[Total]: Copper money, 3 *kwan* 895 *mon*;  
rice, 9.25 *koku*.

"Ken-mu 1 y. 9 m. 8 d. [26 September 1334].

The deputy, Zhō-Gyō."

<sup>1</sup> The eleventh year of the sixty-year cycle: 5 Feb. 1334—25 Jan. 1335.

<sup>1a</sup> It is not clear whether the word *zai-ke* is singular or plural; probably plural.

<sup>2</sup> An examination shows that the regular tax from the 7 *tan* of *ta* attached to the *zai-ke* was 7.7 *koku*, or, 1.1. *koku* per *tan*; and its additional rice-tax (*nobe-mai*: see No. 49, n. 6) was 20%, namely, 1.55 *koku*.

<sup>3</sup> That is, rice shall not be piled in the measure above the level of its upper edges.

<sup>4</sup> Does "fu" refer to Da-zai Fu?

<sup>5</sup> *Kū-zhi* (local pronunciation for *ku-zhi*) is the word, written in *kana*. Cf. Index, *ku-zhi*.



## 79. COMPROMISE CONCERNING THE NAKAMURA ESTATE, 1335

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII, *SK*, XII, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, i, 609.)

By referring to the genealogy in No. 46, it will be found that the lady Tora-San and her late father were of the Shimomura branch of the Shihuya family, while the estate in dispute had been of the Nakamura branch (see Nos. 48 and 77A). It is not clear on what ground she now succeeded in her claim for the domains. Nor can we tell the genealogical position of her opponent Onimasu-Maru and his father Shigemmi, but it may be presumed that they and Shigetoki were of the Nakamura family. Whatever the explanation, Onimasu-Maru had taken the estate in his possession and invoked sanction of the imperial prince Dai-tō *no miya*, the temporary *shō-gun*, and of the councillor Yoshida Sadafusa. Onimasu-Maru, however, now surrendered the usurped domains, apparently without condition.

“COMPROMISE:

“Regarding the domains in the estate left by Shibuya Hei-roku Shigeuji, now deceased, [which are] in dispute between his daughters and Onimasu-Maru, the younger brother of Hiko-zhirō Shigetoki now deceased, the son of the same [Shibuya] Shigemmi; namely: the homestead, *ta*, *hata*, and wooded land, at Upper Fukaya, in Yoshida *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; *ta*, *hata*, mountain and wild land, at Kame-ishi and Hanishi-dani,<sup>1</sup> in Kawaé *shō*, Mimasaka *kuni*; eight parts in Ōno new *shō*, Awa *kuni*; and *ta*, *hata*, houses, mountain, and wild land, in Lower Soéda *mura*, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

“As regards the above-mentioned places, since they are the estate left by Shigeuji deceased, Onimasu-Maru [has held them, by virtue of] a command which he possesses of Dai-tō *no miya* and a letter by Yoshida the first rank; [but], finally, by the principle of compromise, [Onimasu-Maru] has, for all time, unto his children's children, abandoned his desire of said places and his interference [under the pretext of ?] the official sanction, and has given up [the domains] to the ladies. Moreover, as testimony for the future, members of the family affix their signatures and monograms. Accordingly, the order [of the Imperial Prince], the letter [of Lord Yoshida], and the other original documents, that Onimasu-Maru, son of Shigemmi, possesses, are without a single exception delivered to the ladies. If, in future days, [any one] should, claiming descent from Shigemmi's sons, interfere [with said places], the entire family shall as a common concern invoke the judgment of the government for the punishment of the guilt. Therefore, as a mirror for future generations, the letter of compromise is [drawn] thus.

“Ken-mu 1 y. 12 m. 19 d. [14 Jan. 1335]. The proxy for Onimasu-Maru,

Fujiwara *no* Iétsuna, (monogram).

*Sha-mi* Jō-Jū,<sup>2</sup> (monogram).

Taira *no* Shigebumi,<sup>3</sup> (monogram).

Taira *no* Shigechika<sup>4</sup> (monogram).

Taira *no* Shigemmi,<sup>5</sup> (monogram).

Taira *no* Shigefusa,<sup>6</sup> (monogram).

*Sha-mi* Jō-Yen,<sup>7</sup> (monogram).”

<sup>1</sup> In Zhitchō South *mura*.

<sup>3</sup> Okamoto Shigebumi.

<sup>5</sup> Nakamura (?) Shigemmi.

<sup>7</sup> Jō-Yen was the fourth lord of the Iriki-in, and hence the chief of the entire Shihuya trihe at Iriki.

<sup>2</sup> Sukeshige, Jō-Yen's younger brother.

<sup>4</sup> Tōgō Shigechika.

<sup>6</sup> Unknown.

## 80. GUARD SERVICE AT THE IMPERIAL PALACE, 1335

THE imperial government restored on a workable basis the neglected custom of requiring the former *go ke-nin* to perform the guard service<sup>3</sup> at the palace at Kyōtō, and, on 26 March, 1335, published rules regulating the conduct of the service. According to these, one guardsman was due from each 10 *chō* (one *chō* being about three acres) of landholdings, if near the Capital, 20 *chō*, if farther, and 30, if very far, as in Kyū-shū; if the holding of a younger member was smaller than this minimum, the heir-general (*sō-ryō*) was obliged to represent him in addition to his own duty; if a warrior held several domains, of sufficient sizes, he performed the service in person for the chief domain, and sent proxies for the others; all expenses had to be borne by the warrior, who should not shift them to inferior people; and he was counselled to be frugal about his armor, *hita-dare*,<sup>1</sup> and weapons. The term of the service is not stated.<sup>2</sup>

The memoranda A and B are nearly identical. The slight variations in names that may be noted are doubtless due to want of care in copying. The two documents give but a fraction of the former *go ke-nin* in Satsuma, who probably took turns.

Just as the *go ke-nin* owed the guard duty at the palace, so rear-vassals owed it at the residence in Kyōto of their immediate lord. The document C gives an illustration: Honda had finished his service of four months, and the fact was acknowledged by his lord Shimadzu Sadahisa.

## A

(The Hishizhima docs., V; also SK, XII, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ii, 306.)

"List of the names of the *ji-tō* and *go ke-nin* of Satsuma *kuni* who should perform, from the 1st day of the 3rd month [26 March], the *ō-ban*<sup>3</sup> at the palace. The names follow no order. Only those who should serve in this term.

"They should provide themselves with an armor, a suit of *hita-dare*,<sup>1</sup> and an equipment.<sup>4</sup>

Ōsumi Zhiro-saburō	Shikibu Mago-gorō <i>nyū-dō</i> <sup>3</sup>
Suwō Kurando Saburō	Shibuya Ko-shirō <i>nyū-dō</i> <sup>5</sup>
Shibuya Shin-hei-zhi <i>nyū-dō</i> <sup>5</sup>	Shibuya Iya-zhirō <sup>5</sup>
Yagami Saémon-zhirō	Chiran Shirō
Shibuya Hiko-saburō <i>nyū-dō</i> <sup>5</sup>	Mitsutomi Mata-gorō <i>nyū-dō</i>
Ibusuki <i>gun-zhi nyū-dō</i> <sup>6</sup>	Asaoka Mago-saburō
Hishizhima Hiko-tarō <sup>7</sup>	

"Ken-mu 2 y. 2 m. 30 d. [25 March 1335]."

## B

(The Chichibu docs., in SK, XII.)

"List of names of the *ji-tō* and *go ke-nin* of Satsuma *kuni* who should from the next 3rd month 1st day perform the *ō-ban*<sup>3</sup> at the palace. The names follow no order. Only those who should serve in this term. They should provide themselves with an armor, a suit of *hita-dare*,<sup>1</sup> and an equipment.<sup>4</sup>

Ōsumi Zhiro-saburō	Shikibu Mago-gorō	Suwō Kurando
Shibuya Shin-hei <i>nyū-dō</i> <sup>5</sup>	Shibuya Ko-zhirō <sup>5</sup>	Yagami Saémon Gorō
Shibuya Iya-zhirō <sup>5</sup>	Shibuya Hiko-saburō <i>nyū-dō</i> <sup>5</sup>	Chiran Shirō
Mitsutomi Mata-gorō	Ibusuki <i>gun-zhi nyū-dō</i> <sup>6</sup>	Asaoka Mago-saburō

"Ken-mu 2 y. 2 m. last d. [25 March 1335]."

## C

(SK, XII.)

"Regarding the *ō-ban* at the office of Satsuma *kuni*,<sup>9</sup> south on Nijō and Made-no-Kōji. You have performed [said service] from the 3rd month 1st day to 7th month 1st day of this year, [as allotted] for Hariwara, Yokomine, and Uchino, in Yamato *in*. Therefore, it is stated thus.

"Ken-mu 2 y. 7 m. 6 d. [26 July 1335].

*Shami*,<sup>10</sup> (Sadahisa's monogram.)

"Honda Mago-zhirō *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> *Hita-dare*, a dress in two pieces, originally worn by noble persons in the bed chamber, was gradually adapted for semi-formal uses by both civil and military classes; in the period after 1600, this dress was largely formal with warriors of the higher order. In the age of these documents, *hita-dare* must have been specially fancied by guardsmen on duty on cold nights, when it could be put on over the armor. A variety which was worn under the armor (*yoroi*) was called *yoroi hita-dare*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ken-mu ki*, quoted in *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ii, 303.

<sup>3</sup> *Ō-ban*, guard service; see No. 13, n. 17.

<sup>4</sup> The editor has intentionally employed this general word in rendering the troublesome phrase *chō-dzu* (or *chō-do*) *kake*. *Chō-do* meant literally "equipment" of any kind, but, as applied to the warrior of this period, his chief weapons, the bow and arrows. It is the presence of the word *kake* (literally, "hanger") that makes the difficulty for the translator, for the whole expression, *chō-do kake*, meant either a stand on which the weapons when not in use might be reposed, or a retainer, himself a warrior and, in case of one for the *shō-gun*, his trusted vassal, who carried on the shoulder the bow and arrows for his lord. (In the *Adzuma-kagami*, the carrier of the lord's armor or sword is seldom called his *chō-do kake*, the term always applying to the bearer of his bow and arrows.) The editor will not attempt to say which of the two significations should apply here. (See *Bu-ke zhi-ki*, by Yamaga So-Kō, chap. 55.)

Another meaning, the one adopted by the editors of the *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō* (see VI, ii, 306), is the cord or tape that was tied into a knot over the *eboshi* cap and brought down and again tied under the chin, so as to hold the cap in place. The phrase to fit this construction would be a different one, namely, *chō-dzu* (never *chō-do*) *kake*, literally, top-head-tie. Cf. *Ko-zhi rui-en: fuku-shoku bu* (1910), chap. 22, pp. 1206-1208.

<sup>5</sup> Of the four men of the Shihuya family mentioned, Shin-hei-zbi was Shigemoto, the lord of Iriki; the other three cannot be identified.

<sup>6</sup> Ibusuki *Zhō-Yei*, according to the *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*.

<sup>7</sup> Hishizhima Yoshinori.

<sup>8</sup> Yamada Munehisa.

<sup>9</sup> Apparently each *shu-go* had his headquarters for the warriors of his *kuni* performing this service.

<sup>10</sup> Shimadzu Sadahisa, the *shu-go* of Satsuma.

## 81. JUDICIAL ORDER IN FAVOR OF TORA-SAN, 1335<sup>1</sup>

(A copy in Okamoto docs.; also KK, VII; SK, XII; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ii, 401.)

"THE Zasso *ketsu-dan shō*'s communication to the office of Mimasaka *kuni*

"Regarding Shirō Saemon no *zhō*'s interference with the one *chō* of Shiki-den, in Hirano *mura*, in Hayashino *ho*,<sup>2</sup> of this *kuni*, reported by Taira *uji me*, *ji-tō* of a part of this *mura*. \*The petition and the muniments [are sent] herewith.\*

"Communication: [it is decreed that] if the petition is not mistaken, the interference shall be stopped and [her] possession be secured; and that if there be [special] cir-

cumstances, they shall be reported. It is communicated thus. [We do] hereby communicate.

"Ken-mu 2 y. 5 m. 7 d. [29 May 1335]. *Sa hyō-é no zhō*, Minamoto.  
*"Azechi*, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram). *U dai-shi*, Abe, (monogram).  
*"Shō* 2nd rank, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram). *Saemon shō-zhō*, Den-shi [?] no Sukune, (monogram).  
*"Zhu* 2nd rank, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram). *U é mon shō-zhō*, Nakahara no Ason, (monogram).  
*"U chū-ben*, Fujiwara no Ason, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 77B.

<sup>2</sup> *Ho*. It would be needless to discuss the nature and the history of this important and difficult institution. Let it suffice to say that *ho* were territorial divisions of obscure origin and varied extent that had gradually, though not quite as slowly as the *gō*, lost their character as public administrative areas and become more or less assimilated with the privately controlled *shō*.

\* \* Written small in the original.

## 82. ASHIKAGA'S CALL TO SHIBUYA SHIGEMOTO FOR SUPPORT, 1335

(A copy in Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II; *SK*, XII; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ii, 686.)

THE success of the imperial government against the feudal in 1333 was due largely to the widespread discontent which had been created by the latter among the feudal classes. These then espoused the imperial cause, not all from pure loyalty, but many with hopes for better personal fortune under the new régime. The situation demanded of the rulers utmost tact and impartiality. Great was the chagrin of these soldiers of fortune, therefore, when their claims for justice and for reward were too often treated by the imperial court with a thoughtless disregard of equity, amounting sometimes to positive injustice. A feeling of unrest spread quickly and increasingly; it gave a welcome opportunity for revolt to the astute lord of Ashikaga, Takauji, the scion of the Minamoto family which had produced the first line of *shō-gun* of feudal Japan. Confident of the response which would come from all sides, Takauji openly rebelled at Kamakura, early in November 1335, only fifteen months after the downfall of the Hōjō regency. Under the date 17 November, he sent broadcast brief identical calls for armed support, many of which have been preserved (e.g., *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ii, 684-688), to great warriors, chiefly in western Japan, of whom the lord of Iriki was one. The summons was signed by Takauji's younger brother, Tadayoshi; Nitta Yoshisada, another Minamoto, the chief leader of the imperial forces, was named as the enemy, doubtless in order to avoid a direct reference to the person of the sovereign.

"NITTA *Uémon no suke* Yoshisada shall be vanquished. It is hereby ordered that you gather the men of your family and immediately hasten to present yourselves.

"Ken-mu 2 y. 11 m. 2 d. [17 November 1335]. *Sa-ma no kami*, ([Tadayoshi's] monogram.)

"Shibuya Shin-hei-zhi *nyū-dō dono*."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Iriki-in Shigemoto.



## 83. ASHIKAGA TAKAUJI'S INVESTITURE AND RECOGNITIONS OF MERITS, 1336

THE brief four months between March and July, 1336, witnessed perhaps the most complete revolution that has ever been seen in an equal space of time in Japanese history. On 1 March, Nitta Yoshisada's army entered Kyōto, and in half a month the rebel Ashikaga Takauji beat a precipitate flight for Kyū-shū. There a disquieting situation awaited him: the three powerful barons, Shōni, Ōtomo, and Shimadzu, respectively, of the northern, middle, and southern provinces of the island, supported Takauji with a loyalty which was most reassuring; but arrayed against them were warriors whose constituencies were, if smaller, nearly as rich and as widely distributed. At the decisive battle on the Tadara beach, near Hakata, on 14 April, the rebel forces inflicted upon their enemy a crushing defeat. In a month, Takauji's army, now greatly augmented, was already on its way toward the Capital. The imperial forces that met him and gave battle near Kōbe were repulsed and scattered with heavy losses. On 8 July, Takauji entered Kyōto in triumph, the unfortunate emperor Go-Daigo having already fled to Mt. Hi-ei. Soon Takauji set up the emperor Kwōmyō, and induced Go-Daigo to come to Kyōto and confined him. The latter was rescued by his supporters and taken to the strategic Mt. Yoshino, on 23 January, 1337; henceforth the imperial house was divided against itself for fifty-seven years.

The rewards and the promises of rewards to members of the Shihuya which are contained in the following documents were granted by Takauji for services which they had rendered him during his sojourn in Kyū-shū and possibly also on his march to Kyōto. The documents A, C, and E bear his monograms. A is of special interest, as it was signed the day before he embarked on his victorious expedition from Hakata toward the Capital. The executive order B is signed by Takauji's lieutenant Kō no Moronao, and addressed to the former's new deputy in Kyū-shū, Isshiki Noriuji, stationed at Hakata. The endorsement D is signed by Shimadzu Sadahisa, the *shu-go* of Satsuma, under whose jurisdiction lived the holder of the prized promise.

## A

(A copy in Okamoto docs.; also KK, VII; SK, XIII; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iii, 273.)

"[Takauji's] monogram.

"ORDERED to Shibuya Kawachi *nyū-dō*<sup>1</sup>

"That at once [he] shall hold the *ji-tō shiki* of Mitsune west *gō*, Hizen *kuni*.

"To the [*shiki*] aforesaid is this man, as reward for his merit, appointed. He shall hold it in accordance with precedents. [It is ordered] thus.

"Ken-mu 3 y. 4 m. 2 d. [13 May 1336]."

## B

(The same as above, but *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iv, 296.)

"The *ji-tō shiki* of Mitsune west *gō*, Higo<sup>2</sup> *kuni*, which [has been granted to] Shibuya Kawachi *nyū-dō* Sō-Shin according to his petition, [shall be] seized<sup>2a</sup> to him in accordance with the order. In pursuance of the command, it is conveyed thus.

"Ken-mu 4 y. 7 m. 13 d. [10 August 1337]. Musashi *no gon-no-kami*, monogram.

"*Kunai Shō-u-tarō nyū-dō*<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

## C

(A copy in Iriki-in docs.; also KK, II; SK, XIII; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iii, 711.)

[Added note] :—"Revised."

"[Takauji's] monogram

"That the loyal acts at arms of Shibuya Shin-hei-zhi-gorō Shigekatsu<sup>4</sup> are excellent<sup>5</sup> and will be rewarded, is stated thus.

"Ken-mu 3 y. 8 m. 17 d. [22 September 1336]."

## D

(Iriki-in docs.; also as above.)

[Endorsed on the reverse side of C]:—

"The original of this document [should be] brought up to Kyōto, but since there are apprehensions of a long journey, says Shibuya Shin-hei-zhi *nyū-dō* Jō-Yen,<sup>6</sup> he wishes my endorsement on the reverse side of the revised copy to serve as proof for the future; therefore it is so executed.

"Ryaku-ō 4 y. 2 m. 22 d. [10 March 1341]. *Shamī*."<sup>7</sup>

## E

(Okamoto docs.; *KK*, VII.)

"(Takauji's monogram.)

"That the loyal acts at arms of Shibuya Kurō Shigeoki<sup>8</sup> are excellent<sup>5</sup> and will be rewarded, is stated thus,

"Ken-mu 3 y. 9 m. 3 d. [8 October 1336]."

<sup>1</sup> Shibuya Kawachi *no gon-no-kami* Shigemune *nyū-dō* Sō-Shin, lord of Taki.

<sup>2</sup> A miscopy of Hizen.

<sup>2a</sup> *Sada shi tsuku*, act of ensaisinement.

<sup>3</sup> Isshiki Noriuji.

<sup>4</sup> The fifth lord of Iriki.

<sup>5</sup> *Shin-myō*, literally, divinely excellent; currently used only by a superior person in praise of an inferior.

<sup>6</sup> Shigemoto, the adopting father of Shigekatsu.

<sup>7</sup> Shimadzu Sadahisa *nyū-dō* Dō-Kan, the *shu-go*.

<sup>8</sup> Of the Okamoto branch.

## 84. TAKAUJI'S CALL UPON THE SHIBUYA TO ARMED SERVICE,

1337

(A copy in Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II; *SK*, XIV; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iv, 211.)

AFTER Ashikaga Takauji's departure for Kyōto, Kyū-shū, like many another part of Japan, was given over to a prolonged and extremely complicated strife between his supporters and their enemies. Not the least distracted were the southern provinces of the island. Here, although Satsuma appeared to be largely under the influence of Takauji's powerful ally, the lord of Shimadzu, the latter was in reality hut the greatest among the local warriors, many of whom were independent of him and some were eager to grasp an opportunity to rise and dispute his power. Nor was it long before they—especially lords of southern Satsuma—ranged themselves on the side of the Court of Yoshino, and the war between the two factions spread, during the year 1337, from Izhū *in*, Ichiku, and Hishi-zhima, in the center, to Ada in the south; at the close of the year, the struggle promised to become only more extended and more intense and complex. For, it should be remembered, the contention was not a simple conflict of two bodies of men espousing the rival imperial courts, but, as will gradually be revealed through successive documents, simultaneous outbursts of political and personal jealousies, rivalries, and ambitions, some long cherished and others newly born, which would at this favorable juncture appeal to a decision by force.

Meanwhile, in the neighboring province of Hiuga, the Southern (Yoshino) cause found its gallant champion in Kimotsuki Kaneshige, a Tomo. Holding his headquarters at Taka-zhō, near the

center of the province, and being supported by his partisans at various points, Kaneshige was successfully withstanding the attacks of the Shimadzu forces and of the army which Hatakeyama Yoshiaki (later, Nao-aki), who had lately been sent hither by Takauji as commander-general of southern Kyū-shū, was able to gather together under his command. War was soon carried into the neighborhood of the provincial capital of Ōsumi, a most strategic point that commanded the main routes.

With these facts in mind should the following brief document be read. Takauji, at Kyōto, was deeply concerned over events in southern Kyū-shū. Deeming himself the logical successor to the late *shō-gun* at Kamakura, and, as such, the legitimate suzerain over the *go ke-nin* the latter had left behind, Takauji openly commanded them to service at arms, either under Shimadzu as *shu-go* or under Hatakeyama as his own agent. To such an order many would be inclined to give little heed, while others would obey it only so long as they pleased or felt compelled to do so. Not until his prestige should be firmly established might Takauji count upon the constant loyalty of men so far away from his personal presence.

As for the Shibuya, it would seem from this document that they had already coöperated with Shimadzu, and were for that reason expected to give further aid to the Northern (Kyōto) side. Among men of the Shibuya stock, it is not recorded what those of the Iriki-in branch had thus far done after the battle on the heath of Tadara the year before.

"REGARDING the uprising<sup>1</sup> of the insurgents of Satsuma *kuni*. We hear that you have rendered loyal service at arms in the *kuni*, which is excellent. In brief, we are despatching forces;<sup>2</sup> you shall again start, and evermore distinguish yourselves by acts of loyalty. [Ordered] thus.

"Ken-mu 4 y. 4 m. 27 d. [27 May 1337].

[Tadayoshi's] *monogram*.

"To the entire family of the Shibuya."

<sup>1</sup> *Hō-ki*, literally, rising [like] wasps.

<sup>2</sup> This may refer to the sending of Hatakeyama Yoshiaki to Hiuga or perhaps to an expedition under the Shimadzu lord.

## 85. HATAKEYAMA YOSHIAKI'S TRANSMISSION OF ORDER TO TERAO SHIGENA, 1338

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII; *SK*, XV; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iv, 888.)

DURING 1337 and 1338, war was waged in all the three *kuni*: in Satsuma, an undecisive but none the less fierce fighting raged for months after late August 1337 about Ichiku; in Ōsumi, the struggle was again centered, in the second quarter of 1338, about the provincial capital; and in Hiuga, Mimata *in* continued to be the chief scene of battle. The commanding generals on the Northern side at these battles were: the Shimadzu lords, in Satsuma; the deputy *shu-go* and the Nezhime, in Ōsumi; and Hatakeyama Yoshiaki, in Hiuga.

The extant documents are too meager to aid us in determining the extent of the Shihuya warriors' participation in these battles. It is rather doubtful that they were active at Ichiku; it is certain that, though Tōgō was disturbed by the rival forces, Iriki was tranquil. (*Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iv, 309-323.) At Ōsumi, on the contrary, a Ketō-in was a leading warrior on the Southern side, a single champion of the entire Shihuya stock in that year to support the imperial cause. (From the Shigeuji records, in *SK*, XV; also *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iv, 446.) It is to the chief field of battle in Hiuga that Yoshiaki addressed the following letter of summons to Terao Shigena. Identical orders were probably issued to other Shihuya lords.

Mimata *in* was the cradle of the original Shimadzu *shō*; it now comprised Taka-zhō, commanded by Kimotsuki Kaneshige, and the fortress of Ō-wada or Ō-iwada, under his supporter Hirayama. Yoshiaki was concentrating his whole effort to the reduction of this strategic territory. (Life of Kaneshige, quoted in *SK*, XV; also *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, iv, 889.) Concerning Yoshiaki and Kaneshige, see the preface to No. 84.

"As we were starting for Mimata *in*, in order to vanquish Kaneshige and other rebels, we heard that the enemy in Satsuma might encircle our rear, and for that reason an order [by Takauji] has recently been issued. You shall at once hasten to the fortress [of the enemy] and render loyal service. [The command] is transmitted thus.

"Ken-mu 5 y. intercalary 7 m. 2 d. [16 September 1338].

Minamoto, (Hatakeyama Yoshiaki's monogram).

"Shibuya Iya-shirō *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Terao Shigena.

## 86. RECORDS OF SERVICE AT ARMS, 1339

IN the civil war in which the greater part of Japan had now become involved, it was not seldom that members of the same family—if it was large, like the Shimadzu and the Shibuya, and had grown in branches which settled in different localities—were divided in opposite camps and fought against one another. Of the Shibuya, we find that, during the years 1338 and 1339, their Ketō-in and Iriki-in branches sided with the Southern party, while the Tōgō and the Taki supported the Northern. Thus, in 1338, as has been said, Ketō-in Mago-zhirō took and defended the fortress upon Mt. Hinata, near the Capital of Ōsumi; on the other hand, men of Tōgō took part in the war against the Kitabatake near Ōsaka and Kyōto, (SK, XV, from a Honda report). Taki Shigemune, in 1339, surrendered Yuta in Ketō-in to Shibuya Tsuneshige and others; the latter in turn lost it to the combined forces of the Tōgō and the Zai-koku-shi that besieged it (*ibid.*, from a report by a Murata).

At the investment of Ikari-yama, on the east side of the Sendai before the river takes a westerly direction, which is described in the following documents, a Tōgō was among the defenders and fought against a Ketō-in and the fifth lord of Iriki, the partisans of the Southern Court. It will be seen that the latter for a time retired into the fortress at Fuji-no-ue, in Kiyoshiki, and defended it from 4 August, 1339; this is the first record of actual warfare in Iriki proper. The fighting was fierce: Idzumi Yasu-sué "led the van," said he in his report, "at peril of death, and was the first to fall into the moat together with his horse, being wounded on the right hand." The fortress fell on 8 August. (Yasu-sué's report and Kimotsuki Kaneshige's life quoted in SK, XV; also *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, v, 571.)

Of the following documents, A and B, like No. 74, are examples of the class of reports known as the *gun-chū zhō*, "letters [reporting] loyal acts in war": when a service in arms was rendered at a battle, the warrior drew up a careful account of his exploit, describing his feats, his encounters with the enemy, and the injuries he inflicted upon him and those he and his followers sustained, and citing the names of trustworthy eye-witnesses. The letter was also called an *ikken zhō*, for the commanding general certified the report with the usual phrase in three characters, *ikken shi owannu*, "[I] have seen [the report]," over his monogram. Sometimes, as in the following examples, the phrase ran (in only two characters): *uketamawari owannu*, "[I] do recognize [the statement]."<sup>1</sup> The report was then forwarded by him to the *shō-gun*, and on its strength the latter would reward the service of the warrior.

In the present instances, the certifying commander was Sakawa Hisakage, a hereditary vassal and the deputy of the Shimadzu *shu-go*. The reporting warrior, Gon-Shūin, however, who, like the Shibuya and many another, happened to be fighting under the general command of the Shimadzu lord, was not a vassal of the latter, but a direct vassal of Takauji, or, at least, was considered as such. He followed Shimadzu's leadership in war, because the latter was the *shu-go* of the *kuni*, and not because the former owed him armed service as lord: his service was for the *shō-gun*, not for Shimadzu. The time was still far distant when a relation of vassalage would be established between the latter and the Shibuya.

The documents C and D, like Nos. 83C and E and 84, are *kan zhō* or *kan sho*, "letters of admiration," issued by the commander, praising the acts of a warrior and promising to aid him in



securing from the *shō-gun* a just reward for the service. Such a *kan zhō* by a direct commander was preliminary to the *shō-gun's* own *kan zhō* (cf. No. 83C and E), which would be final.

### A. GON-SHUIN TOSHIMASA'S *GUN-CHŪ ZHŌ*

(SK, XV, from a Gon-Shūin doc., now lost; also *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, v, 567.)

"[His] loyal services at arms reported by Saburo-zhirō Toshimasa, the proxy and son of Gon-Shūin Ryō-Sen, part holder(*ryō-shu*) of Miyasato *gō*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"Since there was rumor on the 6th month 18th day of this year [25 July 1339] that the southern insurgents of this *kuni* would come, [Toshimasa] on that day betook himself into the fortress of Ikari-yama, and, being given charge of the turret by the river, guarded it. On the 19th day [26 July], when forces were despatched to chastize the enemy, *Shikibu* Tō-zaburō, Toshimasa went forth in person, and burned up Tō-zaburō's lodging. On the 20th of the same month, as the insurgents came and attacked the fortress of Ikari-yama, Toshimasa rendered service at arms [at the turret] by the river. When, on the 22nd day [29 July], the southern insurgents, together with Shibuya Mago-zhirō,<sup>2</sup> the same [family] Ko-shirō *nyū-dō*, the same [family] Hei-zhi-gorō,<sup>3</sup> and others, besieged the fortress and fought strenuously, Toshimasa fought [at the turret] by the river; but hearing, on the same day, at the hour of *tori*,<sup>4</sup> that the enemy had broken down the main entrance of the fortress, [Toshimasa] hastened to the main entrance and did service, and repulsed the enemy. These acts were witnessed at the same place by Sakawa *Hyō-é* Shirō and Taki Hiko-roku.<sup>5</sup> At the night-battle of the 25th day [1 August], when the enemy tried to break down the entrance [facing] the river, and our forces issued from the little gate [facing] the river with a view to dispersing the enemy, Toshimasa as [leader of] these forces went out of the fortress and repulsed the enemy, as was witnessed by the present commander.<sup>6</sup> When, on the 29th day [5 August], the enemy retired from the fortress of Ikari-yama, and entrenched himself in the fortress of Fuji-no-ué, Iriki *in*, [Toshimasa] wished immediately to hasten to that field of battle and fight; but since he was commanded, as men were deficient in the fortress [of Ikari-yama], to guard [the latter], he did the guard [service]. Therefore, in order that at once, in accordance with the facts of his service at arms, [his merits] be reported,<sup>7</sup> and also that he be granted a certifying seal, he presents a brief statement thus.

"*Ryaku-ō* 2 y. 7 m. — d. [August 1339]."

"Sakawa Hisashige's '[I] do recognize' and monogram."

### B. HISHI-ZHIMA NORIHIRA'S *GUN-CHŪ ZHŌ*

(Hishi-zhima docs.; also *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, v, 569.)

"Since it was reported that insurgents of Satsuma had come to the fortress of Ikari-yama, [which was] on the side of the *shu-go*,<sup>8</sup> and attacked it, Shiihara Zhirō Kore-tane, proxy of Hishi-zhima Hiko-ichi-maru, of the same *kuni*, hastened thither to guard the rear of the [*shu-go's*] army; and, on last 6th month 29th day [5 August], strenuously attacked and fought [with the enemy] at Fuji-no-ué and Kamihara, Iriki

*in*, of the same *kuni*. This was witnessed by Tōgō Zhiro-saburō, of Satsuma, and Kamo Tarō, of Ōsumi, who also fought at the same time. In order that these circumstances be reported,<sup>7</sup> a statement is presented thus.

“Ryaku-ō 2 y. 7 m. — d. [August 1339].”

“[I] do recognize,” (Sakawa Hisashige’s monogram).

### C. KAN ZHŌ FOR TOSHIMASA

(SK, XV, from a Gon-Shūin doc., now lost; also *Dai Nihon shi-ryō*, VI, v, 560-570.)

“Since it was excellent that you, as our ally,<sup>9</sup> guarded the fortress of Ikari-yama and rendered service at arms, the vacated land,<sup>10</sup> [namely,] the rice-land and land formerly held by Miyasato Rokuro-zhirō *nyū-dō*, of Satsuma *kuni*, are given to you in custody.<sup>11</sup> You shall hold them. We shall at the same time report the circumstances to Kyōto. Therefore, a statement is made thus.

“Ryaku-ō 2 y. 6 m. 23 d. [30 July 1339].

Hisakage,<sup>13</sup> *monogram*.

Michiaki,<sup>14</sup> *monogram*.

“Gon-Shūin Saburo-zhirō<sup>12</sup> *dono*.”

### D. ANOTHER KAN ZHŌ FOR TOSHIMASA

(*Ibid.*)

“Since it was excellent that you guarded the fortress of Ikari-yama and rendered service at arms, the *ta* and *sono* formerly held by Miyasato Rokuro-zhirō *nyū-dō* were given you in custody.<sup>11</sup> However, as they are but a small place, we shall recommend [to Kyōto<sup>7</sup>] that, when there should occur a vacated land<sup>10</sup> it subsequently be arranged [in your behalf]. Therefore, the order is transmitted thus.

“Ryaku-ō 2 y. 8 m. 6 d. [9 September 1339].

Hisakage,<sup>13</sup> *monogram*.

“Gon-Shūin Saburo-zhirō<sup>12</sup> *dono*.”

<sup>1</sup> The *ikken zhō* was, therefore, an extremely abridged form of the *vidimus* or *inspeximus* (A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 1894, pp. 20 ff.), the confirmation meaning, however, that of the truth of the statement, not the authenticity, of the document it certified.

<sup>2</sup> Terao Shigehiro.

<sup>3</sup> This is again the fifth Iriki lord, Shigekatsu.

<sup>4</sup> Six o'clock in the afternoon.

<sup>5</sup> An interesting incident of this day is reported by Sakawa Hisakage to the Shimadzu lord thus: “When on the 6th month 22nd day [29 July] the enemy of southern Satsuma and men of the Shibuya attacked the fortress of Ikari-yama and a fierce battle was fought, and when the enemy had already broken down the fences on the rampart and invaded [the ground of the fortress], there issued from the sacred mount of the Niita temple two or three whistling arrows (*kabura-ya*) and shot into the ranks of the enemy. As if [inspired by this manifestation of] divine will, our forces were encouraged, and fought for victory, and the insurgents were defeated and retired.” (Shūin docs., roll VII; also *D. N.-h. s. r.*, VI, v, 569.)

<sup>6</sup> Sakawa Hisashige.

<sup>7</sup> To Takauji, in Kyōto.

<sup>8</sup> Shimadzu Sadahisa.

<sup>9</sup> *Mikata*, supporter.

<sup>10</sup> *Kessho*.

<sup>11</sup> *Adzuke-oku*, to give in trust, as though temporarily.

<sup>12</sup> Toshimasa.

<sup>13</sup> Hisakage also gave “in custody” to a Nobutoki pieces of land in Satsuma *kōri*. (SK, XV, and *D. N.-h. s. r.*, VI, v, 570.)

<sup>14</sup> Possibly a miscopy of Naoaki; the character Nao and Micbi are somewhat similar in cursive form.

### 87. SHIBUYA SHIGEMOTO'S WILL, 1343

(A copy in Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II; *SK*, XVI; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, vii, 910.)

COMPARE this with the previous devises of the main Iriki-in family, Nos. 13, 17, 24, and 42. Jō-Yen was the Buddhist name of Shigemoto, the fourth lord, and Shigekatsu was son of Okamoto Shigetomo, adopted by Shigemoto as his heir.

"To devise domains

To the son Hei-zhi Gorō Shigekatsu:

one place: the house<sup>1</sup> of Tō-zhi, and the same homestead<sup>2</sup> with *ta*, *hata*, and wild land,

Fuji-gokoro *mura*, in Yoshida *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; west of the road is wooded land, toward the south;

one place: the north part of Kiyoshiki, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*;

one place: the *sō ken-gyō* homestead,<sup>2</sup> *ta* and *hata*, in Kashiwa-bara, Chikuzen *kuni*;

one place: the homestead<sup>2</sup> and *ji-tō shiki*, Naga-buchi, Chikugo *kuni*.

"Since the aforesaid domains are Jō-Yen's hereditary domains, they are devised, together with the successive documents and the orders of confirmation, to the son Hei-zhi Gorō Shigekatsu. As for the various obligations (*ku-zhi*), they should be rendered according to precedents. There shall be no disturbance unto children's children. The letter of devise is [made] thus.

"Kō-ei 2 y. 2 m. 8 d. [4 March 1343].

*Shami Jō-Yen, monogram."*

<sup>1</sup> *Zai-ke*; it may be plural.

<sup>2</sup> *Yashiki*.

### 88. ASHIKAGA TADAYOSHI'S CALL UPON TERAŌ SHIGEHIRO TO ARMED SERVICE, 1343

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII; *SK*, XV; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, vii, 613.)

IN 1339 died the unfortunate emperor Go-Daigo at his self-exiled abode on Mt. Yoshino, and was succeeded by his son, Go-Murakami. Having already lost in battle many of its able warriors and most of its strategic points on the main island, the position of the Southern Court had become almost precarious. It would hereafter have to depend for any possible success in regaining the throne at Kyōto, not so much upon sheer military strength, as upon an internal division of the enemy and its own resourcefulness to take advantage of it. In this state of things, all the more was expected of the unsettled conditions of affairs in the distant Kyū-shū. It is true that the communication between the island and Yoshino had been severed, but the few barons there who were loyally upholding Prince Kanenaga after his arrival in 1340 might yet gain an ascendancy over their rivals by winning over some to their side and defeating others; then the Ashikaga *shō-gun* would be compelled to bend his energy to the task of reducing a great island so far away from his base, and during his absence much might take place and be accomplished in other parts of Japan.

In southern Kyū-shū, the two great champions of the *shō-gun* were: Shimadzu Sadabisa, the *shu-go*, in Satsuma, and Hatakeyama Nao-aki (the later name of Yosbi-aki already mentioned), the deputy of Takauji and new *shu-go* of Hiuga, in the latter province. Hatakeyama's chief opponent had been Kimotsuki Kaneshige, whom he, at last in 1339, dislodged from his stronghold at Taka-zhō in Mimata (see Nos. 84 and 85). Then the latter joined other supporters of the Southern side at Kagosbima, in Satsuma. This was a great point of vantage: it embraced a splendid harbor sheltered by the volcanic island Sakura-zhima; at this point converged the main routes by sea and by land that connected it with the greater part of the three *kuni* and beyond; within its striking

distance lay another strategic site, the capital of Ōsumi; and at the same time Kagoshima was protected on the east and north by a series of hills easy to defend but difficult to take. Here, in 1340, the Shimadzu lord succeeded in reducing some of the fortresses held by the enemy, and so for the first time gained a foothold upon the ground which has since become the seat of his family. Before his control of the point was secured, however, things took a sudden turn which made the difficulty of his general position in Satsuma immensely greater.

Prince Kanenaga, who had been invested by the late emperor Go-Daigo, his father, with plenary powers to direct affairs in Kyū-shū,<sup>1</sup> arrived in Higo in the spring of 1340. After two years of arduous labor in central Kyū-shū, with the loyal aid rendered by the Kikuchi and the Aso, the Prince left for Satsuma, with a view to strengthening the Southern cause there by personal presence. Landing at an unnamed point in south Satsuma on 4 June 1342,<sup>2</sup> he at once established his quarters at Taniyama, some seven miles southwest of Kagoshima. Immediately men of great warrior families of the *kuni* offered him their service, and several defenses of the enemy to the north and west of Kagoshima were taken; hand-to-hand encounters took place between Taniyama and Kagoshima. Shimadzu Sadahisa left Kagoshima and, probably going over Iriki Mts. through the Tsusedo pass, fled to Sendai, near Ikari-yama; and there issued orders to the *ji-tō* and *go kenin* of Satsuma to join in his expedition to Taniyama. The response was scant and tardy.<sup>3</sup> After an undecisive assault on the fortress of the Prince in early September 1342,<sup>4</sup> Sadahisa abandoned for a time his hope of reducing it, and turned his attention elsewhere.

Some of the Shihuya had aided the enemy of the Shimadzu in south Satsuma (see No. 85), and Sadahisa had sent his heir Munchisa to chastize them, but he accidentally fell from his horse and died at Kuma-no-zhō early in 1340.<sup>5</sup> Among the men who secretly pledged their allegiance to the Prince on his arrival in Satsuma were the Tōgō.<sup>6</sup> It is not known whether the Iriki-in and the Terao still remained on the Southern side and were among those Shihuya men who are said to have been with the Prince at Taniyama.<sup>7</sup> The following document shows, however, that the *shō-gun* called upon Terao Shigehiro, as he did others by similar orders, to serve under the direction of the *shu-go*.

"It is hereby [commanded] that you shall come to our side and render loyal [service] in war.

"Kō-ei 2 y. 4 m. 12 d. [6 May 1343]. (Ashikaga Tadayoshi's<sup>8</sup> monogram.)

"Shibuya Mago-zhirō<sup>9</sup> dono."

<sup>1</sup> Gojō docs., I, in *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, v, 589.

<sup>2</sup> Two letters to the Aso from an unknown follower of the prince, in the Aso docs.; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, vii, 151.

<sup>3</sup> See Sadahisa's letter to a Shigehisa, 8 m. 1 d. (1 Sep. 1342); *SK*, XV.

<sup>4</sup> Letters to Era Korezumi, 7 m. 18 d.; Aso docs., I, and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, vii, 216; x, 711.

<sup>5</sup> *Sei-han ya-shi*, iii, 44; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, vi, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Letter to Uji Koretoki from a follower of the prince, 7 m. 22 d.; Aso docs., VII.

<sup>7</sup> *Shimadzu kun-kō ki*, I, quoted in *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, vii, 292-295; no document is cited.

<sup>8</sup> Takauji's younger brother, writing in behalf of the *shō-gun*.

<sup>9</sup> Terao Shigehiro.

## 89. WILLS OF OKAMOTO SHIDZUSHIGE AND TAKI SHIGEMUNE,

1344

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VII; *SK*, XV; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, viii, 629, 630.)

REFER to Nos. 46 and 83A. The following devises, of the same date, were written, respectively, by Okamoto Shidzushige, Buddhist name Kō-Zen, for his grandson Shigeoki, and by Taki Shigemune, Buddhist name Sō-Shin, for his daughter Sō-Nyo, the widowed mother of Shigeoki.

The devised domains were new grants given for service in war, with one exception, which was an original holding.



The documents contain doubtful proper names, which are marked below. The copies in *SK* and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō* contain errors.

### A. WILL OF OKAMOTO SHIDZUSHIGE

"To devise domains

To the grandson, Kurō Shigeoki:—

the *ji-tō shiki* of Mitsu-kiyo *myō*, called Ushi-kuma, in Umay *mura*, Chikuzen *kuni*; one place: one-third of Higashi-tsu and Kuga<sup>1</sup> of Idzumi, in West<sup>2</sup> *gō* of Mitsune, Hizen *kuni*.

"However, the said third shall be held for life by the mother Sō-Nyo;<sup>3</sup> after her death, it shall be held for all time [by Shigeoki].

"Since the aforesaid places are held as grants for distinguished service,<sup>4</sup> [Kō-zen], adopting the grandson Shigeoki as son, devises them to him for all time. He shall follow the examples of service<sup>5</sup> [of his predecessors] and completely hold [the said places]. If he has no children to succeed him, he shall devise [the said places] to any one among Sō-Shin's<sup>3</sup> children whom he chooses. Therefore, the letter of devise for future testimony is [written] thus.

"Kō-ei 3 y. 2 m. 3 d. [17 February 1344]. *Shami*, (Kō-Zen's monogram)."

### B. WILL OF TAKI SHIGEMUNE

"To devise domains

To the daughter, Taira *uji*, Buddhist name Sō-Nyo:—

one place: one *chō* of *ta* land, *aza-na* Yukuta [?], in Taki *kōri*, Satsuma *kuni*; also two *tan*, same *gō*, and one homestead, *sono* of Kichō [?]-zhirō;

one place: in Saga lower *ryō*,<sup>5a</sup> Hizen *kuni*:—Yoga *ri*,<sup>6</sup> 2nd *hei*,<sup>6</sup> one *chō*; same [*ri*], 11th *hei*, 1 *chō*; Ishi-tori [?] *ri*; 22nd *hei*, 1 *chō*; Sogi [?] *ri*, 8th *hei*, 1 *chō*; Yoshida *ri*, 26th *hei*, 1 *chō*; Kanoé-ōta [*ri*], 2nd *hei*, 7 *tan* 3 *jō*; Yui *ri*, 24th *hei*, 1 *chō*; Kanoé-ōta *ri*, 12th *hei*, 8 *tan* and one homestead, called Ōishi *sono*, bounded by<sup>7</sup> Iga Shin-hashimoto;

one place: Higashi-tsu and Kuga<sup>1</sup> of Idzumi, in South<sup>8</sup> *gō* of Mitsune, the same *kuni*. As for the present *gō*, after [Sō-Nyo] has held it for life, it shall be divided into three parts, and one part shall be devised to the son Kurō Shigeoki, another to the daughter Wō-zhu, and the remaining part and the *ta*, land, and homesteads in the two *gō* shall be, in accordance with the testament and in pursuance of the instructions of the successive generations, to whomever Sō-Nyo pleases.

"The aforesaid places are devised for all time. [Sō-Nyo] shall hold them without interference in accordance with the testament (*oki-bumi*). Therefore, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

"Kō-ei 3 y. 2 m. 3 d. [17 February 1344]. *Shami*, (Sō-Shin's monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> The characters of this word mean unoccupied, and are indicative of the original condition of the land.

<sup>2</sup> B has South *gō*.

<sup>3</sup> Written in the original Jō-Nyo and Jō-Shin by mistake.

<sup>4</sup> In the Mongol war of 1281, and in the civil war in 1336.

<sup>5</sup> *Hō-kō*; see No. 142, n. 2.

<sup>5a</sup> *Ryō*, literally, domain, here used as unit-name of private domain similar to *shō*, a rare example.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf.* No. 55, n. 14. The block of 36 *hei* constituted one *ri*; where the extent of *ta* in a *hei* was less than 1 *chō*, the remainder either was uncultivated or formed a part of another estate. The pre-feudal system of *ri* and *hei* lingered late in some parts of Japan.

<sup>7</sup> The original cursive character might mean "dwelt by."

<sup>8</sup> A has West *gō*, which is correct.

## 90. OKAMOTO SHIGEOKI'S REPORT OF HIS SERVICE AT ARMS, 1345

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII; *SK*, XV; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ix, 235.)

THIS is the only known source of information that Hatakeyama Nao-aki led in a battle at Kagoshima in September 1345.

"SHIBUYA Kurō Shigeoki reports [loyal service in war].

"On the recent 27th and 28th days of the 8th month [23 and 24 September], [Shigeoki] rendered loyal service in war in the presence [of the Commander]. Therefore, in order that with his certification a testimony for subsequent petition may be provided, a brief report is [made] thus.

"Kō-ei 4 y. 9 m. 3 d. [29 September 1345]."

"[I do] recognize. (Nao-aki's monogram.)"

## 91. TERA0 SHIGEHIRO'S DEVISE, 1346

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

THIS document is written almost wholly in *kana*.

"To devise domains.

"Maé-no Mabushi, and Adzuki-ana, in Tō-no-hara, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, and three houses of Goro-zhirō, in the same *gō*. Since [these] are Shigehiro's hereditary domains, they are devised for all time to the son Kuma-wō. Any [child] who disturbs these places in the least degree would be [considered as] unfilial<sup>1</sup> and forbidden to hold the estate left by Shigehiro. Therefore, for the sake of the future, the autographic letter of devise is [written] thus.

"Jō-wa 2 y. 6 m. 3 d. [22 June 1346].

Shigehiro, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> *Fu-kyō*.

## 92. LETTERS CONCERNING THE DEFECTION OF THE SHIBUYA, 1346

THE advent of Prince Kanenaga had won to the Southern side many who had been wavering, and greatly heartened all the opponents of the Shimadzu. Two important events occurred in 1346. Early in the year, Kimotsuki Kaneshige and his confederates gained a control of the sea along the coast of south Satsuma, and, toward July, even threatened a concerted attack upon Kagoshima.<sup>1</sup> While that seemed to be impending, an even more immediate danger for Shimadzu Sadahisa was created by the renewed revolt, after a recent capitulation, made by his powerful kinsman Tadakuni,

in Izhū in, a region in close proximity to Taniyama and within a striking distance of Kagoshima. The following documents narrate the events which ensued; they also reveal how little the Shibuya feared the Shimadzu lord and how undependable their allegiance was.

#### A. REPORT BY NIKAI DŌ AND ISAKU

(*Nikaidō-uji sei-tō hikaé-gaki.*)

##### "REPORT.

"When Ōsumi Suke-zaburo *nyū-dō* Dō-Nin<sup>2</sup> came down [to his domain<sup>3</sup>], he again turned enemy of the lord, and attacked the fortress of Wakamatsu, Hioki;<sup>1</sup> several relatives and younger retainers (*waka-dō*) at Waka-matsu were killed, and the fortress fell on the night of 8th month 27th day [12 September 1346]. Since on the 28th day [13 September] the Hioki domain<sup>4</sup> of Dō-Ye<sup>5</sup> was seized and the road was cut off [by Dō-Nin], it has been impossible to communicate with the seat of the Commander. Next, as men of the Shibuya family had built defenses at No-zaki *mura*,<sup>6</sup> in Yukinaka's domain,<sup>7</sup> and [guarded them] as an aid to the present fortress,<sup>8</sup> the rebels came in a large force on the 7th month 3rd day [21 July], and, in order to take that fortress [No-zaki] by assault, established a counter-fortress at Kai-gara-zaki<sup>9</sup> near-by. On the 4th day of this (9th) month [19 September], at the hour of the hare,<sup>10</sup> all the men of the Shibuya, without leaving a single soul, deserted the fortress and withdrew. Since the present fortress<sup>8</sup> is inadequately manned, [it is rumored that] Same-zhima Hiko-zhirō *nyū-dō*,<sup>11</sup> Suke-zaburō *nyū-dō*,<sup>2</sup> and others of the enemy, would surely attack this fortress in great force on the coming 6th day. Though the desertion of the fortress [of No-zaki] by the men of the Shibuya family affords no small ground for suspicion [of their loyalty], yet a stringent order for support might perhaps be issued to them. As for Shibuya Shimo-osa Rokurō,<sup>12</sup> a separate order might be addressed to him, as he contends that he would not follow the direction of Iwami *no gon no kami*.<sup>13</sup>

"Next, since Hirayama *sa-kon shō-gen*,<sup>14</sup> of Ōsumi *kuni*, calling himself a man of the temple,<sup>15</sup> would not go to [besiege] the fortress of Taniyama, it is petitioned that he be ordered to go to the fortress of Ikebe.<sup>8</sup>

"As it has been stated previously, since this<sup>8</sup> is the only fortress that is holding its own in the midst of the enemy west of the mountains,<sup>16</sup> if it should fall, the consequences would be grave; and, therefore, [the signers] presume to offer a counsel. [They believe that] the present state of war in this *kuni* will never subside, for the reason that, whereas victory would be easy if the two commanders<sup>17</sup> deployed at different points the entire forces of the three *kuni*, at present [the *shu-go*] gathers [his forces] at one point, and consequently the western enemy can rise at will. If at last the present situation was altered and the forces were distributed in various fortresses, [the end] would be near. Especially as this fortress<sup>8</sup> has ever since the lord's visit to Kyōto defended itself for ten long years against numerous enemies, the means of procuring supplies has been exhausted; it has therefore been resolved that shortly the crops should be cut and a last battle be given, to certain death. Therefore, it is prayed that, not only for the pacification of the *kuni*, but also for the succor of this fortress,<sup>8</sup> orders be speedily issued, inspiring the [defenders'] courage to achieve loyal services.

Since the roads are difficult, [the signers] beg leave to write on half sheets. It is desired that the import of this letter be presented [to the lord]. With reverence.

"Kii no gon no kami Yukinaka<sup>7</sup> petitions;  
*monogram on the reverse.*

"Shami Dō-Ye<sup>5</sup> petitions;  
*monogram on the reverse.*

"Presented to the Commissioner's place."<sup>18</sup>

## B. LETTER FROM ASHIKAGA TADAYOSHI TO SHIMADZU SADAHISA

(A copy in Shimadzu docs., cited in *SK*, XVI; also *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, x, 220.)

"Your frequent reports on the war in Satsuma have been read. [You report that] Ōsumi Suke-zaburō *nyū-dō* Dō-Nin,<sup>2</sup> Same-zhima Hiko-zhirō *nyū-dō* Ren-Dō,<sup>11</sup> and others, have allied themselves with the rebels. They should quickly be subdued. Next, [you report that] men of the Shibuya family and others deserted the camp and returned home. If this is true, it is exceedingly wrong. They should again be called forth by strict order. If they are still obdurate, we shall, on receiving a renewed report, confiscate their domains. Other men who do not respond to your call will be dealt with likewise. As regards the services rendered by those who led the van in the battles about the Taniyama fortress, they have been taken cognizance of; they were excellent. Henceforth all affairs of the Chin-zei are entrusted to *Shō-yū* Tarō *nyū-dō* Dō-Yū.<sup>19</sup> You shall bear this in mind, and speedily subdue [the enemy]. Ordered thus.

"Jō-wa 2 y. 11 m. 21 d. [3 January 1347]. [Tadayoshi's] *monogram*.

"Shimadzu Katsusa<sup>20</sup> *nyū-dō dono*."

"(Imagawa Sadayo's monogram)."<sup>21</sup>

As regards the offense of deserting the field of battle, it will be seen that the *shugo*'s power was limited to reporting the case to the *shō-gun*, if the offender was a *go ke-nin* who followed the *shu-go* in war merely because he happened to be living in the *kuni* over which the latter was the military commissioner. The lord might, however, make a personal disposition of a similar guilt committed by his own vassal, though the former would naturally be guided by custom and by expediency. The following letter addressed by him to a warrior who might be regarded as his hereditary vassal will illustrate the situation:—

"Despite our orders relative to those who desert the field of battle and return home in the midst of a campaign, [your men] have left proxies and returned home, an exceedingly unreasonable act. You shall command all the returned members of the family to hasten back before the 25th day of this month. If they should be in default, you should report their names with an oath, and we would give directions according to the circumstance. Therefore, the order is conveyed thus.

"Reki-ō 3 y. 12 m. 18 d. [6 January 1241].

*Shami*, (Sadahisa's monogram).

"Hishi-zhima Hiko-ichi *dono*."

—Hishi-zhima docs., V.

<sup>1</sup> Sadahisa's letters dated 2 m. 12 d. and 6 m. 1 d., in Hishi-zhima docs., V and VI; also *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, ix, 795, 946.

<sup>2</sup> Izhūin Tadakuni.

<sup>3</sup> Izhū *in*.

<sup>4</sup> Shō-nai, Hioki.

<sup>5</sup> Isaku Munehisa *nyū-dō* Dō-Ye, one of the signers of this report.

<sup>6</sup> In Yoshitoshi, Hioki, not far from Wakamatsu.

<sup>7</sup> Nikaidō Yukinaka.

<sup>8</sup> The Mure fortress which Yukinaka had built at Ikehe *mura*, Tafuse.



<sup>9</sup> At Miyazaki, near Tafuse.

<sup>10</sup> Six o'clock A.M. The hare (*u*) is the 4th of the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac.

<sup>11</sup> Same-zhima Munefuji *nyū-dō* Ren-Dō.

<sup>12</sup> Probably Taki Yoshi-shige.

<sup>13</sup> Iriki-in Shigekado. From this, it would appear that men of the other branches of the Shibuya who had been at No-zaki followed the leadership of the Iriki-in lord.

<sup>14</sup> Hirayama Takenori.

<sup>15</sup> Takenori followed the Zen-bō-zhi branch of the Hachiman temple of Iwa-skimidzu, near Kyōto.

<sup>16</sup> The mountains that longitudinally divide in two a large part of Hioki.

<sup>17</sup> Probably referred to Shimadzu Sadahisa and Hatakeyama Nao-aki. The mutual jealousy and the lack of coöperation between the two were indeed the bane of the situation.

<sup>18</sup> This document is undated, but probably is of the 9th month of this year, namely October-November 1346.

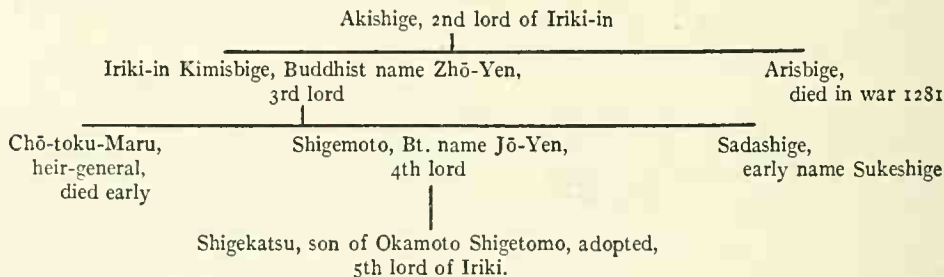
<sup>19</sup> Isshiki Noriuji, the *tan-dai*, deputy of the *shō-gun*, for Kyū-shū.

<sup>20</sup> Shimadzu Sadahisa, who was Katsusa *no suke*, that is, titular assistant (civil) governor of Katsusa.

<sup>21</sup> Imagawa Sadayo, who was the *tan-dai* from 1371, put his monogram on this copy certifying its authenticity; the original letter had been lost.

### 93. WILLS OF SHIBUYA SHIGEMOTO, 1346, AND ORDER OF SANCTION, 1351

Cf. Nos. 13, 17, 24, 42, 46B, and 87. The genealogical relations of the persons concerned were as follows:—



Shigekatsu's mother was Sō-Nyo, of the Taki family (see No. 89); his adopted mother, *i.e.*, Shigemoto's wife, Gen-Shin, was daughter of Shigemoto's uncle, Muneshige.

By a careful study of all related documents it will be seen that Shigekatsu gathered in his hands, through his adopted father and mother, a large part of the original domains of the Iriki-in divided at the first three successions. To this he united a share of the Okamoto and the Taki domains through his mother by birth, Sō-Nyo. (See No. 97.)

#### A

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II; *SK*, XVI; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, x, 222.)

"To devise domains

To Hei-zhi Gorō Shigekatsu:

one place: one house, [being] Sei-ta *nyū-dō*'s west house, in Shibuya *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; also five *chō* of wooded land, in Fuji-gokoro; the boundaries on the four sides are stated in the original document (*hon-shō-mon*);

one place: Kami-yama *mura*, Shimo-mori, In Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*;  
 one place: Jō-Yen's holdings in the two *mura*,—Nagao, Sawara *kōri*, and Kashiwabarā, in Hii *gō*, Chikuzen *kuni*;  
 one place: the *hata* land in Naga-buchi *shō*, Chikuzen *kuni*;  
 one place: three-fifths of Kiyoshiki *gō*, north part, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"The aforesaid places are Jō-Yen's hereditary domains. Therefore, they are, together with the orders [of the *shō-gun*] and [the documents of] successive transmissions, devised for all time to Shigekatsu. As for the established obligations (*ku-zhi*), they shall be discharged according to precedents. Therefore, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

"Jō-wa 2 y. 11 m. 26 d. [28 December 1346].      *Shami* Jō-Yen, (monogram)."

## B

(*Ibid.*)

"A copy."

"To devise domains

To Hei-zhi Gorō Shigekatsu:

one place: Zō-shi *gō*, in Yoshida *shō*, Sagami *kuni*; also the homestead, *ta*, *hata*, and wooded land, at Fuji-gokoro, of the same;

one place: the *ta*, *hata*, and houses, at Ōrui, Kōtsuke *kuni*;

one place: the *ta*, *hata*, homestead, hills, plains, and wild plains, at Asuwo [?], in Kawaé *shō*, Mimasaka *kuni*;

one place: the homestead, *ta*, *hata*, hills, plain, and wild plain, at Ichiino, and the homestead, *ta*, *hata*, hills, plains, and wild plains, at Ōneta [?], Satsuma *kuni*.

"The aforesaid places were the late father Zhō-Yen's hereditary domains. [They were], after the death of his heir-general Chō-toku-Maru, held by Jō-Yen in accordance with Zhō-Yen's testament. Since, however, the younger brother Zhirosaburō *nyū-dō* Jō-Jū<sup>1</sup> unexpectedly seized them, [the matter] was brought to the court [at Kamakura], during the late [*shō-gun*'s] rule, through the hands of *Uma no kami dono* of the Kwan-tō. As Jō-Jū died on 5 m. 6 d., of a late year, Kō-ei 3 y., [16 June 1344], Jō-Yen has held [the said places] in accordance with Zhō-Yen's testament. Therefore, Shigekatsu shall possess them according to Jō-Yen's letter of devise of Shō-kei 2 y. intercalary 2 m. 15 d. [31 March 1333]<sup>2</sup> and this letter. As for the various obligations (*ku-zhi*), they shall be performed according to precedents. The testaments of the successive generations should not be violated in the slightest degree. Therefore, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

"Jō-wa 2 y. 11 m. 26 d. [28 December 1346].      *Shami* Jō-Yen, monogram."

## C

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, II; SK, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xv, 154.)

"Ordered to Shibuya Hei-zhi Gorō Shigekatsu

That he shall forthwith hold the *ji-tō shiki* of the lower *mura*, Kawaé *gō*, Mimasaka *kuni*; of one-half<sup>3</sup> Kiyoshiki *gō*, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*; and of the *ta*, *hata*, and homestead at Lower Nagao, Chikuzen *kuni*.

"The aforesaid [domains Shigekatsu] shall hold in accordance with the letters of

devise by the deceased mother,<sup>4</sup> the nun Gen-Shin, dated Kō-ei 3 y. 3 m. 16 d. [29 April 1344], and by the deceased father<sup>4</sup> Shigemoto *hō-shi*, Buddhist name Jō-Yen, dated Jō-wa 2 y. 11 m. 26 d. [28 December 1346]. Ordered thus.

"Kwan-ō 2 y. 7 m. 30 d. [22 August 1351].

"Minamoto *no Ason*, (Tadafuyu's<sup>5</sup> monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Buddhist name of Sukeshide, younger brother of Iriki-in Shigemoto.

<sup>2</sup> This has not been preserved.

<sup>3</sup> The original says, two and a half fifths.

<sup>4</sup> The adopted mother and father.

<sup>5</sup> About Ashikaga Tadafuyu, see No. 98.

#### 94. SHIBUYA SHIGEKATSU'S DEVISE, 1347

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII; *SK*, XVI; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, x, 551.)

"To devise a domain

To Waka-wō-Maru:

2 *chō* 7 *tan* of rice fields, and also the homestead of Gyō-bu Zhirō, at Lower Nagao, in Sawara *kōri*, Chikuzen *kuni*.

"Since [Shigekatsu] has held by heredity the aforesaid domain as [grant for] service in the Mongol war, [he] devises it to the adopted son Waka-wō-Maru. As for the various obligations (*ku-zhi*), they should be discharged according to precedents. Devised thus.

"Jō-wa 3 y. 3 m. 6 d. [17 April 1347].

Taira *no* Shigekatsu, (monogram).

"The nun Gen-Shin.<sup>1</sup>

"*Shami* Jō-Yen."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The adopted mother and father.

#### 95. REPORTS ON THEIR SERVICE IN WAR BY OKAMOTO SHIGEOKI AND TERAOKA SHIGENA, 1347

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, x, 686.)

EARLY in 1347, while Shimadzu Sadahisa was defending Kagoshima with difficulty,<sup>1</sup> several hundred warriors of south Satsuma succeeded in reaching the fortress of the Prince at Taniyama.<sup>2</sup> Though Sadahisa erected outposts in its neighborhood,<sup>3</sup> they were hut poorly manned, as few leaders in the *kuni* responded to his calls;<sup>4</sup> and such hattles as he gave were ineffectual. Presently a new enemy arose in the confines of Kagoshima itself, for Nakamura Kaku-Zhun, who had previously surrendered to Sadahisa and defended the Hamazaki fortress in his behalf, again rebelled and induced his allies into Kagoshima.<sup>5</sup> It was at this juncture that men of the Shibuya aided in the defense of the Tō-fuku-zhi fortress of Kagoshima, as is described helow. The enemy was joined by the hosts of soldiers of fortune who had come over hy sea from Kumano, on the southern coast of central Japan;<sup>6</sup> since Yoshino was near Kumano, the Southern party always found willing allies among those roving pirate-warriors who infested this coast and the Inland Sea and readily exchanged their gallant service for prospects of spoil.

#### A

"SHIBUYA Kurō Shigeoki reports his loyal service in war.

"Since, on the night of Jō-wa 3 y. 5 m. 29 d. [7 July 1347], the enemy of Kago-shima *in*<sup>7</sup> surreptitiously took the fortress of Hamazaki, [Shigeoki] was the first to

hasten to [the fortress] Tō-fuku-zhi, on 6 m. 3 d. [11 July]. While he was awaiting the arrival of the forces on our side, at the hour of the hare,<sup>8</sup> on the 6th day [14 July], thousands of Kumano pirates and other men [of the enemy] rushed in from both land and sea. Though deficient in numbers, [Shigeoki] defended [the fortress] at the peril of his life, killed several rebels, and repulsed the enemy. The retainer<sup>9</sup> Tō-shirō was wounded, (a sword cut on the forehead). These circumstances were witnessed by Nomoto Mago-shichi, the attendant [of the Commander], who fought at the same time. The following 9th day [17 July], [Shigeoki] went to Murasaki-bara<sup>10</sup> to press the rear [of the enemy], and with his clansmen fought strenuously. Therefore, in order that at once this report be certified as proof for the future, the statement is respectfully made thus."

"[I do] recognize. (Hatakeyama Nao-aki's monogram.)"

## B

KK, VIII, has an identical *gun-chū zhō* by Shibuya (Terao) Iya-shirō Shigena,<sup>11</sup> with the omission of the sentence regarding the injury of a retainer.

<sup>1</sup> Sadahisa's letter to the Hishi-zhima dated 1 m. 7 d.: Hishi-zhima docs., V.

<sup>2</sup> Another dated 1 m. 20 d.: *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> A letter by a follower of the prince dated 1 m. 28 d.: Aso docs., I.

<sup>4</sup> Sadahisa's letter to a Shigehisa, 2 m. 13 d.: SK, XVI.

<sup>5</sup> Another to an Ichikuzaki, 6 m. 17 d., and a report by Kawanishi: *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Sadahisa's letters to a Shigehisa, 5 m.(?) 27 d., and to an Ichikuzaki, 6 m. 17 d.: *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> The Haseba, the Yagami, and the Nakamura, all related by blood, had held the *gun-zhi shiki* of Kagoshima *kōri*.

<sup>8</sup> Six A.M.; see No. 92, n. 10.

<sup>9</sup> *Rō-to*; this may possibly be an error for *rō-zhū*; the characters *to* and *zhū* are much alike.

<sup>10</sup> Near Kagoshima, to the southwest.

<sup>11</sup> That the Taki also came to the succor of the beleaguered fortress may be inferred from the report by Kawanishi Dō-Gen, dated 7 m. 4 d. (SK, XVI), who said that he went thither on 6 m. 5 d. (13 July) under the command of Shibuya Shimi-osa Rokuro-tarō, who was probably Taki Shigehide.

## 96. THE TAN-DAI'S CALLS UPON OKAMOTO SHIGEOKI TO ARMED SERVICE, 1348

(Okamoto docs.; also KK, VII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xi, 407, 765.)

THE prestige of the Southern Court received another blow from the fall in battle, in Kawachi, on 4 February 1348, of Kusunoki Masatsura, the chief warrior on whom it had relied. Reporting this event to Shimadzu Sadahisa, Ashikaga Tadayoshi wrote: "Now it will not be difficult to reduce Yoshino."<sup>1</sup> The affairs in south Kyū-shū were, however, far from being favorable to the *shō-gun*. By the following letters, the *tan-dai* of Kyū-shū, Isshiki Noriuji, urged Okamoto Shigeoki to go to the rescue of the fortress of Ikebe heroically defended by Nikaidō, (*cf.* No. 92).

## A

"It is reported that the rebels of Satsuma *kuni* have [of late]<sup>2</sup> been particularly turbulent. You shall render loyal service in war in strict obedience, and succor the fortress of Ikebe. Therefore, the order is conveyed thus.

"Jō-wa 4 y. 2 m. 9 d. [19 March 1348]. *Shami*, (Isshiki Noriuji's monogram).

"Shibuya Kurō<sup>3</sup> *dono*."



## B

"Since it was rumored that the rebels of Satsuma *kuni* would attack the fortress of Ikebe, it has previously been ordered that you should give it your aid. It is reported that this has not been done. What is the reason? You shall speedily hasten thither and subdue [the enemy]. Therefore, the order is conveyed thus.

"Jō-wa 4 y. 8 m. 17 d. [10 September 1348].

*Ku-nai shō-yū*, (Isshiki Naouji's monogram).

"Shibuya Kurō<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> The letter dated 1 m. 12 d.; *SK*, XVI, and *Dai Ni-hon s.r.*, VI, xi, 352.

<sup>2</sup> Supplied from an almost identical letter of the same date by the same writer addressed to Shimadzu Munchisa: *ibid.*, VI, xi, 407.

<sup>3</sup> Okamoto Shigeoki.

## 97. SHIBUYA SHIGEKATSU'S LETTERS OF DEVISE, 1349

(Copies in Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II; *SK*, XVI; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xii, 760-763.)

THESE documents, excepting C, are copies. E is incomplete. There are manifest errors of the names of the devisees in A and B. The student may be able to correct some of them by referring to F and No. 114.

## A

"To devise to the son Shō-zhu-Maru:—

one place: the *myō-shu shiki* of Ichiino in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*;

one place: the west part of the lower *mura*, original *gō*, in Kawaé *shō*, Mimasaka *kuni*;

one place: the *ta*, houses, 3 *chō* of wooded land, and homestead with wild plain, at

Fuji-gokoro, in Zō-shi *gō*, Shibuya, Sagami *kuni*;

one place: the *men* for repair, [being] the estate left by the nun Zen-Shun, in Hii *gō*, Chikuzen *kuni*.

"The aforesaid domains were mother Gen-Shin's<sup>1</sup> private domains by heredity, which Shigekatsu has inherited. They are, together with the documents of succession and the orders [of recognition], devised for all time to the son Tora-ichi-Maru. The details are set forth in the testament.<sup>2</sup> There shall be no interference. Therefore, as proof for the future, the letter of devise is [drawn] thus.

"Jō-wa 5 y. intercalary 6 m. 23 d. [7 August 1349].

Taira *no* Shigekatsu, *monogram*."

## B

"To devise

To the son Shō-zhu-Maru:

one place: the south part, Kiyoshiki, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*;

the boundaries on the four sides (shall accord with the original document);<sup>3</sup>

one place: the 2 *chō* of *ta* and one homestead, \*in lieu of the *sono* at Toki *ri*,<sup>5\*</sup> in Arishige [*myō*] of Yoshi-matsu, in Lower Saga *ryō*,<sup>4</sup> Hizen *kuni*; and 1 *chō* at Yota [Yoshida?] *ri*,<sup>5</sup> \*in the 26th *tsubo*,<sup>5\*</sup> and 8 *tan* at Kanoé-ō-ta *ri*,<sup>5</sup> \*the 12th *tsubo*,<sup>5\*</sup> in Lower Saga *ryō*,<sup>4</sup> the same *kuni*.

"The aforesaid domains were permanent hereditary holdings of grandfather Sō-

Shin<sup>6</sup> and mother<sup>7</sup> nun Sō-Nyo. Since Shigekatsu has inherited them, he devises them to Tora-ichi-Marū.<sup>7a</sup> For future days, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

“Jō-wa 5 y. intercalary 6 m. 23 d. [7 August 1349].

Taira no Shigekatsu, *monogram*.”

## C

“To devise

To the son Tora-matsu-Marū:<sup>8</sup>

one place: the north part, Kiyoshiki, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*; the boundaries on the four sides shall accord with the original letter of devise;

one place: the wet *ta* and homestead, Kashiwa-bara, Chikuzen *kuni*;

one place: the homestead of Naga-buchi, Chikugo *kuni*; and the homestead of Minaki, the same *kuni*;

one place: the homestead and wooded land of Fuji-gokoro, Zō-shi *gō*, Sagami *kuni*.

“The aforesaid domains were father<sup>9</sup> Jō-Yen’s hereditary holdings, which Shigekatsu has inherited. They are, together with Jō-Yen’s and Shigetomo’s<sup>10</sup> documents of succession, devised for all time to the son Tora-matsu-Marū. He shall hold them in accordance with this letter. Therefore, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

“Jō-wa 5 y. intercalary 6 m. 23 d. [7 August 1349].

Taira no Shigekatsu, *monogram*.”

## D

“To devise

To the son Tora-matsu-Marū:<sup>8</sup>

one place: Shimo-mori, Kami-yama, Ōashi, (in this [*mura*] the lots for life are the estates left by two priests of the place, allotted to Shidzushige’s<sup>11</sup> widow), and

Kaneko *mura*, in Kawaé *shō*, Mimasaka *kuni*;

one place: Ichi-no-no and Kawa-toko, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

“The aforesaid shall, in accordance with father Shigetomo’s<sup>10</sup> letter of devise, be held, one-half each, by the younger brother Kurō Shigeoki and the son Tora-matsu-Marū. Of the vacated places<sup>12</sup> in the estates left by Jō-Yen and Shigetomo, Tora-matsu-Marū shall have complete possession. The details are set forth in the testament.<sup>2</sup> As proof for the future, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

“Jō-wa 5 y. intercalary 6 m. 23 d.

Taira no Shigekatsu, *monogram*.”

## E

“One place: the *ji-tō shiki* of Ichiino, in Iriki *in*;

one place: Kurano *mura*, in Iriki *in*;

one place: Ku-jū *mura*, the same;

one place: one-fourth of Kashiwa-zhima, in Iriki *in*.

Shigekatsu, *monogram*.”

## F

“Articles of testament.<sup>13</sup>

“The boundaries on the four sides of the domains devised to the son Tora-matsu-Marū and the younger brother Tora-ichi-Marū are stated in the original document.

“The various obligations(*ku-zhi*) shall be performed according to precedents.

"The import of the testaments of Jō-Yen and Gen-Shin shall be comprehended. Next, as regards the younger sons,<sup>14</sup> they shall be, in the north part [of Kiyoshiki], under the disposition of Tora-matsu, and, in the south part, under the disposition of Tora-ichi.

"If Tora-matsu has no son or grandson, [his estate] shall fall upon Tora-ichi. If Tora-ichi has no son or grandson, [his estate] shall be held by Tora-matsu. As for the daughters, they each shall have for life one place of one *chō*; the two men's [daughters] shall do the same.

"As for the adopted sons, not even a small share shall be devised to them.

"Though there are persons who hold Shigekatsu's [previous] letters of devise, they will be provided for with lots by the heir-general and Zhirō in the north and south parts.<sup>15</sup> If any among them [*i.e.*, the former] should dispute [about this arrangement], he should not [be allowed to] hold [any part of] the estate left by Shigekatsu.

"The estates of the two men shall be devised to one man of ability, and the others' [shares] shall be for life only. All shall be held, unto children's children, in accordance with this direction. Any person who violates this direction shall not [be allowed to] hold [any part of the estate left by] Shigekatsu. Therefore, the testamentary letter is [written] thus.

"Jō-wa 5 y. intercalary 6 m. 23 d.

Taira no Shigekatsu, *monogram*."

\* \* The parts between asterisks are written small in the original.

<sup>1</sup> Mother by adoption.

<sup>2</sup> *Oki-bumi*, referring to the document F.

<sup>3</sup> Worm-eaten part supplied in parentheses.

<sup>4</sup> *Ryō*, a rare term as private domanial unit; see No. 89, n. 5a.

<sup>5</sup> *Tsubo* is the same as *hei*. For *hei* and *ri*, see No. 55, n. 14, and No. 89B, n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Taki Shigemune, father of Sō-Nyo.

<sup>7</sup> Mother by birth.

<sup>7a</sup> Son by a secondary consort; older than Shigekado, but of inferior birth.

<sup>8</sup> The boyhood name of Shigekado, the 6th Iriki-in lord.

<sup>9</sup> Father by adoption.

<sup>10</sup> Okamoto Shigetomo, Shigekatsu's father by birth.

<sup>11</sup> Okamoto Shidzushige, Shigekatsu's grandfather.

<sup>12</sup> *Kessho*.

<sup>13</sup> *Oki-bumi*, literally, letter left.

<sup>14</sup> *Sho-shi*; see No. 64, n. 1.

<sup>15</sup> This is the editor's construction of an obscure clause in the original.

## 98. ASHIKAGA TADAFUYU'S CALL FOR ARMED SERVICE, 1350

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII; *SK*, XVI; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xiv, 43.)

AFTER a decade of undoubted supremacy, the Northern party at Kyōto was suddenly rent by an internal dissention. The Kō brothers, the powerful lieutenants of the *shō-gun* Takauji, playing upon the latter's good nature, succeeded in estranging him from his younger brother Tadayoshi, upon whose capable cooperation the success of the shogunate had largely depended. This event at once wrought a cleavage among the immediate followers of the Ashikaga, with serious consequences. The first development was the flight of Tadafuyu to northern Kyū-shū in October 1350. Tadafuyu, the son of Takauji and adopted son of Tadayoshi, had been holding the important post of the *tan-dai* at Nagato, that is, the *shō-gun's* deputy for the western *kuni* of the Main Island, when he was suddenly attacked by partisans of the Kō and ousted from his strong position. Takauji was induced to repudiate Tadafuyu as a rebel, and to order the great warriors in Kyū-shū to despatch

him if he would not take the tonsure and retire.<sup>1</sup> The intriguing Kō could, however, hardly have foreseen the turn of events in Kyū-shū which followed Tadafuyu's entry and his condemnation. He at once allied himself with the Shōni, took Chikuzen and parts of other *kuni*, overshadowed the *tan-dai* Issbiki, and was joined even by supporters of the Southern Court, not only in north and middle Kyū-shū, but also in Hiuga and Ōsumi. It should be noted that the action of these men was not, of course, owing so much to any belief on their part that Tadafuyu had conceived a sudden devotion toward the Court at Yoshino, as to their common opposition to his enemies in the island. Conspicuous among the latter was the lord of Shimadzu. From this fact resulted also the singular spectacle of Hatakeyama Nao-aki, the *shō-gun's* representative in Hiuga, parting bands with his logical comrade in arms, Shimadzu Sadahisa, and going over to Tadafuyu. Here, again, the reason was largely personal: Sadahisa had always looked askance at Nao-aki, regarding him in the light of an ambitious intruder seeking to undo the prestige his family had patiently and with still partial success built up; it was Sadahisa's hostility to Tadafuyu that drove Nao-aki to allegiance to the latter. And for similar reasons Nao-aki was joined, though not heartily, by the Kimotsuki and others of the Southern party, whose bitter enemy he had been till the day before.

Shimadzu Sadahisa who, owing to the recent rebellion of Nirei Yorinaka at Shibushi, had been compelled to order the already reluctant warriors in Satsuma to serve also in Ōsumi,<sup>2</sup> now found himself under the new circumstances in a more serious predicament than before. The ranks of his supporters seemed daily to grow thinner through defection.

In the meantime, Tadafuyu conducted himself as the general director of the military affairs of Kyū-shū,<sup>3</sup> and summoned to his side men in all parts of the island, winning an increasingly large following. Below is an illustration of the brief calls he sent out broadcast. It will be seen that he openly avowed his devotion to his fathers by birth and by adoption, as if to say that he had their true interest at heart but was opposed solely to the intrigues of the Kō brothers.

"In order to rest the minds of the two lords,<sup>4</sup> [Tadafuyu] has started [his military enterprise]. It is hereby commanded that you shall speedily hasten to his side and render loyal service.

"Jō-wa 6 y. 11 m. 20 d. [19 December 1350].

(Tadafuyu's monogram.)

"Shibuya Kurō<sup>5</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Letters by Takauji and by Kō no Moronao: *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xii, 1002-1003; xiii, 8, 168-169, 363.

<sup>2</sup> Sadahisa's letters to the Shige-hisa, 6 m. and 11 m. 16 d.: *SK*, XVI.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Tai-hei ki*, Tadafuyu received, on 24 November, an imperial mandate to punish the Kō brothers, and was appointed Commander of Kyū-shū.

<sup>4</sup> Takauji and Tadayoshi.

<sup>5</sup> Okamoto Shigeoki.

## 99. LETTERS CONCERNING THE GUARD SERVICE AT DA-ZAI FU,

1351

### A

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII; *SK*, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xiv, 988.)

"SHIBUYA Kurō Shigeoki, a *jū-tō* of Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, states: He has hastened to Da-zai Fu, to do the guard service, and his arrival has been duly recorded. He begs that a certifying monogram be affixed as testimony and mirror for the future. Pray convey this import [to the Commander]. With reverence.

"Jō-wa 7 y. 4 m. — d. [May 1351].

"Presented to the Commissioner's place."

"[I do] recognize. (Monogram.)"



## B

(SK, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xiv, 988.)

A report of arrival, of the same date as A, couched in the same language, and certified with the same monogram, by "Naka-koba Goro-zhirō Sadakiyo, the proxy of Toyoda Chō-zhu-Maru, the *ji-tō* of Kurano, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*," is here omitted.

## C

(Okamoto docs.; also KK, VII; SK, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryo*, VI, xv, 28.)

"It is excellent that you, in addition to the loyal service rendered in the *kuni*, have hastened hither. It is hereby [commanded] that you shall evermore render distinguished service at arms.

"Jō-wa 7 y. 5 m. 25 d. [23 June 1351].

(Tadafuyu's monogram.)

"Shibuya Kurō *dono*."

On the 29th day (27 June), identical letters were addressed, among others, to "Toyoda Rokuro-zhirō *dono*" and "Takemitsu Saburō *dono*" (Shigekane). SK, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xv, 33.

## 100. SHUIN TOKITOMO'S REFUTATION, 1351

(Shūin docs., roll III.)

"As regards the one *chō* three *tan* at Harada and one *sono* at Fu-shuku, in Ichiino *mura*, Satsuma *kuni*, mentioned by the proxy of Tomowo, the former *shū-in* of the Niita temple, the same *kuni*;—Since the aforesaid *ta* and *sono* are Tokitomo's [legitimate domains held] without interference, the charge of his seizure [of the same] is unfounded. It is prayed that, in accordance with the previous order, it be decreed that Tokitomo shall securely hold [the said domains]. Pray convey this import [to the authorities]. With reverence.

"Kwan-ō 2 y. 7 m. 24 d. [16 August 1351].

Koremune Tokihisa." (Monogram on the reverse side.)

## 101. IMPERIAL ORDER TO SHIBUYA SHIGEKATSU, 1351

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, II; SK, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xv, 163.)

PRINCE KANENAGA, designated in the following order as the *Sei-sei shō-gun no miya*, "Prince the general for the subjugation of the west," had left Satsuma late in 1347, and was staying for the most part with the Kikuchi in Higo. This *rin-shi* addressed to Shigekatsu was issued doubtless on the recommendation of the Prince.

An identical *rin-shi* of the same date was issued to Shibuya Kurō *Saemon no zhō*, namely, Okamoto Shigeoki: (Okamoto docs.; also KK, VII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xv, 163). Isaku Munehisa, of the Shimadzu stock, also received the same command: (*ibid.*, 162).

"[His Majesty] has heard that you would come to his side. You shall at once attach yourself to the Prince *Sei-sei Shō-gun* and do loyal military service. Any distinguished service which you may render will be rewarded. The Imperial pleasure is hereby conveyed.

"Shō-hei<sup>1</sup> 6 y. 8 m. 3 d. [25 August 1351].

*Sa chū-ben*, (monogram).

"[To] the residence of Shibuya Mino *no kami*."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The year-period of the Southern Court.

<sup>2</sup> For the title, see No. 105, n. 7.

## 102. OKAMOTO SHIGEOKI'S REPORT OF HIS SERVICE AT ARMS, 1352

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII; *SK*, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xv, 638.)

EVENTS in 1351 moved with kaleidoscopic changes. While Takauji was on his way to chastize his son Tadafuyu in Kyū-shū, Tadayoshi, the former's younger brother, capitulated to the Yoshino Court, in November 1350; Takauji retraced his steps toward Kyōto, and in Settsu was met in battle and severely defeated by Tadayoshi; soon the two brothers composed their difference, and the Kō were ignominiously killed, in March 1351. It was not long, however, before Tadayoshi fell out with Takauji's heir Yoshiakira. The *shō-gun* now, in November, came to terms with the Southern Court;<sup>1</sup> and, as a consequence, his ally in Satsuma, Shimadzu Sadahisa, declared himself on the same side,<sup>2</sup> at the close of the year. The truce between the two Courts was broken within three months, and Sadahisa naturally reverted to the support of the Northern side.

The following report was written during the brief period when Sadahisa and Prince Kanenaga found themselves on the same side. The writer, Okamoto Shigeoki, had responded to the Prince's call (No. 101); *Kurando* Michiyoshi, of the Ōsaki or Zai-koku-shi family, of Tōgō, whom Shigeoki attacked, was enemy of Shimadzu Sadahisa, and Shigeoki's service against him was certified by a representative of the Prince.

In the meantime, Ashikaga Tadafuyu, who was vindicated by the fall of the Kō brothers, again lost support of the Shogunate when Tadayoshi died about the time that the Yoshino Court broke with the *shō-gun*. He left Kyū-shū toward the end of 1352.

"[I HAVE] examined. (Sanjō Yasu-sué's<sup>3</sup> monogram.)"

"Shibuya Kurō Saémon no zhō Shigeoki reports his service at arms:

"That [Shigeoki] attacked the fortress of Tōgō *Kurando*, and rendered distinguished service on the 5th of this month [23 December 1351], is a patent fact, since he fought under the eyes of the Commander. In order that [Shigeoki's service] be at once reported, he makes a statement thus.

"Shō-hei 6 y. 12 m. 23 d. [10 January 1352]."

<sup>1</sup> Takauji's letter to Sadahisa, 11 m. 13 d.: *SK*, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xv, 585.

<sup>2</sup> Ashikaga Yoshifuyu to Mutō, 12 m. 13 d.: *Nezhime se-roku*, II.

<sup>3</sup> Sanjō Yasu-sué, the court-warrior, was sent by the Southern Court as early as April 1337, to direct the conduct of its supporters in the *kuni*; he did prolonged service in a spirit singularly self-effacing.

## 103. SHIBUYA SHIGEKATSU'S SURRENDER OF A DOMAIN, 1352

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII; *SK*, XVII; *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xvi, 461.)

"LOWER Nagao, Hii gō, Sawara kōri, Chikuzen *kuni*, was confirmed<sup>1</sup> to Shigekatsu, while the deceased father Jō-Yen was still alive. In accordance with the letters of devise by Jō-Yen and Gen-Shin, six *chō* out of the ten *chō* are surrendered.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, for the future this letter is [written] thus.

"Kwan-ō 3 y. 4 m. 19 d. [1 June 1352]. Shigekatsu, (monogram).  
"Shibuya Kurō Saémon no zhō<sup>3</sup> dono."

<sup>1</sup> *An-do*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sari-watasu*.

<sup>3</sup> Okamoto Shigeoki.

## 104. LAND AND DUES OF TORI-MARU, 1354-1357-1406

(KK, XII.)

ALTHOUGH the following documents relate to a *mura* in Tōgō, they are given here, as it appears that the *mura* was certainly within a domain of a Shibuya. Otherwise, the documents form a valuable institutional material.

Seeing that the pieces of land mentioned here owed dues of various kinds,—to whom cannot he determined,—it may be surmised that the holders, whose names appear, were not vassals and other recipients of *kyū*, grants, but *hyaku-shō*, or, as the term had come to mean in this period, peasants, not warriors. Cf. No. 59. Probably the last line in B indicates that in the original text there followed a list of *kyū*, which has been lost.

The dues are more diversified than in No. 59.

The numbers which appear without unit-names in this translation are those of land areas, the figures being always given in this order, *chō-tan-jō*; thus, 0.4.1 is 4 *tan* 1 *jō*, and 1.0.2 is 1 *chō* 2 *jō*.

## A

“RECORD of lands at Tori-maru.<sup>1</sup>

“One place, Ōkura:<sup>2</sup> 1.2.0;

of this, 0.2.0, wasted;

0.1.1 called in by Sumiura *dono*;—Tomo-saburō;

one place, Naka-zono:<sup>3</sup> 0.9.0;

of this, 0.1.0 called in by Sumiura *dono*;

0.1.0, *ta* for the *dō*;—Iya-tarō;

one place, Dō no sono:<sup>4</sup> 0.5.0; of this, 0.1.0, wasted;—Mago-roku;

one place, Hira-no:<sup>5</sup> 0.5.0;—Shiro-saburō;

one place, Ué-komori:<sup>6</sup> 0.6.0; 0.1.0, wasted;—Tō-tarō;

one place, Oku-zono:<sup>7</sup> 0.5.0;

of this, 0.1.0 called in by Sumiura *dono*;—Yoichi-shirō;

one place, Hata-naka:<sup>8</sup> 0.5.0; of this, 0.3.0, wasted;—Iya-hei-zhi;

one place, Oka-zono:<sup>9</sup> 0.7.0; of this, 0.3.0, temple-*ta*;

0.1.0, wasted;—Iya-hei-zhi.

“*Ta* of *uki-men*:<sup>16</sup>

one place, Ike<sup>10</sup> se-machi:<sup>17</sup> 0.3.0;

one place, within Ōkura:<sup>2</sup> 0.4.3;

of this, 0.1.1, *ta* for the Gon-gen festival;

one place, Kuro-yama:<sup>11</sup> 0.0.3, Sumiura *dono*'s demesne;<sup>18</sup>

one place, Naka-no sono:<sup>12</sup> 0.2.0.

“In all, 6.4.1.

“Bunna 3 y. 10 m. 14 d. [30 October 1354].

“Dues: indigo, *akane*,<sup>19</sup> *kado-kawa*,<sup>20</sup> *sui-shū*,<sup>21</sup> mixed:

Ōkura,<sup>2</sup> 1.2.0,—996 *mon*,—Tomo-saburō;

Naka-zono,<sup>3</sup> 0.9.0; of this, 0.1.0, *ta* for the *dō*;—600 *mon*,—Iya-tarō;

Dō no sono,<sup>4</sup> 0.5.0,—400 *mon*,—Mago-roku;

Hira-no,<sup>5</sup> 0.5.0,—400 *mon*,—Shiro-saburō;

Ué-komori,<sup>6</sup> 0.6.0,—450 *mon*,—Tō-tarō;

Oku no sono,<sup>7</sup> 0.5.0,—400 *mon*,—Yoichi-shirō;

Hata-naka,<sup>8</sup> 0.5.0,—400 *mon*,—Iya-hei-zhi;

Oka-zono,<sup>9</sup> 0.4.0,—332 *mon*,—Iya-hei-zhi.

“[In all], 3 *kwan* 978 *mon*.”

## B

“Register of assessments in Tori-maru *mura*.

“Ōkura:<sup>2</sup> 1.2.0; *koku* 1.94;—Tomo-saburō;

Naka-zono:<sup>3</sup> 0.8.0; *koku* 1.16;—Tō-go;

Dō:<sup>4</sup> 0.5.0; *koku* 0.72;—Mago-roku;

Hira-no:<sup>5</sup> 0.5.0; *koku* 0.72;—Shiro-saburō;

Hata-naka:<sup>8</sup> 0.8.0; *koku* 1.3;—Iya-gen-zhi;

Ué-komori:<sup>6</sup> 0.6.0; *koku* 0.86;—Tō-tarō;

[Oku-zono<sup>7</sup>]: 0.5.0; *koku* 0.67;—Yoichi-shirō.

“Total, *koku* 7.1.

“En-bun 2 y. 10 m. 4 d. [16 November 1357].

“0.2.0, Tori-maru;<sup>1</sup>

0.6.0, Kaze-hagi;<sup>13</sup>

0.5.0, the *kado*<sup>22</sup> of Uchi-no;<sup>14</sup>

0.7.0, the *kado* of Chū-gō.<sup>15</sup>

“In all, 2.0.0.

“Record of granted parts.”<sup>23</sup>

## C

“Record of annual taxes of Tori-maru *mura*.

“One place, Ōkura:<sup>2</sup> *ta*, 1.7.0; *hata*, 0.6.2;

annual tax, *koku* 3.23; also 0.66;

Spring dues, *kwan* 1.220;

barley, *koku* 0.83;

mulberry [dues] commuted, *kwan* 1.750;

cotton money, *kwan* 0.100;

rope, 2 coils;

one place, Naka-zono:<sup>3</sup> *ta*, 0.6.0; *hata*, 0.3.1;

annual tax, *koku* 1.5; also 0.4;

Spring dues, *kwan* 0.415; also 0.086;

barley, *koku* 0.41;

mulberry commuted, *kwan* 0.500;

cotton money, *kwan* 0.050;

rope, 1 coil;

of the *ta*, 1 *tan* bears no annual tax or Spring dues; 5 *tan* are charged;

one place, Dō no sono:<sup>4</sup> *ta*, 0.6.3;

annual tax, *koku* 1.63; 0.815, Mago-hei-zhi's share;

Spring dues, *kwan* 0.510; 0.255, Mago-hei-zhi's share;

cotton money, *kwan* 0.050; 0.025, Mago-hei-zhi's share;

rope, 1 coil;

one place, Oku no sono:<sup>7</sup> *ta*, 0.5.3; *hata*, 0.5.1;

annual tax, *koku* 1.37;

Spring dues, *kwan* 0.415; also 0.085;



barley, *koku* 0.67;  
mulberry commuted, *kwan* 0.380;  
cotton money, *kwan* 0.050;

one place, Oka no sono:<sup>9</sup> *ta*, 0.6.0;

annual tax, *koku* 1.3;  
Spring dues, *kwan* 0.504;  
barley, *koku* 0.78;  
mulberry commuted, *kwan* 0.800;  
cotton money, *kwan* 0.050;  
rope, 1 coil;

one place, Hatake-naka:<sup>8</sup> *ta*, 0.5.0; *hata*, 0.4.0;

annual tax, *koku* 1.3;  
Spring dues, *kwan* 0.415;  
barley, *koku* 0.52;  
mulberry commuted, *kwan* 0.300;  
cotton money, *kwan* 0.050;  
rope, 1 coil;

one place, Ué-komori:<sup>6</sup> *ta*, 0.6.3; *hata*, 0.3.0;

annual tax, *koku* 1.4;  
Spring dues, *kwan* 0.619;  
barley, *koku* 0.4;  
mulberry commuted, *kwan* 0.400;  
cotton money, *kwan* 0.050;  
rope, 1 coil.

“Ô-ei 13 y. 6 m. 1 d. [16 June 1406].”

<sup>1</sup> The literal meaning of Tori-maru is bird-circle; *maru*(circle) was derived from the archaic word of unknown signification, *maro*, which used to form the ending of many personal names, and, during the feudal ages, was conventionally suffixed to boyhood names of men; today *maru* is used in the same manner with names of ships.

Notes 2-15 are literal meanings of the *aza-na* which occur in the documents.

<sup>2</sup> Great warehouse.

<sup>4</sup> *Sono* for a Buddhist chapel.

<sup>6</sup> Upper contained.

<sup>8</sup> Middle of *hata*.

<sup>10</sup> Pond lot; for *se-machi*, see n. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Middle plain *sono*.

<sup>14</sup> Inside plain.

<sup>3</sup> Middle *sono*.

<sup>5</sup> Level plain.

<sup>7</sup> Inmost *sono*.

<sup>9</sup> Hill *sono*.

<sup>11</sup> Black mountain.

<sup>13</sup> ?

<sup>15</sup> Middle *gō* (district).

<sup>16</sup> *Uki-men*, literally, floating exemption; (for *men*, see No. 18, n. 5). This peculiar term occurs as early as 1144 (in Sagami, in the *Ten-yō ki*, in possession of the Great Temples of Ise), but its meaning has not been fully established. It may have originally meant, in some cases, and probably in the present instance, land whose dues were not definitely assigned but might be diverted to extraordinary uses; some land which was once an *uki-men* in this sense may have since been definitely apportioned and yet retained the name. In some other examples, an *uki-men* may at first have meant dues not definitely levied on any specified piece of land but liable to be charged at need according to circumstances. However that may be, in the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), *uki-men* often meant irregular, unusual charges; sometimes, additional charges. In this sense, the term would be applied to charges, rather than to pieces of land, the same land bearing both regular and *uki* charges.

<sup>17</sup> From inquiries made in widely separated parts of Japan, the editor has concluded that a *se-machi* meant a plot of *ta* regardless of its size and shape; the word is seldom applied to plots

of *hata*. This view is further confirmed by comparing versions of a popular rural song sung in different parts of Kyū-shū at the time of transplanting the rice-grass from the nursery, in the fourth and fifth lunar months. In some places, the song runs: "How lame my waist is [from continuous bending]! What a long *se-machi*! What long days in the fourth and fifth months!" In some places, only the word "*se-machi*" is changed to "*kō no ta*" (this *ta*). See *Sho-koku dō-yō dai-zen*, compiled by the Dō-yō ken-kyū kwai, Tokyo, 1909, pp. 939, 963, and *Ri-yō shū*, compiled by the Bun-gei i-in kwai, Tokyo, 1914, pp. 705, 706.

<sup>18</sup> *Yō-saku*.

<sup>19</sup> A reddish root, a dye stuff.

<sup>20</sup> Can this mean leather (*karwa*) levied on the *kado*?

<sup>21</sup> Is this *tsui-shu*, that is, utensils made of solid lacquer on which decorative figures were carved in relief? Probably not.

<sup>22</sup> *Kado*, the cultivator's estate, irrespective of size, regarded as a unit. It is interesting to note that this term, so commonly used in Satsuma in the Tokugawa period (after 1600), occurs so early as 1357, the date of this document.

Institutionally considered, the *kado* seems to be essentially the same as the *yashiki*, homestead usually of a warrior (see No. 13, n. 21), and the *zai-ke*, homestead usually of a peasant (see No. 13, n. 25); the latter two differed only in size and importance, each consisting alike of a dwelling with its appurtenances and some land (*cf.* Wurt) adjoining it. *Kado* may, on the whole, be considered as only a later name for the *zai-ke*. It is characteristic of the economic life of Japan, based as it was on the rice-culture, that every normal rural group was composed of such individual homesteads and irregularly scattered pieces of land belonging to them, instead of forming any manor or "village community." Even the *shō* presented merely a magnified picture of this peculiar composition of *Einzelhöfe*. Indeed, the singularly flexible character of *mura* and *shō*, and the ultimate break-up of the *shō*, were largely due to the looseness of this composition and to the coherence of each single estate,—the two phases of the same economic condition. What was accomplished in parts of south Germany in the early modern ages by the compulsory re-parcelling of peasant boldings (*Vereinödung*), or still later in Baden and elsewhere by their spontaneous consolidation (*Flurbereinigung*), has been a constant state of things in Japan and the basis of her whole agricultural life (*cf.* Max Weber, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1924, p. 29). This is the fundamental fact which lies at the root of the land arrangement that formed the sub-structure of Japanese feudalism; nay, in fact, the individual peasant estate, as an institution, antedated feudalism and survived it. (See Summary of Points, C-VII-a and h.)

<sup>23</sup> Probably with this line began another part of the document; if so, this piece is incomplete.

## 105. SHIBUYA SHIGEKATSU'S DEVISE TO MASASHIGE, 1355

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II.)

*Cf.* No. 97. By the following letter of devise, Shigekatsu devised permanently a part of the south part of Kiyoshiki to his grandson Ko-gorō Masashige. The original document makes a very difficult reading.

"THE letter of devise to Ko-gorō.

"The various domains in the estate of the grandfather<sup>1</sup> Muneshige which are in the south part of Kiyoshiki *myō*, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, have been wholly devised to Hei-gorō Shigetsugu.<sup>2</sup> However, while the heir-general<sup>3</sup> [s domain] in this *in* is known as Kiyoshiki *gō*, the homestead (*zai-ka*) of Iya-tō-shirō *nyū-dō* at the original *mura* in the south part is [also] called Kiyoshiki. While this *mura* [thus] bears the name of the heir-general<sup>3</sup> [s domain], the little *sono* above Iya-tō-shirō *nyū-dō*'s resident homestead [*ya-shiki*], on both sides of the road at the entrance to the ferry of Soēda; the *hata*, bounded directly by the edge of Dō-Gaku's grant in the south, and diagonally by the river up-stream, where a shrine stands on a built mound, and bounded by the river along the upper bank and directly by the little *sono* from the path up the hill;

and the following *ta*: 1 *tan* 2 *jō* of cultivated<sup>4</sup> *ta*, Ya-waki hill, in Maé-da, Kiyoshiki; and 3 *tan* of *ta*, called Madé-no, east of the river and up and down at the beginning of the road to the left of Ya-waki hill,—besides these, there are hills and plains [belonging to] the south part,—the aforesaid are Shigekatsu's hereditary domains. Since this region is the heir-general's<sup>3</sup> domain, the aforementioned places] separated from the south part are devised for all time to the son<sup>5</sup> Masashige. As proof for the future, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

"Bunna 4 y., *kinoto hitsuzhi*,<sup>6</sup> 4 m. 8 d. [20 May 1355].

Mino no kami<sup>7</sup> Shigekatsu, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> Father of the deviser's adopted mother Gen-Shin.

<sup>2</sup> Younger brother of the deviser, adopted as son; identical with Tora-ichi Maru in No. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Sō-ryō* in the sense explained in No. 64, n. 1. Referring to No. 97, it will be seen that Shigekatsu gave in 1349 the north part of Kiyoshiki to his heir-general Toramatsu-Maru, *i.e.*, Shigekado.

<sup>4</sup> A character which appears to be *saku*, *i.e.*, opened to cultivation.

<sup>5</sup> Really son of Shigetsuku.

<sup>6</sup> The 32nd in the sexagenary cycle.

<sup>7</sup> Literally, the (civil) governor of the *kuni* of Mino; really, a purely honorary title. It was probably granted by the Southern Court to Shigekatsu for his service in war. Likewise, the title *Saemon no zhō* borne by Shigeoki (Nos. 103, 106, etc.) was originally an office connected with an imperial guard at Kyōto, but had become honorary; it also had been granted him probably for the same reason.

## 106. ACKNOWLEDGMENT BY PRINCE KANENAGA OF A PROMISE OF SERVICE, 1358

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII.)

ABOUT 1355-1357, Shimadzu Sadahisa seemed to have sunk to the lowest depths of his difficulties. His inveterate enemy Hatakeyama Nao-aki was active over a great part of Hiuga and Ōsumi, and carried war to the very gate of Kagoshima,<sup>1</sup> which was defended by Sadahisa's son Ujihisa. The latter was so harassed that, late in 1355, he temporarily capitulated to the Prince's lieutenant, Sanjō;<sup>2</sup> by a process of reaction, Nao-aki reverted to the side of the *shō-gun*. In the same year, the enemy in Satsuma of the Shimadzu had besieged Kushikino,<sup>3</sup> though unsuccessfully, and attacked the fortresses of Ki-mure and Chishiki<sup>4</sup> in the north, where Sadahisa and his son Morohisa, respectively, had their headquarters. On 9 December 1355, Morohisa appealed to Takauji and Yoshiakira, at Kyōto, personally to come to his succor, for else, said he, "he would abandon the *kuni* and come to the Capital";<sup>5</sup> but Takauji's promise to lead an expedition to Satsuma<sup>6</sup> failed of fulfilment. At last in the Spring of 1358 Sadahisa temporarily joined his forces with Kikuchi Takemitsu, the champion of the valiant Prince, and aided in the extension of the sphere of the latter's influence in middle and north Kyū-shū, where he had at this time become paramount. In return, Takemitsu assisted Sadahisa in defeating Hatakeyama Nao-aki at Mukasa. Sadahisa probably considered that the aim of his alliance with the Kikuchi was thus accomplished: his further service could hardly be expected by the Prince.

Documents do not exist which refer to the conduct of the Shibuya during these eventful years. In his appeal to the *shō-gun*, dated 3 May 1354,<sup>6</sup> Shimadzu Morohisa suggested that orders be issued to the Shibuya tribe and the *jū-tō* and *go ke-nin* to serve with Morohisa. It is likely that the Shibuya were on the whole inactive and regarded by the *shu-go* with a sort of apprehensive solicitude. In the following letter by a councillor of the Prince addressed in 1358 to Okamoto Shigeoki, it is implied that the latter had indicated his intention to serve for the Prince, but it is unknown whether Shigeoki had been constant in his support of the Prince since 1352, (*cf.* No. 102).

"[His Highness] has heard that you would hasten to his side and render service in arms. Stated thus.

"Shō-hei 13 y. 3 m. 6 d. [14 April 1358]. *Shu-ri dai-bu*, (monogram).  
 "[To] the residence of Shibuya Kurō Saémon no zhō."

<sup>1</sup> Yamada Shō-yei zhi-ki.

<sup>2</sup> Ujihisa returned to the Northern side in 1360, which event brought about a brief truce between the Shimadzu and Nao-aki.

<sup>3</sup> Morohisa's letter, Bunna 4 y. 11 m. 5 d.: Shimadzu docs.

<sup>4</sup> Ujihisa's letter, Bunna 4 y. 6 m. 18 d.: *Rui-zhū kan-rin shū*.

<sup>5</sup> Takauji's order, 11 m. 10 d.: SK, XIX.

<sup>6</sup> Bunna 3 y. 4 m. 10 d.: *Nan-zan zhun-shū roku*, supp.

## 107. SHIMADZU MOROHISA'S CESSIONS OF DOMAINS, 1358-?

It is the *shu-go* of Satsuma *kuni*, Shimadzu Morohisa, who wrote the following order A and letters B and C. By A, countersigned by his father Sadahisa, Morohisa voluntarily closed the dispute which had been pending between him and Nagatoshi Tomohide,<sup>1</sup> and surrendered to the latter a part of the *ji-tō shiki* his family had held for six generations. The recipient—So-Shō being his Buddhist name—having then gone over to the enemy's side, Morohisa had legitimately retaken the *shiki*; and, by the letter B, ceded a half of it, together with a half of the domain of another foe, likewise confiscated, to the lord of Iriki. The letter C conferred similar rights under precisely the same condition, equally to the Shibuya lords of Taki and Tōgō. B and C are couched in a more polite epistolary form than A, for Tomohide was a minor *go ke-nin*, while the Shibuya were strong peers whom Morohisa feared. It would seem that Iriki-in Shigekatsu held an honorary title at least equal in rank to that of the *shu-go*. It is probable that he deemed it wise to enlist the favor of the three Shibuya by means of these provisional grants (B and C).

The year of the letters B and C is given as 1355 by the editors of *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, following the dating in SK, but it is manifest that they were written sometime after A, that is, in 1359 or later.

The three documents together form a milestone in the prolonged career of the Shimadzu toward their attainment of the position of overlords in South Kyū-shū. The road which still stretched before them was long and difficult. They were still surrounded by formidable peers; and were able only to "surrender" parts of their domains, and to recommend to the *shō-gun* to confirm their grants (B and C). The ground, however, which the Shimadzu had already covered was not inconsiderable: they had absorbed, in Satsuma *kōri* and Miyasato *gō*, and in Yamato *in* and Akune *in*, the *shiki* of *myō-shu* and *ben-zai shi* into their *ji-tō shiki*, (compare this No. with No. 9),<sup>2</sup> and had in this manner attained partial overlordship at least in these portions of the *kuni*. Nominally *ji-tō*, they were really seigneurs in these regions. And their grants B and C, when sanctioned, would in reality be under their tutelage, though in theory held by the Shibuya directly of the *shō-gun*.

From this time the *ji-tō shiki*, whether in part or in whole, of the two *myō* mentioned in A seems to have passed into the hands of the Iriki-in. It is true that they may have lost it when they capitulated to the Shimadzu in 1397, but they again received a part of it about 1410 (No. 132), and the whole region, perhaps more, in 1462 (No. 137). Its parts appear in the Iriki-in's letters of devise from 1423 onward (Nos. 133 and 138). To them they added Momo-tsugi in 1530, and soon annexed several important *mura* in the neighborhood (No. 141), which, as we shall see, raised them to the summit of their territorial power. The extensive domain was held by the family for a long time till it relinquished it to the Shimadzu in 1570 and 1574 (No. 145). Members of the Nagatoshi family eventually became vassals of the Iriki-in lords.

### A

(Nagatoshi docs.; also KK, XI.)

"ALTHOUGH the *ji-tō shiki* of the two *myō* Kwan-dō and Nagatoshi, in Satsuma *kōri*, Satsuma *kuni*, are in Dō-Kan's<sup>3</sup> hereditary possession, they are for all time surrendered to Nagatoshi Mata-tarō Tomohide. If any of Dō-Kan's children (*ato*) should



interfere with these places, he would not be [deemed as] his descendant. Since the *ji-tō shiki* of both *myō* are settled, the litigation for the appointed date<sup>4</sup> is hereby terminated. Therefore, the statement is [made] thus.

"Shō-hei 13 y. 8 m. 12 d. [15 September 1358].

Morohisa, *monogram*.

"Dō-Kan,<sup>3</sup> *monogram*."

## B

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II; *SK*, XIX; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xix, 712.)

"Of the *ta* and *sono* vacated(*ato*) by the two rebels Kokubun Heizhirō Tomoshige and Nagatoshi Mata-tarō *nyū-dō* So-Shō, good and bad together divided in two, one half is surrendered [to you]. There shall be no interference, even unto your children's children's time. [Morohisa] will now recommend [the confirmation of these holdings] to the *ku-bō*.<sup>5</sup> With high respect.

"2 m. 19 d.

*Saémon no shō-zhō* Morohisa, (*monogram*).

"Respectfully addressed to Shibuya Mino Gorō *Saémon no zhō dono*."

## C

(*SK*, XIX; and *Dai Ni-hon shi-ryō*, VI, xix, 712.)

"The *myō-shu shiki* of Tada *myō* in Yamato in vacated(*ato*) by Akune Hikotarō *nyū-dō* Zhō-In, excepting the scattered holdings [of others], and Nagasaki church in Miyasato *gō*, and Akune in, excepting the holding of Tōya *nyū-dō*, likewise [vacated], are surrendered to you and lord Shibuya Kawachi *no gon no kami*.<sup>6</sup> You two will each hold a half, dividing in two [all the said domains], good and bad combined. There shall be no interference, even unto your children's children's time. [Morohisa] will now recommend [the confirmation of these holdings] to the *ku-bō*.<sup>5</sup> With high respect.

"2 m. 23 d.

*Saémon no shō-zhō* Morohisa (*monogram*).

"Respectfully addressed to Tōgō *U-kyō no suke*<sup>7</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> There had been a dispute about land in this vicinity between a Nagatoshi and a Yamada, about 1324-1325; Nagatoshi docs.; also *SK*, XI.

<sup>2</sup> From the dispute referred to in n. 1, and from the one which was adjusted by the document A, it may be surmised that Nagatoshi Tomohide had been claiming a *shiki* in Satsuma *kōri* by right of heredity. At least, it is significant that Morohisa did not state in A, as he did in B and C, that a confirmation by the *shō-gun* of the "surrender" was necessary. Does this mean that Morohisa implied his recognition of Tomohide's claim, and that the latter merely received what was his by right? May we further ask if Tomohide, by receiving A, made of himself a personal follower of Morohisa, while the arrangements indicated by B and C did not change the status of the recipients as his peers?

<sup>3</sup> Shimadzu Sadahisa's Buddhist name.

<sup>4</sup> *Hi-nami no ku-zhi*; here *ku-zhi* is judicial conduct, not obligations and dues.

<sup>5</sup> *Ku-bō*, literally, the side of the *kō(ku)*, meaning the *shō-gun*. Cf. *kō-gi*: No. 146, n. 10. For *kō*, see No. 142, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Taki Shigesato.

<sup>7</sup> Tōgō Sukesige.

## 108. COMMENDATION OF PERSONAL DEPENDENTS, 1359

(A copy in Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

THIS letter, written wholly in *kana* but in fair Japanese, forms a sort of a collective commendation of persons. The representative of a group of seven persons who had been dependent upon a Shintō temple pledged hereby that henceforth they would serve as personal followers of Terao Dō-Ken, son of Shigena. Taro-zhirō alone, who may have been of a lower personal standing than the others, was presented "for all time," the phrase probably meaning a hereditary servitude. Though the new status to which the seven persons and their properties, if any, were reduced, is very incompletely specified, it is presumed that it was below that of the small enfeoffed vassals, but, perhaps excepting the case of Taro-zhirō, clearly not as ignoble as that of domestic slaves. These *tono-bito* may be compared with the *ge-nin* in Nos. 13, 31, 37, 48, and 55, and with the *waka-dō* of No. 92 and *rō-zbū* of No. 95.

"It is true that the seven persons of the party<sup>1</sup> of Sai-Hō, of Ō-sono, of Kusumoto, Iriki *in*, do [present this] letter of their withdrawal(*hiki-bumi*) into the household<sup>2</sup> of Mukaé *dono*.<sup>3</sup> Of these, the man<sup>4</sup> Taro-zhirō is presented<sup>5</sup> for all time. If [any one of them] should go out of the [lord's] household,<sup>2</sup> no matter into what domain of a noble or influential personage or of a Shintō temple or a Buddhist church he may have entered, all the seven persons of the party should, in accordance with this letter, be taken as hereditary<sup>6</sup> attendants.<sup>7</sup> [In such an eventuality, they] would not, under the title of men of the temple, raise the slightest objection. Therefore, the statement is [made] thus.

"En-bun 4 y. 8 m. 10 d. [2 September 1359].

Sai-Hō, of Ō-sono, of Kusumoto, *monogram*."

<sup>1</sup> *Ichī-rui*.

<sup>2</sup> *On-uchi*, literally, household; this phrase, however, is not always taken in the literal sense.

<sup>3</sup> Terao Dō-Ken.

<sup>4</sup> The word *otoko* (man) is often suffixed in this period to the name of a male servitor or a man of a low status generally.

<sup>5</sup> *Mairase-oku*.

<sup>6</sup> *Sō-den*, hereditary, the identical word used in relation to land holdings.

<sup>7</sup> *Tono-bito*, literally, men of the court or mansion.

## 109. TERA0 SHIGENA'S WILLS, 1360

(Terao docs.; also KK, VIII.)

THE following letters are all in *kana*. Myō-Shō was the Buddhist name of Terao Shigena.

## A

"To devise

Domains to Iya-tarō:<sup>1</sup>

one place: the *sono* at Katiya-saki, and *ta* at the same place, in Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*;

one place: Shiro-zhirō's *sono*, at Maé-toko, and the same ° ° °<sup>2</sup>

one place: the dwelling homestead;

one place: 5 *tan* of the 1 *chō*, at Ta-zhiri no muta, Taki *kōri*;

one place: 5 *tan* of the 1 *chō* of Sō-ryō,<sup>3</sup> in the same place;

one place: the homestead at Sako, at Maé-toko;

one place: the 1 *chō* 6 *tan* of Zhūro-Marū *myō*, in the Lower *shō*, in Saga *ryō*, Hizen *kuni*; these two [?] are devised together with the original letters of devise.

"The aforesaid houses and *ta* are Myō-Shō's hereditary domains. The obligations (*ku-zhi*) shall be performed according to precedents. Therefore, for the future the autographic letter of devise is [written] thus.

"En-bun 5 y., year of *kanoé ne*,<sup>4</sup> 8 m. 9 d. [19 September 1360].

Myō-Shō, (monogram)."

## B

"To devise to the son Iya-tarō:<sup>1</sup>

"*Ta*:

one place: 3 *tan* at Enoki-ta;

one place: 2 *tan* at Tsutsumi;

one place: 2 *tan* at Oki-no-ta;

one place: 1 *tan* at Nokiri-yama;

one place: 2 *tan* at Saka-no-shita;

one place: 1 *tan* at Kawa-ya.

"Since the aforesaid *ta* are *uki-men*,<sup>5</sup> they are, with the statement of their extents, hereby devised.

"En-bun 5 y., year of *kanoé ne*, 8 m. 9 d. [19 September 1360].

Myō-Shō, (monogram)."

## C

"During Myō-Shō's life:<sup>6</sup>

Sai-kwan tsukuri,<sup>7</sup> 2 *tan*;

Matsu no sako, 2 *tan*;

Yu-ana no kuchi, 1 *tan*.

"These five *tan* of *ta* shall be held during Myō-Shō's life.

"2 m. 9 d.

Myō-Shō, (monogram)."

## D

"To devise

Domains to the grandson<sup>8</sup> Take-tsuru-Marū:

"In Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*:

one place: the house of Shi-tarō, also 4 *tan* of *ta*, at Kaba-me;

one place: the house of Zhiro-tarō, also 1 *chō* of *ta*, at Yake-hara;

one place: Naka-zono, bounded on the north side by the row of trees at the bridge, and on the east by the cross-path;

one place: the house and 3 *tan* of *ta* at Hori-guchi;

one place: 1 *chō* 1 *tan* of *uki-men*;<sup>5</sup> the extents [of these *ta*] are given in a separate paper.

"Since the aforesaid houses and *ta* are Myō-Shō's hereditary domains, they are devised for all time to the grandson<sup>8</sup> Take-tsuru-Marū. The obligations (*ku-zhi*) shall be performed according to precedents. Therefore, for the future the autographic letter of devise is [written] thus.

"En-bun 5 y., year of *kanoé ne*, 8 m. 9 d. [19 September 1360]. Shami Myō-Shō."

## E

"To devise

Domains to the grandson<sup>8</sup> Take-tsuru-Maru;

"In Taki *kōri*, Satsuma *kuni*:

one place: 5 *tan* of the 1 *chō* of Sō-ryō;<sup>3</sup>

one place: 5 *tan* of the 1 *chō* at Tazhiri-no-muta;

one place: the homestead at the plain of Yataka-ta;

one place: the homestead of Gaku-Gyō of Takuma.

"The aforesaid *ta* and homesteads are, together with the successive letters of devise, devised for all time to the grandson<sup>8</sup> Take-tsuru-Maru. The obligations shall be performed according to precedents. Therefore, for the future the autographic letter of devise is [written] thus.

"En-bun 5 y., year of *kanoé ne*, 8 m. 9 d.

Shami Myō-Shō."

## F

"A copy of devise to Take-tsuru-Maru."

"To devise to the grandson<sup>8</sup> Take-tsuru-Maru:

"*Ta*:

one place: 3 *tan* in front of the church;

one place: 2 *tan* at Kari-atsumari;

one place: 1 *tan* at Shi-chō ta;

one place: 3 *tan* behind the Mi-shima [temple];

one place: 1 *tan* before Hori-guchi, inclusive of the upper and lower *ta* of early crop;

one place: 1 *tan* at Mitsuchi.

"Since the foregoing are *uki-men*,<sup>5</sup> they are, with the statement of their extents, hereby devised.

"En-bun 5 y., year of *kanoé ne*, 8 m. 4 d. [14 September 1360]. Shami Myō-Shō."

<sup>1</sup> Mukaé Dō-Ken, son of Terao Shigena.

<sup>2</sup> Worm-eaten.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 64, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The thirty-seventh year of the sixty-year cycle.

<sup>5</sup> See No. 104, n. 16. *Uki-men* here may possibly mean lands not held actually by any grantees (*kyū-nin*) or cultivators (*saku-nin*).

<sup>6</sup> The devisee is not stated.

<sup>7</sup> Probably an error for Dai-kwan *tsukuri*, meaning the deputy's "cultivation."

<sup>8</sup> Really a younger son, probably adopted as son of his elder brother Iya-tarō. Cf. No. 120.

## 110. THE SHŌ-GUN'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SERVICE, 1362

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII.)

THE following *kan-zhō* shows that Okamoto Shigeoki had again veered to the Northern side. Since we saw him last (No. 106), Shimadzu Sadahisa, as might be expected, deserted the Prince and joined the Shōni, and fought unsuccessfully against his recent allies the Kikuchi, in Chikugo, in August 1359. When his son Morohisa started late in 1361 for Chikuzen to aid the new *tan-dai*, Sbiba Ujitsune, his path was blocked by the Idzumi rebels in north Satsuma, with whom he was compelled to wage a desultory war for many months, while few warriors in the *kuni* responded to his calls for service out of the province. Previously, late in 1359, the Sagara lord of south Higo invaded Hiuga, and carried war into the very cradle of the original Shimadzu *shō*, defeating Shimadzu



Ujihisa. These reverses of the Shimadzu were offset by their opportune victory toward the end of 1361 over their inveterate foe, Hatakeyama Nao-aki, who was completely broken, and fled to Bungo, never to return, leaving the *shu-go* in firm control of south Ōsumi. Shigeoki's services that the *shō-gun* personally commended in the following letter are stated to have been rendered in Satsuma; it is, therefore, presumed that he was one of the few who followed Morohisa in his protracted campaign against the men of Idzumi.

"It has recently been reported that since the 2nd month of last year you have rendered loyal services in battles in Satsuma. That was excellent. It is hereby commanded that you shall continue evermore to achieve distinguished service in arms.

"Kō-an 2 y. 9 m. 6 d. [24 September 1362].

(Ashikaga Yoshiakira's<sup>1</sup> monogram.)

"Shibuya Kurō Saémon nyū-dō dono."

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<sup>1</sup> The second Ashikaga *shō-gun*.

## III. SHIBUYA SHIGEKADO'S RECOGNITION OF A HOLDING, 1363

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII.)

To whom this letter by the sixth lord of Iriki was addressed is unknown; the former was a devisee of Jō-Yen, the adopted father of the writer's father and the fourth lord of Iriki.

To an astute student, this brief and modest document will illustrate several points of capital interest in the history of Japanese feudal institutions: among others, the remarkable degree of freedom shown in the devise and the disposition of feudal holdings within the vassal's family,—which freedom has already begun to be eclipsed by an advancing rule of primogeniture evolved out of feudal necessity (*cf.* No. 97); the same freedom reflected in the ready re-investiture granted by the lord, which amounted to a mere recognition, conveyed in a written statement, devoid of all formality and symbolism such as characterized the European forms of investiture; and the decline, as a consequence of the feudal anarchy of the age, of the Kamakura system of *go ke-nin*, or, a large body of direct vassals of the shogunate, who now have begun to reorganize themselves in innumerable local hierarchies of warriors in small spheres. Within these spheres, clan and family furnish one of the first principles of the reorganization: the minor members of a family, without renouncing their tenuous allegiance to a suzerain, range themselves below the chief of the kinship-group, who has come to assume the position of a species of their mesne lord.

"[SHIGEKADO] acknowledges<sup>1</sup> that the two *mura* Naga-no and Seyo-mure, in Naka-mura, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, were devised to you by Jō-Yen. Accordingly, you shall hold [them] without interference, unto your children's children. Therefore, for the future, the statement is [made] thus.

"Jō-wa 2 y. 5 m. 8 d. [19 June 1363].

*Saémon no zhō* Shigekado, (monogram)."

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<sup>1</sup> *Uketamawaru*.

## III.2. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING SHIBUYA SHIGEKADO'S MILITARY SERVICE FOR BOTH SIDES, 1364-1367

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II.)

THOUGH Shigekado, the sixth lord of Iriki, was called in 1364 by the Southern party to do armed service (A), in the next year his son Shigeyori is seen to have espoused the opposite side (B). Two years later, Shigeyori had fought for the Yoshino (Southern) Court (C), and Shigekado used its year-period Shō-hei (No. 113). A and C are *rin-shi*.

## A

"If you come to the Imperial side, and, calling men of your family, render loyal service in war, your original domains<sup>1</sup> will certainly [be confirmed]. If you do [specially] loyal acts, you will certainly [be rewarded]. Imperial pleasure is hereby conveyed.

"Shō-hei 19 y. 2 m. 1 d. [5 March 1364].

*Sa chū-zhō*, (Fujiwara Sanehide's monogram).

"[To] the residence of Shibuya Noto *no kami*."<sup>2</sup>

## B

"I have come in order to subjugate the rebels of the Chin-zei. It is reported that you have done loyal service on our side. If you distinguish yourself evermore in armed service, I shall report it [to the *shō-gun*]. Communicated thus.

"Jō-ji 4 y. intercalary 9 m. 17 d. [31 October 1365].

*Musashi no kami*,<sup>3</sup> (monogram).

"Shibuya *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu*<sup>4</sup> dono."

## C

"[His Majesty] has heard that you have rendered loyal service in war, and remarked that that was excellent. Imperial pleasure is hereby conveyed.

"Shō-hei 22 y. 2 m. 10 d. [11 March 1367]. *Uémon gon*, (monogram).

"[To] the residence of Shibuya *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu*."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hon-ryō*.

<sup>2</sup> Shigekado. For the honorary governorship, see No. 105, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Shibukawa Yoshiyuki, the *shō-gun*'s deputy in Kyū-shū.

<sup>4</sup> Iriki-in Shigeyori, son of Shigekado, and later the 7th lord. *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu* was an official title in a police bureau of the imperial government, which had become purely honorary.

## 113. SHIBUYA SHIGEKADO'S TESTAMENT, 1367

(A copy in Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II; *SK*, XX.)

THIS testament of the sixth Iriki-in lord is of importance, as it apparently related to grants to his vassals, not to domains of his children.

"TESTAMENT.<sup>1</sup>

"A settlement:

Details of arrangement in regard to fiefs<sup>2</sup> to be granted for loyal services in war.

"For a distinguished loyal service, [a fief] twice the extent of the usual [grant] will be assigned.

"As regards one who dies in battle, if he leaves a son, [a fief] will be assigned to him in addition to his original<sup>3</sup> holding, when it is practicable so to do. If the child be a daughter, she certainly shall hold for life one half of the original holding.<sup>3</sup> The widow

shall be treated in the same manner as a daughter. However, if she otherwise has a male companion, [she] shall not have a holding.

"If [one who dies in battle] leaves no children, one *tan* of [his] *ta* shall for all time be given to a [Buddhist] church.

"If the aforestated articles were, even in the time of [Shigekado's] children's children, violated [by any of them], he should not be [considered as] Shigekado's descendant. Therefore, for the future, the settlement is [made] thus,

"Shō-hei 22 y. 1 m. 29 d. [28 February 1367]. Shigekado, *monogram*."

<sup>1</sup> *Oki-bumi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ryō-sho*, place of support, a rather rare word. The *ryō* is not the character of the same sound meaning possession, holding, or domain, but the one that signified recompense or support. From this double meaning, it followed that a *ryō-sho* was a place(*sho*) given in support of some person or institution either without service, as in No. 25, or with service, as in the present instance. Here the service was military; hence the word "fief" has been used in this translation. Otherwise, it will be seen that *ryō-sho* was not always a fief in the strict sense of the word; in fact, no exact equivalent of the word "fief" existed in Japanese. No adequate words have yet been coined in the language for "fief" and "feudalism."

<sup>3</sup> *Hon chi-gyō*, identical in meaning with *hon-ryō*.

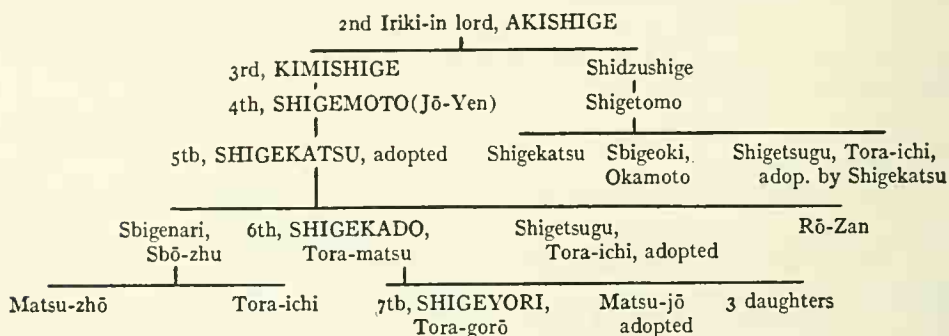
#### 114. MURAO SHIGENARI'S LETTERS OF DEVISE, 1368

(Copies in Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II; *SK*, XX.)

THE first three lines of A are missing, but are supplied here, by analogy from B, in parentheses. In B, there must be some error in the copy about Iriki in.

Shigenari, later Shigemune, was the Shō-zhu-Maru of No. 97; though eldest, he did not succeed to the lordship of the Iriki-in, for he was a child of a secondary consort, but founded the Murao branch of the family. His father Iriki-in Shigekatsu gave in 1349 (No. 97) the south part of Kiyoshiki to his brother Tora-ichi-Maru, later Shigetsugu, adopted subsequently as his son (*cf.* No. 105). From this No. and the next, it would seem that this south part had been divided before 1368 between Shigenari and his younger brother, heir-general Shigekado. Shigenari's share, together with his other domains, was disposed of by him between his two sons by the following devises.

The genealogical relations of persons appearing in Nos. 114 and 115 were as follows:—



There were two Tora-ichi-Maru, as is shown above.

## A

“(To devise

To the son Matsu-zhō-Maru:

one place: the *myō-shu shiki* of Ichiino in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*;

the boundaries on the four sides) shall accord with the original letter of devise;

one place: the west part of the lower *mura*, Hongō in Kawaé *shō*, Mimasaka *kuni*;

one place: the *ta*, *hata*, houses, 3 *chō* of wooded land, and homestead with wild plain, at Fuji-gokoro, in Zō-shi *gō*, Sagami *kuni*;

one place: the *men* for repair, [being] the estate left by the nun Zen-Shun, in Hii *gō*, Chikuzen *kuni*.

“The aforesaid domains are Shigenari’s hereditary domains. They are, together with the documents of succession and the orders [of recognition], devised for all time to the son Matsu-zhō-Maru. The details are set forth in the testament. If there be interference, [the said domains] should be held according to the original document. Therefore, as proof for the future, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

“Jō-ji 7 y. 8 m. 6 d. [18 September 1368].

*Gyō-bu shō-yū* Shigenari, *monogram*.”

## B

“(To devise

To the son Tora-ichi-Maru:—

one place: the south part, Kiyoshiki, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*;

the boundaries on the four sides shall accord with the original document;

one place: the north part of the original *mura*, in the south part, Kiyoshiki, Iriki *in*, the same *kuni*;

one place: the 2 *chō* of *ta* and one homestead, in lieu of the Toki *ri sono*, in Arishige, of Yoshi-matsu, in Saga lower *ryō*, Hizen *kuni*; and 1 *chō* at Yo-ta *ri*, in the 26th *tsubo*, and 8 *tan* at Kanoé-ō-ta *ri*, the 12th *tsubo*, in Saga lower *ryō*, the same *kuni*.

“The aforesaid domains are Shigenari’s hereditary domains. . . .”

(The remainder is the same as A, except that “Tora-ichi-Maru” takes the place of “Matsu-zhō-Maru.”)

# 115. SHIBUYA SHIGEKADO’S LETTERS OF DEVISE, 1371-1372

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III; *SK*, XX.)

THE rule of primogeniture has progressed beyond No. 97, and has combined with a privilege of masculinity.

## A

“(To devise

To the son Tora-gorō-Maru:<sup>1</sup>—

one place: the north part of Kiyoshiki, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*;

one place: Upper Soēda *mura*, in the north part;

one place: one half *ji-tō shiki* and *shita-ji*<sup>2</sup> of Ichiino *mura*;

one place: Kiyoshiki *mura*, in the south part;

one place: Tō-no-hara *mura*;



one place: Naka-mura;  
 one place: Kusumoto *mura*;  
 one place: Kurano *mura*;  
 one place: Kujū *mura*;  
 one place: Kashiwa-zhima *mura*.  
 one place: the wet rice-fields and homestead at Kashiwara, Chikuzen *kuni*;  
 one place: the Naga-buchi homestead, Chikugo *kuni*, and the Minaki homestead, the same *kuni*;  
 one place: houses, *ta*, and *hata*, at Ashi-iri, in Nishi-zhima, Kai *kuni*,<sup>3</sup>  
 one place: Kami-yama, of Shimo-mori, and Ō-ashi, in Kawaé *shō*, Mimasaka *kuni*;  
 one place: the Fuji-gokoro homestead and wooded land in Zō-shi *gō*, Shibuya, Sagami *kuni*.

The aforesaid domains are Shigekado's hereditary domains. Therefore, they are, together with the documents of succession and letters of transmission, devised for all time to Tora-gorō-Maru. As for the obligations(*ku-zhi*), they shall be done according to precedents. Next, after [the death of] Shigekado, though there be several brothers, the heir-general shall be [appointed] according to ability(*kī-yō*), and all the domains without a single exception shall be devised to him alone. If there be any who, contrary to this sense, divided the domains among his sons, he should not be considered as Shigekado's descendant. Since it is ruled thus, if perchance the domains were devised in parts, the heir-general should, in accordance with the tenor of this letter, seize and hold them in sole control. As testimony for the future, this rule is recorded [also] in the testament. Therefore, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

"Ken-toku 2 y. 10 m. 15 d. [22 November 1371].

*Dan-zhō shō-hitsu*, Shigekado, (monogram)."

## B

"Testament.

"After [the death of] Shigekado, though there be several brothers, the heir-general shall be [appointed] according to ability, and all the domains without a single exception shall be devised to him alone. If there be any who, contrary to this sense, divided the domains among his sons, he should not be considered as Shigekado's descendant. Since it is ruled thus, if perchance the domains were devised in parts, the heir-general should, in accordance with the tenor of this letter, seize and hold them in sole control. As testimony for the future, this testament is [written] thus.

"Ken-toku 2 y. 10 m. 15 d. [22 Nov. 1371].

*Dan-zhō shō-hitsu*, Shigekado, (monogram)."

## C

"Testament.

"The widow and *Tatewaki-Saémon-no-zhō*<sup>4</sup> shall be supported in the care of Tora-gorō-Maru.

"The two *mura* of Kurano and Uchiyama, now held by the *katsu-zhiki*,<sup>5</sup> shall be held [by him] for life, also as a favor of Tora-gorō-Maru.

"The daughter Naga-wō shall hold Nabeno *mura*, in Tō-no-hara; likewise for life.

"The Daughter Tora-wō shall hold . . .<sup>6</sup> of Upper Soéda *mura*; likewise for life.

"The daughter Ōsato-inu<sup>7</sup> shall hold Hirano in Ichiino, exclusive of her own *saku*; likewise for life.

"The grant to Hamada Saé-tarō in Upper Soéda shall be given as support of entertainment at the hot-spring of Soéda;<sup>8</sup> for all time.

"The aforestated articles are recorded for the future ages.

"Ken-toku 2 y. 10 m. 15 d. [22 Nov. 1371]. Shigekado, (monogram)."

## D

"To devise to the adopted son Matsu-jō-Maru

"The *ji-tō shiki* left<sup>9</sup> at Toriwara, in Ichiino *mura*, Iriki, Satsuma *kuni*.

"The aforesaid domain is Shigekado's hereditary private domain. Since he has a special desire so to do, he devises [the said domain] for all time [to Matsu-jō-Maru]. If, however, he should, whether in public or in private matters, disobey the command of the heir-general, [the former] should not hold the said domain.<sup>10</sup> As testimony for the future, the statement is [made] thus.

"Ken-toku 2 y. 12 m. 2 d. [8 Jan. 1372]."

<sup>1</sup> The boyhood name of Shigeyori, the seventh lord of Iriki.

<sup>2</sup> *Shita-ji*, soil, as distinguished from dues, *sho-tō*, from it.

<sup>3</sup> It is unknown why and how the Iriki-in had acquired this domain.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Shigetsugu.

<sup>5</sup> A priestly title in Zen Buddhism. This is brother Rō-Zan.

<sup>6</sup> Three characters unintelligible.

<sup>7</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy has Kuri-inu, which probably is correct.

<sup>8</sup> Soéda, like Ichiino, is known for its thermal springs. Soéda is about two miles to the northeast from the center of Iriki. Today there are simple inns at Soéda, but none at the Iriki village. When the present editor was examining the documents at the latter place in 1919, he visited it daily from his lodging at Soéda.

<sup>9</sup> *Ato*, an estate vacated by some one by death, default, or some other cause. Cf. the German word *Nachlass*.

<sup>10</sup> *Sho-mu* is one of the historic words in Japanese legal terminology which have undergone a gradual modification of meaning. Originally signifying affairs to be administered or managed, the word seems successively to have taken on the following meanings:—affairs largely financial; judicial conduct of these affairs; a revenue accruing from their management; the *shiki* of this management; etc. It is chiefly in the sense of a revenue that the term is here used.

## 116. IMAGAWA RYŌ-SHUN'S CALLS TO ARMS, 1372-1373

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III.)

THE government of the Asikaga *shō-gun* had at this period specially grave causes for anxiety over the conditions in Kyū-sbū. The island comprised numerous barons who, swayed by their shifting interests, changed sides all too readily, as we have seen, for the Northern party to be able to count upon the constancy even of those who were known to espouse it. In fact, many of them had already veered to the Southern party; for it, under the leadership of Prince Kanenaga and the Kikuchi baron, had for more than ten years maintained an undoubted supremacy among the contending factions of the region. Of the stronger local barons, the three great families of warriors,—the Shōnī, in Chiku-zen, the Ōtomo, in Bun-go, and the Shimadzu, in Satsuma,—were most to be

feared; they had long been established in their points of vantage, and were, if not closely watched, liable either singly or in combination to throw their weight on the opposite scale of the balance, or otherwise to become very largely autonomous.

It was in view of these conditions that a specially able deputy (*tan-dai*) of the *shō-gun* was appointed for Kyū-shū, in 1371, in the person of his kinsman Imagawa Sadayo, Buddhist name Ryō-Shun, the accomplished diplomat and man of letters.

After ten months of leisurely journey from Kyōto, during which he was seemingly absorbed in innocent poetic diversions,<sup>1</sup> Ryō-Shun arrived in Kyū-shū, early in 1372, and at once set about carrying out with remarkable resourcefulness his matured plans of breaking down the Southern party and of weakening the local chieftains. He successfully drove the army of the Prince and the Kikuchi from their headquarters at Da-zai Fu, which they had held since 1361; they were finally forced to retire to their original stronghold in Higo. With a view to preventing their junction with men of the south, and possibly securing an active coöperation of the latter, Ryō-Shun issued repeated calls for armed support to the Shimadzu, the Tsuchimochi, the Itō, the Nezhime, and other families, in Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga.<sup>2</sup> Three letters of summons received by the Iriki-in are given below.

## A

"If you come to [take] our side, your original domains<sup>3</sup> will be undisturbed. If you render special services, you will be rewarded. Ordered thus.

"Ō-an 5 y. 11 m. 25 d. [20 December 1372]. *Sha-mi*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Tora-wō-Maru."<sup>4</sup>

## B

"If you come to [take] our side, your original domains<sup>3</sup> will be undisturbed. If you render special services, you will be rewarded. Ordered thus.

"Ō-an 5 y. 12 m. 25 d. [19 January 1373]. *Sha-mi*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Tora-gorō<sup>5</sup> *dono*."

## C

"Raise [an army of] your younger brothers<sup>6</sup> and entire family, and render loyal service. If you do special services, you will be rewarded. Ordered thus.

"Ō-an 6 y. 2 m. 23 d. [17 March 1373]. *Sha-mi*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Tora-gorō<sup>5</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> His sketches, *Michi-yuki buri*, are found in *Gun-zho rūi-zhū*, XI.

<sup>2</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, vii; *Sei-sei shō-gun no miya*, 388, 429-430.

<sup>3</sup> *Hon-ryō*, "original domains," that is, domains held by heredity or otherwise from a time prior to the beginning of the Ashikaga sbogunate. As in the Kamakura period (see No. 45), *hon-ryō* were distinguished from domains granted recently by the *shō-gun*, which were called *on-chi*, "land [granted] by favor," *shin-on*, "new favor," *on-shō*, "reward by favor," etc. The holding of a *hon-ryō* always required the *shō-gun's* letter of recognition. It will be understood that these remarks apply only to domains of the *go ke-nin*, direct vassal of the *shō-gun*. (Cf. Nos. 65 preface, 113 n. 3, 116 n. 3.)

<sup>4</sup> Probably Shigeyoshi, younger brother of Shigeyori.

<sup>5</sup> Iriki-in Shigeyori, heir to Shigekado, and seventh lord of family.

<sup>6</sup> *Sho-shi*; see No. 64, n. 1.

# 117. PRINCE KANENAGA'S PROMISE OF REWARD TO SHIBUYA SHIGEYORI, 1373

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III.)

WHETHER in devotion to the Court of Yoshino or in opposition to the Shimadzu, the Iriki-in warriors had, as has been shown, already declared themselves in favor of the Southern party. It may be recalled that in his documents of 1371 Shigekado used the Southern year-period *Ken-toku*<sup>1</sup> (No. 115). When the first of Ryō-Shun's calls reached them, the Iriki-in had already fought gallantly on the side of his enemy. Suddenly breaking the state of truce which had for a time obtained in Satsuma, Shigekado led forces of the four branches of the Shibuya, namely, the Ketō-in, the Tōgō, the Taki, and the Iriki-in, and attacked, on 24 July 1372, the Miné fortress at Takaé, near the mouth of the river Sendai. This had been erected by Shimadzu Morohisa, and was guarded by his kinsman Yamada Tadafusa. The besiegers were first repulsed, but "Shigekado descended into the moat," say the memoirs of Yamada Sō-Yei, "and climbing upon the bank, attacked [the fortress], when his helmet was broken [by a stone missile],<sup>2</sup> and he sank to the bottom of the moat, and perished."<sup>3</sup> Undaunted the men of Shibuya invaded the fortress in successive assaults, and finally took it. Tadafusa, the deputy *shu-go* Sakawa, and scores of other leaders on the Shimadzu side fell in the unsuccessful defense.

At that time, one of the two Shimadzu *shu-go*, Morohisa, was at the fortress Ikari-yama by the same river some seven miles east of Takaé, while the other, Ujihisa, was far away at Shibushi, in Ōsumi. The Shibuya, now augmented by reinforcements from Hishigari and Ushikuso in northern Satsuma and from Kuma in southern Higo, turned to Morohisa's stronghold at Ikari-yama, and closely invested it. The latter's situation became critical. Alarmed by the news, Ujihisa hastened by sea and land to his brother's succor, halting more than once on the way to await recruits from his vassals, and impeded in his progress by an unexpected resistance of the Ichiku. When at length he came to the striking distance of the enemy, the latter raised the siege and cleared himself away under cover of night, and Ikari-yama was saved.<sup>4</sup> So was deferred for a time a decisive duel between the Shimadzu and the Iriki-in.

The following letter was written by order of Prince Kanenaga by his councillor Fujiwara Tanefusa; the Prince was sojourning with his supporters at Kikuchi, in Higo. Orders by an imperial prince or an empress were called *ryō-shi*.

"[His Imperial Highness] has heard with praise that your father died at the battle of the Miné fortress, in Satsuma. You will be rewarded. By order, his word is transmitted thus.

"Bun-chū 1 y. 12 m. 21 d. [11 January 1373].

*Sa shō-zhō*,<sup>5</sup> (monogram).

"Shibuya Tora-gorō dono."

<sup>1</sup> Each Court chose its own year-periods, which were used by its adherents.

<sup>2</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, vii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Yamada Shō-yei zhi-ki*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> An official title in the imperial guard; the bearer was Tanefusa.

# 118. IMAGAWA RYŌ-SHUN'S LETTERS TO SHIBUYA SHIGEYORI, 1375-1385

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III.)

IRIKI-IN Shigeyori and other men of the Shibuya family, who had till lately fought on the Southern side, were seen from 1375 to follow the armies of the *tan-dai* and serve on the field in Ōsumi and Higo against the supporters of Prince Kanenaga. At the same time, during the dozen years ending in 1387, the lords of Shimadzu vacillated between the two sides with painful frequency. The chief reason for all this seeming lack of principle must be found in the personal relations of men on the



scene in Kyū-shū. The Shimadzu were always loyal at heart to the suzerain, but disliked his deputy Ryō-Shun. If they several times went over to the opposite side, that signified neither a loss of devotion to the *shō-gun* nor a new loyalty to the Southern Court, but was due mainly to Ujihisa's implacable hatred of the *tan-dai*; when the Shimadzu again returned to his side, their support of him was half-hearted, though their fealty to the Ashikaga was unchanged. As for the Iriki-in and other Shihuya, it would seem that the main motive that decided their choice of sides was their unwillingness to serve under the banners of the Shimadzu *shu-go*. Those valiant warriors were and had always been direct vassals of the *shō-gun*, and, in that capacity, on an equal footing with the Shimadzu; if they conceived no ambition to oust the latter, we may imagine how chagrined they must have been to see them seeking gradually to assume an overlordship in all Satsuma, first as *shu-go*, but latterly as chiefs in the provincial feudal hierarchy that grew up by degrees under the needs of the times. Whichever way the Shimadzu turned, the Shihuya would run to the other side, though the latter shifted the less often.

The Shimadzu's dislike of Ryō-Shun would at all events have been natural, for it was the latter's deeply conceived plan to weaken their power as well as that of the Ōtomo and the Shōni. He greatly increased the difficulty of his task, in 1375, when, in his haste to accomplish his ends, he resorted to assassination: violating the law of hospitality, he invited the Shōni lord to his camp at Midzushima, Higo, and saw him killed before him in the midst of a banquet. This act of treachery alienated the feelings of great local chieftains, and created in the breast of Shimadzu Ujihisa an undying abhorrence of the man, who never succeeded in placating him with all the arts of urbane diplomacy which he employed. When Ryō-Shun tried to explain the deed to Ujihisa at Midzushima, the latter tersely expressed his disapproval of the act, and returned to Satsuma, where he declared himself on the Southern side.<sup>1</sup> From that time, Ryō-Shun was compelled to divide his attention between the *shō-gun's* enemy and his own, and for twenty years till his departure from Kyū-shū in 1395 the Shimadzu remained, now actually and then potentially, his bitterest foe.

The murder of Shōni took place on 29 September 1375. On 8 October Ryō-Shun again wrote to Iriki-in Shigeyori, asking him to join his side, and offering a promise of reward for service (A); and Shigeyori at last yielded. It was probably the defection of Shimadzu, rather than the *tan-dai's* call, that caused a change of heart in Shigeyori. On 3 December of the same year, Ryō-Shun wrote him, praising his service near Yatsu-shiro, Higo, against the Prince's adherents (B).<sup>2</sup>

In 1377, Ryō-Shun's son Imagawa Mitsunori waged an unsuccessful war with the Shimadzu about Miyako-no-zhō, in southwestern Hiuga. Among the fallen of the former's army was Shihuya Hisakiyo, probably of the Ketō-in branch.<sup>3</sup> In the battles which ensued near the provincial capital of Ōsumi, also, Shihuya warriors seem to have participated.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that the Shihuya families were largely united and fought together under the Imagawa, another circumstance that lends force to the assumption that the entire stock was actuated by family pride and keenly desired to contest the ascendancy of the Shimadzu.

In 1385, again, we find the Shihuya and the Shimadzu arrayed on the opposite sides, and Iriki-in Shigeyori was praised for the services in arms which he did for the *tan-dai* at Futami, Sashiki, and Minamata, Higo (D and E).

It is probable that the Shihuya were the only reliable supporters that Ryō-Shun had in Satsuma at that time.<sup>4</sup> Already in 1382, as will be seen in the following document (C), he treated the two Shihuya lords as his executive agents, when he ordered them to invest no less a person than Shimadzu Korehisa, who had lately turned to his side, with a *shiki* of a domain in the south. Is this not suggestive of the position in Satsuma to which the Shihuya, especially their strongest branch, the Iriki-in, might have legitimately aspired, had Ryō-Shun succeeded in crippling the power of the Shimadzu?

#### A

"SINCE Ujihisa has attached himself to the rebels, if you render loyal service, you will be rewarded. Therefore, it is hereby ordered that your party(*ikki*) shall with one mind render loyal service.

"Ei-wa 1 y. 9 m. 13 d. [8 October 1375]. *Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Tora-gorō dono."

## B

"[It is reported] that you have rendered loyal service at the border of Yatsushiro, Higo *kuni*. That was most excellent. It is hereby ordered that you shall evermore do distinguished service in the *kuni* [Satsuma].

"Ei-wa 1 y. 11 m. 10 d. [3 December 1375]. *Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Tora-gorō *dono*."

## C

"Although the *ji-tō shiki* of Kawanabe *shō* has been given in trust<sup>5</sup> to Taniyama and Same-zhima,<sup>6</sup> as reward for service, since it had been successively invested with the *shu-go*,<sup>7</sup> [it is hereby restored to Shimadzu Korehisa].<sup>8</sup> You shall, in accordance with the order, execute it, together with Shibuya Kuruma-uchi,<sup>9</sup> and obtain and forward a letter of acknowledgment from Korehisa's deputy. As for Taniyama and Same-zhima, they will be ordered that, as a domain in lieu [of Kawanabe] will be granted them, they shall vacate [Kawanabe]. For this purpose, a copy of the regulations<sup>10</sup> is despatched herewith. Ordered thus.

"Ei-toku 2 y. 5 m. 30 d. [10 July 1382].

*Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Kiyoshiki<sup>11</sup> *dono*."

## D

"From the camp of Futami to Sashiki you have patiently rendered loyal service, which I admire both for the sake of the *shō-gun* and personally. Accordingly I have reported [concerning you] to Kyōto. Therefore, I should be glad if you would evermore support the commanding general in such manner as would surely be commended [by the *shō-gun*]. I shall shortly consult you in regard to the conduct of men of the Shimadzu. You will continually apprise me of all events. Since at this juncture I depend wholly upon you, there shall be no misgiving. Respectfully.

"(Shi-toku 2 y.) 1 m. 28 d. [9 March 1385].

Ryō-Shun, (monogram).

"Shibuya Gorō *dono*."

## E

"[Ryō-Shun] has heard with admiration the report from the commander that you have assisted him at the fortress of Mina-mata. If henceforth you support him with firm resolve, when you evermore render loyal service, [Ryō-Shun] will recommend you to Kyōto, and you will certainly be praised. It is hereby stated that [Ryō-Shun] will act in your behalf according to further reports [from the commander].

"Shi-toku 2 y. 2 m. 7 d. [18 March 1385].

*Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Gorō *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> *Yamada Shō-Yei zhi-ki*; *Shimadzu koku-shi*, vii, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> As if concealing his adherence to the *tan-dai*, however, Shigeyori exchanged with Shimadzu Korehisa pledges of mutual help under solemn oath, on 20 January 1376: *Shimadzu koku-shi*, vii, 7. These documents have been lost.

<sup>3</sup> *Yamada Shō-Yei z. k.*

<sup>4</sup> Ryō-Shun wrote to Shibuya Satsuma *no kami*, on 10 June 1386: ". . . Meanwhile, as regards your part [of Kyū-shū], I depend wholly on your family." Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III; *SK*, XXII.

<sup>5</sup> *Adzuke-oku*.

<sup>6</sup> Because of the defection of the Shimadzu.

<sup>7</sup> The *ji-tō shiki* of Kawanabe *shō* was one of the hereditary domains of the successive Shimadzu

*shu-go*. One should not wonder that a *ji-tō shiki* was held by a *shu-go*, for in this period even an imperial personage was vested with *ji-tō shiki*; (see, e.g., the ex-Emperor Hanazono's will dated Kō-ei 1 y. 11 m. 12 d. [10 December 1342]).

<sup>8</sup> Now that Korehisa had returned to the side of the *shō-gun*.

<sup>9</sup> Kuruma-uchi is a place-name in Tōgō. It here refers to a Tōgō lord.

<sup>10</sup> *Koto-gaki*.

<sup>11</sup> Iriki-in Shigeyori, called Kiyoshiki, because that was the name of the central Iriki *in* where his family always lived.

## 119. SHIBUYA SHIGEYORI'S RECOGNITION OF HOLDINGS, 1384

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

Cf. No. 109; also No. 111.

"[SHIGEYORI] acknowledges your holding [of domains] in accordance with your father's devise. If there should be any interference with them, [Shigeyori] (would not)<sup>1</sup> neglect [to safeguard your interest], but render his assistance. Therefore, the statement is [made] thus.

"Ei-toku 3 y. 12 m. 24 d. [16 January 1384].

Shigeyori, (monogram).

"Mukaé Iya-tarō *nyū-dō*<sup>2</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of two worm-eaten characters supplied in parentheses.

<sup>2</sup> Terao Dō-Ken.

## 120. TERA0 SHIGENA'S REPUDIATIONS, 1384

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

Cf. No. 109.

### A

"To devise to the son Iya-tarō Dō-Ken:

"Although there exist previous letters of devise, since the grandson Suwō *no suke*<sup>1</sup> interferes with Myō-Shō's<sup>2</sup> domains, [Myō-Shō] writes this letter anew. [Dō-Ken] shall hold, in accordance with the previous letters of devise, [the domains specified therein]. As for the said Suwō *no suke*,<sup>1</sup> he is forever a grandson repudiated<sup>3</sup> by Myō-Shō, and shall not be pardoned. Therefore, for the future days, the statement is [made] thus.

"Ei-toku 4 y. 1 m. 8 d. [30 January 1384].

Myō-Shō,<sup>1</sup> (monogram)."

### B

"Although the house at Lower Maé-toko within Myō-Shō's domain was sold to Shō-ya<sup>4</sup> *dono*, as Myō-Shō has held it for more than thirty years since the entire family separated from the *shu-go*, the claim of Shō-ya *dono*'s children would be invalid, if they should raise any objection. Dō-Ken shall hold [the said house] in accordance with the previous letter of devise. Therefore, for the future days, the statement is [made] thus.

"Ei-toke 4 y. 1 m. 8 d. [30 January 1384].

Myō-Shō,<sup>1</sup> (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> This is the Take-tsuru-Maru of No. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Fu-kyō*.

<sup>2</sup> Terao Shigena's Buddhist name.

<sup>4</sup> Some one on the side of the Shimadzu.

## 121. RYŌ-SHUN'S GRANTS TO THE SHIBUYA, 1386-1391

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III, *SK*, XXII.)

THOUGH brief, these documents are illuminative of the institutional life of the age. They were issued, one (D) by the *shō-gun's* executive officer Morimasa, and all the others by Ryō-Shun in his capacity as the *shō-gun's* deputy in Kyū-shū. All the orders invested the recipients with landed interests: some (A, B, and probably H) related to older grants; of the new grants, some (C, D, and H) were for secure possession, and others (E, F, and G) were given in trust, *adzuke oku*, pending the *shō-gun's* orders, which would establish permanent holding. Again, some *shiki* were separated from others of the same domain, and some were split, as grants, as was commonly done in this and earlier periods; it was largely owing to this custom that the *shō* as an institution had seen a gradual disintegration of its constituent elements.

There are, among others, two other points of importance about the grants. One is that Ryō-Shun regarded Izhū-in's domain as reverting to the *shō-gun*, since the former, his direct vassal as he had been, was now opposing the latter's deputy and aiding his own kinsman Shimadzu; Ryō-Shun was justified in regarding this domain as left(*ato*) and vacated(*kessho*) and disposing of it as grants to others. The fact of repudiating the tie of homage spontaneously disseised the deserter of his holdings under his recent lord.

The second point to be noted is that Iriki-in Shigeyori's title to the *kuni*-government's and the *ryō-ke's* revenues from his domain in Satsuma—which, I believe, means Iriki *in*—was secured to him by Ryō-Shun (H). It may be recalled that Iriki *in* had formerly owed dues both to the Konoé domaniai lord(*ryō-ke*) and to the government of the *kuni*(*koku-ga*). The noble lord having lost hold of the great Shimadzu *shō*,<sup>1</sup> of which Iriki *in* formed a *yose-gōri*, and the civil *kuni* government having for some time been non-existent, Shigeyori must from the first have appropriated the taxes otherwise due to them; what the *shō-gun's* deputy now did was officially to grant to him what he had in reality been enjoying. What is of special interest is that, as the lord of Iriki-in had long been the *ji-tō* of this district, he now gained, with the added grant of the *ryō-ke* and *koku-ga* taxes, the virtually full control, in law as well as in fact, of the *in*; and the *in* became a fief held by him, owing the knight's service to the *shō-gun*, and subinfeudated among the lord's kinsmen and vassals. The importance of this transformation cannot be too strongly emphasized. The next step in the evolution would be to bring this process in line with the feudal organization of the whole of Satsuma. That would result when Iriki-in, as the feudal lord of the *in*, should, as he was soon compelled to do, become a vassal of the *shu-go* of the *kuni* of which it formed a part, and take his place in a complete feudal hierarchy, with the *shō-gun* as the suzerain, Shimadzu as his direct vassal, Iriki-in and his peers as rear-vassals, and their own men and the latter's followers forming the last descending stages of vassalage.

Lastly, the attention of the student is called to the title of the recipient of the documents B and C: Satsuma *no kami*, that is, the civil governor of the *kuni*. This person probably was, as the compiler of the *Sappan kyū-ki* thought, Tōgō Shigenobu, Buddhist name Jū-Butsu (*cf.* No. 125). Whoever he was, that does not affect the interest which attaches to the fact of the governorship of Satsuma being held by a Shibuya. Evidence is wanting that any lord of the family had been invested with the title. It may well be surmised that it was rather assumed with a tacit consent of the *tan-dai* than granted formally by the imperial government; such assumptions were not uncommon in later ages.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the title *kami* of a *kuni*, as distinguished from its *shu-go*, had become a mere honor, seldom accompanied by any real office or income. It is of some interest to infer that a Shinuya lord felt a measure of gratification in hearing the title relative to the *kuni* in which he disputed the powers of its *shu-go*.

## A

"[RYŌ-SHUN] executes [the *shō-gun's* command] that your original holdings (*hon chi-gyō*) in Hii *gō*, Chikuzen *kuni*, shall [continue] as heretofore. Stated thus.

"Shi-toku 3 y. 1 m. 6 d. [5 February 1386]. *Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram)

"To men of the Shibuya family."



## B

"[Ryō-Shun] executes [the *shō-gun's* command that you shall hold] the *ji-tō shiki* of Hii *gō*, Chikuzen *kuni*, in pursuance of your original holding(*hon chi-gyō*). [The *shō-gun's*] command is hereby transmitted that, according to precedents, you shall hold(*chi-gyō*) [the same] together with the younger members(*sho-shi*). Stated thus.

"Shi-toku 3 y. 4 m. 3 d. [2 May 1386].

*Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Satsuma *no kami*<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

## C

"You shall hold as reward for service(*on-shō*) one-third of the domain left(*ato*) by Izhū-in *nyū-dō*. Stated thus.

"Shi-toku 3 y. 5 m. 13 d. [10 June 1386].

*Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Satsuma *no kami*<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

## D

"Since the domain left(*ato*) by Shimadzu Izhū-in Ōsumi *nyū-dō*, of Satsuma *kuni*, one-third of the actual holding, is a vacated place(*kessho*), you shall hold it without interference. The order [of the *shō-gun*] is conveyed thus.

"Shi-toku 3 y. 5 m. 22 d. [19 June 1386]. *Ku-nai tai-fu* Morimasa,<sup>5</sup> *monogram*.

"Shibuya *Sa-ma no suke*<sup>4</sup> *dono*."

## E

"The *ji-tō shiki* of Miyasato *gō*, Satsuma *kuni*, is given to you in trust, by reason of your great loyal [service]. You shall hold(*chi-gyō*) it on receiving [the *shō-gun's*] order, [which has been petitioned for]. Stated thus.

"Shi-toku 3 y. 10 m. 29 d. [21 November 1386]. *Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya *Sa-ma no suke*<sup>4</sup> *dono*."

## F

"You shall hold(*chi-gyō*), in accordance with the previous grant in trust, the *ji-tō shiki* left by Izhū-in *nyū-dō*. Stated thus.

"Mei-toku 1 y. 11 m. 14 d. [20 December 1390]. *Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Kiyoshiki<sup>6</sup> *dono*."

## G

"The *ji-tō* and *ryō-ke*, each one half, of the domain left by Shimadzu Izhū-in *nyū-dō*, are given to you in trust. You shall hold(*chi-gyō*) them in pursuance of precedents. Stated thus.

"Mei-toku 2 y. 4 m. 13 d. [17 May 1391].

*Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Kiyoshiki<sup>6</sup> *dono*."

## H

"You shall hold, as support for war expenditures,<sup>7</sup> the *kuni* government's and the *ryo-ke's* rice, of your holdings(*chi-gyō*) in Satsuma *kuni*. Ordered thus.

"Mei-toku 2 y. 10 m. 28 d. [24 November 1391]. *Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Shibuya Kiyoshiki<sup>6</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Since 1352; see Introduction, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> In 1565, Ōtomo Yoshiaki, of Bungo, wrote his vassal Tokumaru: "I recognize [with approval] that you desire [the title] *Kawachi no kami*." His successor addressed an identical letter, in 1574, to Tokumaru's heir: the title was held by heredity. *Seki-den sō-shi*, III.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning this person, see the remarks prefixed to these documents. To him Ryō-Shun wrote a personal letter under the same date, reporting the favorable progress of the campaign which he was conducting in Higo, congratulating Shihuya on the present grant, and avowing the writer's dependence upon the loyalty of the Shihuya family. (Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III, and *SK*, XXII.)

<sup>4</sup> Another unidentifiable Shihuya: *Shimadzu koku-shi* (vii, 13) thinks this was one Shigemitsu.

<sup>5</sup> Imagawa Morimasa, Ryō-Shun's relative and executive agent of the *shō-gun*.

<sup>6</sup> Iriki-in Shigeyori.

<sup>7</sup> *Hyō-ryō ryō-sho*, place to supply military provisions, *i.e.*, fief. For *ryō-sho*, see No. 113, n. 2.

## 122. THE *SHŌ-GUN*'S WRIT OF INVESTITURE TO OKAMOTO NAOSHIGE, 1390

(Okamoto docs.; also *KK*, VII.)

OKAMOTO is here found on the Northern side.

"Of the two *mura* Higashi-no-tsu and Idzumi-no-kuga, in Mitsune west *gō*, Hizen *kuni*, the soil<sup>1</sup> shall, in accordance with the previous [letter of] confirmation(*an-do*), be delivered<sup>2</sup> to Shibuya Okamoto Settsu *no kami*.<sup>3</sup> Ordered thus.

"Kō-ō 1 y. 12 m. 17 d. [3 January 1390].

*Sanmi*,<sup>4</sup> (monogram).

"Nakada *Min-bu no dai-bu nyū-dō*<sup>5</sup> dono.

"Saitō *Saemon dai-bu*<sup>5</sup> dono."

<sup>1</sup> *Shita-jū*.

<sup>3</sup> Naoshige, son of Shigeoki.

<sup>4</sup> Conveying the order of the *shō-gun*'s council.

<sup>2</sup> *Sa-da shi tsuku*, to seise.

<sup>5</sup> Warrior-officials in Hizen *kuni*.

## 123. RYŌ-SHUN'S COMMENDATION OF A KIYOSHIKI, 1394

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, II.)

THE Southern Court, having for a long time been cut off from Kyū-shū and gradually lost other bases of support, finally, on 16 December 1392, after fifty-seven years of separation from Kyōto, capitulated almost unconditionally to the Northern Court, and the imperial house was again united. In Kyū-shū, also, when Prince Kanenaga died about 1383, his influence, which had once swayed the greater part of the island, had been much reduced by Imagawa Ryō-Shun. When the fusion of the two Courts was effected nine years later, however, Ryō-Shun had achieved but little toward the accomplishment of his second great aim, namely, the reduction of the great military families of Kyū-shū; in some respects, he had by his conduct made the more difficult the task which would at any event have been formidable. With the Northern party triumphant, therefore, the *tan-dai* found himself still involved in a bitter, hopeless struggle with the Shimadzu, from which he hardly knew how to extricate himself. The war in south Kyū-shū had for some time ceased to be one between truly loyal champions of the rival Courts; now it was largely a personal strife waged between Ryō-Shun and the Shimadzu.

The Iriki-in apparently continued to support Ryō-Shun. The war at Yamato, in northwestern Satsuma, to which the following document refers, receives no mention elsewhere; the *Mino no kami* is probably Shigetsugu, known as *Mino Gorō Saemon no shō*, the younger brother of Iriki-in Shigekado.

"I HAVE heard with particular gratification that, at the battle at the fortress of Yamato, on the 5th day of this month [5 May], you personally fought with the sword, and killed rebels. On my going to Kyōto, this will be reported [to the *shō-gun*]. Stated thus.

"Mei-toku 5 y. 4 m. 25 d. [25 May 1394].

*Shami*, (Ryō-Shun's monogram).

"Kiyoshiki Mino *no kami dono*."

#### 124. TERAŌ DŌ-KEN'S DEVISE, 1395

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

*Cf.* Nos. 109 and 120. The brother Su-wō having been repudiated (No. 120), Dō-Ken annexed his share of the father's estate to his own (*cf.* No. 109), and now devised hoth to another brother adopted as heir.

"To devise domains.

"Since the aforesaid<sup>1</sup> [domains] in Tō-no-hara, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, are Dō-Ken's hereditary domains, they are hereby truly devised for all time to Take-wō-Maru.<sup>2</sup>

"The *ta in uki-men*:

one place: 1 *tan* at Kachi-yama;

one place: 2 *tan* at Tera-yama;

one place: 1 *tan* below the slope of Kō-ya;

one place: 1 *tan*, at Yuni[?]-shita;

one place: 2 *tan* at Kari-atsumari;

one place: 2 *tan* below the slope of Yama-miko;

one place: 1 *tan* 4 *jō* at Shi-chō-ta;

one place: 1 *tan* at Sué-da;

one place: 1 *tan*, *muta* before Mishima [temple];

one place: 1 *tan* behind Mishima;

one place: 1 *tan* at Mizo-soé;

one place: 1 *tan* at Nokiri-yama;

and, in addition, Hori-machi, including hills and plains, in Dō-Ken's domain, shall be held by Take-wō-Maru.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, for the future days, the statement is [made] thus.

"Ō-ei 2 y. 8 m. 3 d. [18 August 1395].

Dō-Ken, (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> The word "aforesaid" (*migi*, "right," in the original, since writing proceeds from right to left) is used purely conventionally. In reality, the domains in this document are mentioned after, not before, this statement.

<sup>2</sup> The deviser's younger brother, later Moroshige, as heir; Dō-Ken had no son.

#### 125. SHIMADZU KOREHISA'S GRANTS OF CONFISCATED DOMAINS IN IRIKI *IN*, 1396

BEFORE the event mentioned in No. 123 occurred, the historic rivalry between the Shimadzu and the Shihuya came to a head, and a deadly feud between them began at last. In the series of struggles which ensued, the Shihuya were always forced to take the defensive, for, strong as they were, they were hardly in a position to attack the enemy, who, on the contrary, could justify his offensive acts both as the *shu-go* charged with the duty of pacifying the *kuni* and as the logical aspirant for an overlordship in south Kyū-shū.

For the first contest between the rival families, the only source of information is the memoirs of Yamada Shō-Yei written nearly a hundred years after the event. His account is rather vague and lacks a precise date, but, if he is right in saying that the attack was led by Ujihisa, the event must have occurred some time before his death at Kagoshima, which took place on 20 June 1387. "During the time of Ujihisa, the Shihuya [at the] four places [namely, Tōgō, Taki, Iriki *in*, and Ketō *in*] seized all [the domains there] of the *shu-go*, and, moreover, directly served the *tan-dai* of Kyūshū [*i.e.*, Imagawa Ryō-Shun], being exceedingly refractory. Since, however, the Shibuya [lord, Shigenari,] at Tsuruda, alone was faithful to Ujihisa, [the latter] proceeded thither, and mustered forces [for an attack]. But as even the neighboring places [which the *Shimadzu koku-shi* (VIII, 5) names as Hishigari and Ushikuso] allied themselves [with the enemy, Ujihisa's position] became difficult, and he had already raised his camps and [begun to] withdraw, when [the enemy] threw upon him large numbers of *no-bushi*.<sup>1</sup> Harassed in his retreat, Ujihisa personally fought with a sword in hand, and *Shiki-bu* Hiko-shichi [Yamada Tadashige] and Honda Iya-shichi stayed by him and fell fighting. During the respite, Ujihisa crossed the mountain to this side [to Kagoshima]. Since [the enemy] had pursued him too far, [his men] turned about and fought, killing Ōmura of the Shibuya. Henceforth, the war [against the Shihuya] was suspended. This is the so-called 'retreating fight over the mountain' (*yama-biki kassen*) of Ujihisa."<sup>2</sup>

The second campaign occurred in 1395-1396, and is described as follows in the official history<sup>3</sup> which has relied upon records of the Shimadzu family and the *Ō-ei ki*. Shimadzu Korehisa was at Ikari-yama, and Motohisa had succeeded to his father Ujihisa at Kagoshima. When Motohisa's hands were free from other warlike cares in the autumn of 1395, Korehisa asked his aid, and, on 25 August, encamped at Yoko-mine, not far from the Nūta temple, with a view to attacking Taki. It was here that he heard, to his great satisfaction, that Imagawa Ryō-Shun, after twenty years of ceaseless activity in Kyūshū, had just been compelled for personal reasons to leave Hakata permanently for Kyōto. Motohisa, at Kagoshima, prayed at a Shintō temple for victory against the Shihuya, and sent word to his kinsman at Yoko-mine that in his opinion a more tactical move to deal with the enemy than assailing Taki would be for Korehisa to leave it alone but move his forces eastward to Taka-maki, at Yamada; that would render untenable the enemy's posts at Hiwaki, Maēda, and Ichiino.<sup>4</sup> As for Kiyoshiki, Motohisa would go directly north from Kagoshima by way of Yoshida and Kamo, and attack that stronghold of the Iriki-*in* from the rear, while Korehisa should give it a blow from the front. The latter, acting upon the advice, took the three first-named positions between 20 and 28 February 1396, and stationed in them his own men. He was thus enabled to restore Ichiino to a Yoshinaga, the holding of whose ancestors, the Kokubun, at that place dated probably even before the coming of the Shihuya in 1247.<sup>5</sup> On 27 March, Korehisa, by the following documents, also confiscated the original hereditary domains in Iriki *in* of a Tōgō and possibly a Tsuruda, both of the Shihuya stock, and granted them to Isaku and Nikaidō, who had faithfully served the *shu-go*, (see No. 92). However, since these grants were made before actual conquest, they could as yet be of little value beyond perhaps inspiring the zeal of the recipients in armed service.

As Korehisa was on the point of making war upon Kiyoshiki, an order reached him and Motohisa from the new *tan-dai*, Shihukawa Mitsuyori, who had arrived on 26 May, summoning them and all the greater *go ke-nin* in Kyūshū to Hakata. Korehisa was thus obliged for the moment to defer his final assault upon Iriki *in* and to withdraw his forces.

## A

(SK, XXII.)

"THE original domain left (*ato*) by Shibuya Satsuma *nyū-dō* Jū-Butsu,<sup>6</sup> in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

"The aforesaid is given [to you] in trust (*adzuke-oku*) as a place of support.<sup>7</sup> You shall administer it in accordance with precedents. Therefore, ordered thus.

"Ō-ei 3 y. 2 m. 18 d. [27 March 1396].

Dō-Tetsu,<sup>8</sup> (monogram).

"Isaku Ōsumi<sup>9</sup> *dono*."



## B

(Nikaidō uji sei-tō ka-fu, XIV.)

"The original domain left by Shibuya Gyō-bu shō-yū nyū-dō Jō-Zhun, in Iriki in, Satsuma kuni.

"The aforesaid is given [to you] in trust as a place of support.<sup>7</sup> You shall administer it in accordance with precedents. Therefore, ordered thus.

"Ō-ei 3 y. 2 m. 18 d. [27 March 1396].

Dō-Tetsu,<sup>8</sup> (monogram).

"Nikaidō Yamashiro<sup>10</sup> dono."

<sup>1</sup> "There were at the four places [controlled by the Shihuya] great(ō) *no-bushi* called *ji-ge*," (*Yamada Shō-Yei z. k.*). *Ji-ge* ("on the ground") is a term usually applied to commoners, as distinguished from warriors. The use of the term in connection with the *no-bushi* shows the low social position they occupied. *No-bushi* mostly were adventurous rustics who, in this age of continual warfare, led an exciting life of plunder and mercenariness. The word *no-bushi* is written in two ways, the one meaning wilderness(*no*)-warriors(*bushi*), and the other, wilderness-sleepers(*fushi*). *Yama-bushi* (*yama* meaning mountain) was another name of this class of freehooters who were present in nearly all parts of feudal Japan in this period. (These *yama-bushi* should not be confused with the species of itinerant Buddhist monks who were called by the precisely same name.)

<sup>2</sup> *Yamada Shō-Yei zhi-ki*.

<sup>3</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, viii, 5-7.

<sup>4</sup> The fortresses of Hiwaki and Maēda were in Tō-no-hara *mura*. The former was on a hill; facing the east, it was hounded in front by rice-fields and in rear by a brook; two minor defenses near the fortress protected it. The Maēda fortress was situated between Hiwaki river and rice-fields. That of Ichiino was also on a mount protected by wet fields and a brook; on the summit was abundant spring water, a favorable condition for a fortress. *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xi, 36-37.

<sup>5</sup> See Nos. 9, 25, and 50.

<sup>6</sup> Tōgō Shigenohu.

<sup>7</sup> *Ryō-shō*; see No. 113, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> The early Buddhist name of Shimadzu Korehisa.

<sup>9</sup> Isaku Hisayoshi.

<sup>10</sup> Nikaidō Yukisada.

## 126. GRANT OF DOMAINS TO SHIBUYA SHIGEYORI, 1400

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, III.)

By the end of May 1397, Shimadzu Korehisa and Motohisa had through their proxies established an amicable relation with the *tan-dai*. Assured of a goodwill in that quarter, and determined to crush the Shibuya at this favorable opportunity, the Shimadzu lords concentrated their energy upon the reduction of this enemy, and organized their third campaign against him on a great scale. Motohisa at the head of five thousand knights from Hiuga and Ōsumi met Korehisa with two thousand Satsuma warriors, early in May, and established their headquarters at a place called No-kuhi, probably in Tō-no-hara, a half mile to the northwest of the enemy's stronghold at Kiyoshiki. A detachment under Honda Tadachika encamped at Madeno, in the same *mura*; and another led by Nūro Sanehisa, upon a hill directly facing the fortress across the river; while a third took its position a mile to the southeast. The besieged offered gallant defense. But they were closely invested by overwhelming forces; no succor came from the Sagara, in Higo, to whom the Shihuya had appealed, while their supplies were being exhausted. Finally they surrendered, after how long a siege and under what terms are unknown. Iriki-in Sigeyori, the chief defender, fled with his men, and the fortress was given in custody by the conquerors to Izhūin Yorihisa.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it came about that, of all the Shihuya families which were established in Satsuma in 1247, the Iriki-in was the first to lose its ancestral home and domain, (see the preface to No. 145). Who could foresee in 1397, when Shigeyori capitulated at Kiyoshiki, that, as will be seen in the following document, he would soon retake the lost domain without meeting opposition from his recent conquerors;<sup>2</sup> and that his successors would not only complete their rule, for the first time, practically over the whole of Iriki in, (see the preface to No. 136), but also expand beyond its boundaries and

annex a great territory to the west? About 1540 the family had raised the glory of the Shihuya to a height which none of their branches had ever attained, (see the preface to No. 141). The fact is that the Iriki-in lord, in spite of his defeat in 1397, did not become a vassal of the Shihuya haron, but continued to be a sort of an ally, of uncertain fidelity, till 1418, (see No. 132); then, through military service as a vassal and taking advantage of the political situation in the early 16th century, gathered the vast domain to which we have referred.

Returning to the end of the 14th century, we find Iriki-in Shigeyori temporarily ousted from the historic fortress of Kiyoshiki. Apparently with a view to assuaging his grief and to securing his loyalty, Shimadzu Korehisa made to Shigeyori the temporary grants in south Satsuma contained in the following document. These were important domains, both originally *yose-gōri* of Shimadzu *shō*, Kiire containing 40 and Taniyama 200 *chō* of rice-land<sup>3</sup> already in 1197. The tenure of the grants is not stated. In 1410, the Iriki-in seem already to have lost them, for Shimadzu Hisatoyo held them in that year.<sup>4</sup>

"ONE-HALF of Taniyama *kōri*, in Satsuma *kuni*, and of Kiire *in*, the same *kuni*:—The aforesaid are given in trust(*adzuke-oku*) as places of support(*ryō-sho*). You shall administer them in accordance with precedents. Ordered thus.

"Ō-ei 7 y. 12 m. 13 d. [28 December 1400]. Kyū-Tetsu,<sup>5</sup> (monogram).  
"Shibuya *dan-zhō shō-hitsu*<sup>6</sup> *donō*."

<sup>1</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, viii, 8; an account in *KK*, III; *Yamada Shō-yei z. k.* It is said that, since the former vassals of the Iriki-in lord were still loyal to him and rebelled against Yori-hisa, the new lord who had been imposed upon them, he was compelled to desert Kiyoshiki; soon Iriki-in Shigeyori and his son Shigenaga returned and re-installed themselves in their old domain. *Yamada Shō-yei zhi-ki* would have us believe that this event occurred in 1411, (*cf. Shimadzu koku-shi*, viii, 20), but we may perhaps date it earlier, (*cf. Nos. 127A, 128, 129, and 130 preface*).

<sup>2</sup> See Nos. 128 and 129. *Cf.* the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> The land report of 1197; see No. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, viii, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Korehisa's later Buddhist name.

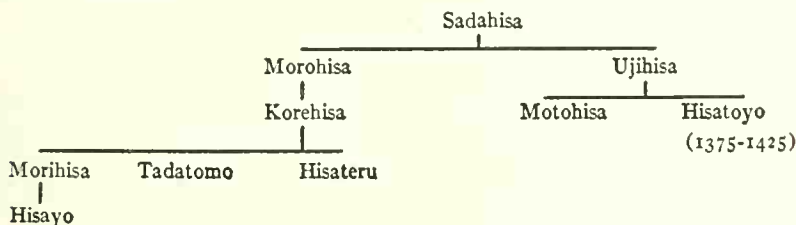
<sup>6</sup> Iriki-in Shigeyori.

## 127. GRANTS AND OATH BY RIVAL SHIMADZU LORDS, 1404

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III; *SK*, XXII.)

WHILE Kyōto was tranquil for a time after the union of the two Courts, turmoil continued in Kyū-shū with little intermission. The commotion in this region, however, was no longer related to the general political affairs of Japan as a whole, but was purely local and, moreover, largely sectional within separate parts of the island. In south Kyū-shū, the continual internecine strife was caused, not only by the rivalry between the Shimadzu and their local enemies, but also by an internal division of the family of the former.

Shimadzu Sadahisa (1265-1351) had divided the *shū-go shiki* of Satsuma and Ōsumi between his sons Morohisa (1325-1376) and Ujihisa (1328-1387); Morohisa had been succeeded by his son Korehisa (1347-1407), who was at the fortress of Ikari-yama, and Ujihisa by his son Motohisa (1345-1411) at Kagoshima.



It will be remembered that in the Iriki campaign of 1397, the two lords, Korehisa and Motohisa, coöperated. Three years thereafter a domestic dissension separated them and made them rivals jealous of each other's power. Korehisa's grants to Iriki-in Shigeyori in 1400 (see No. 126) were probably intended to secure the latter's goodwill to the former as against Motohisa, for Korehisa was eager to bold north Satsuma as the sphere of his influence.

In 1401, Korehisa had succeeded in winning over to his side all the branches of the Shibuya but one, the Tsuruda, who favored Motohisa. Korehisa sent against Tsuruda Shigenari the forces of the Iriki-in, the Kashiwa-bara, the Tōgō, the Taki, and the Ōmura hranches of the Shihuya stock, and himself led an army of expedition. Motohisa went to rescue his ally; leaving Kagoshima 5 June and going by way of Ichiku, he arrived in Tsuruda on 9 October with 3500 knights, and effected a junction with Shigenari's 1000 men.<sup>1</sup> The number of Korehisa's forces, which were augmented by reinforcements from Idzumi, Ushikuso, and Hishigari, and those under a Sagara lord of Higo, seems to have been nearly as great, and comprised the hrave *no-bushi* under the Shihuya lords. "Men on both sides being numerous," say the memoirs of Yamada Shō-Yei, "*no-bushi* met daily, and incessantly shot arrows to each other. At this time, Niūro Hachiro-sahurō *dono* visited [Motohisa's] headquarters, and, on his return, *no-bushi* were set upon him. He was about to resort to a sword combat, when, without parley, men of both sides came forth and fought with swords. Nakano Shiro-kurō, of Niūro's command, was killed early in the contest; of the lord's kinsmen, Izhūin *Tai-yū dono* fell. On the Sō-shū's [*i.e.*, Korehisa's] side, Shimomura of the Shihuya and scores of others died. The enemy [Korehisa's side] cut his way to the outer fence of the beadquarters; the allies [Motohisa's] invaded within the fences of the Sō-shū's camp; it was an encounter of which it was indistinguishable which side had the best of the other."<sup>2</sup> The issue, though indecisive, was on the whole favorable to Korehisa, particularly at the battle of 30 November. Tsuruda Shigenari fled to Hishigari, and Motohisa returned to Kagoshima.<sup>3</sup> It is said that, on Motohisa's advice, Shigenari surrendered Tsuruda to Korehisa, and in return received from Motohisa 30 *chō* at Yamada,<sup>4</sup> in Taniyama, west of Kagoshima.<sup>5</sup> Yamada had been a domain of lord Yamada beld of Korehisa, hut was "borrowed" by the latter for the present purpose in exchange for other domains which he gave Yamada.<sup>4</sup>

In this war, Iriki-in Shigeyori must have taken a leading part. Though it is not clear where he resided and what other domains he held besides the half of Taniyama and Kiire granted in 1400, his influence was sufficiently potent to make the rival Shimadzu lords vie with each other to court his favor as a faithful ally. For it should be noted that, so long as the house of Shimadzu was divided against itself, the new tie of theoretical vassalage with which Shigeyori was bound in 1397 was naturally tenuous; he was, in practice, an ally rather than a vassal. By the following document A, Motohisa invested him temporarily with a *mura* next to Kagoshima and another close to the harbor of Yamakawa in the south; the latter had been held by the Ihusuki till a few years before,<sup>6</sup> and in 1411 was granted by Motohisa's successor to a Nezhime.<sup>7</sup> It is here implied that Shigeyori desired to restore his original domains about Iriki in, and that Motohisa had, probahly with a view to undermining Korehisa's power, secretly consented to such restoration. When Korehisa's son Morihisa gave Shigeyori lands in west and northwest Satsuma (B), Motohisa sought to outdo his rival in favor by at once pledging his support of Shigeyori's claim to the grant, if Morihisa should prove unfaithful to his own word (C), and offering a solemn oath of mutual faith (D). Motohisa gave similar oaths to others at different times, all proving the difficulty of his position. It is presumed that in each case an identical oath was given by the other party. (On oaths, further see the introduction to No. 136.)

## A

"THE *mura* of Take, in Kagoshima *kōri*, and Narukawa *mura* in Ibusuki, Satsuma *kuni*, are presented [for the present] (*susume oku*), since you entertain a [loyal] feeling [toward us]. However, when you possess the domains north of the [Iriki] mountains, on which we have consulted, you will be pleased to return [the aforesaid grants]. Therefore, stated thus.

"Ō-ei 10 y. 11 m. 29 d. [11 January 1404].  
 "Shibuya *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu dono*."

Motohisa, *monogram*.

## B

"The west part of Yamato *in*, and Ara-kawa and Ha-shima,<sup>8</sup> in Satsuma *kōri*, Satsuma *kuni*, are presented [for the present<sup>9</sup>] (*susume oku*), since I hear that you would render loyal service [to us]. You shall hold them in accordance with precedents.

"Ō-ei 10 y. 12 m. 7 d. [19 January 1404].

Morihisa, (*monogram*).

"Shibuya *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu dono*."

## C

"I have heard that at this time, since you have a [loyal] will<sup>10</sup> [toward him], Harima *no kami* [Morihisa] has presented [to you] (*susumu*) the west part of Yamato, as well as Ara-kawa and Ha-shima. Should Harima *no kami* [cause] unexpected circumstances [to arise], if you desired my judgment, I would consult with you about the said places. With high respect.

"12 m. 13 d. [25 January].

Mutsu *no kami*, Motohisa, (*monogram*).

"Respectfully addressed to Shibuya *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu dono*."

## D\*

"That, if there should occur a revolution [involving] the whole country, I would, concerning great events as well as small, entertain toward you a feeling of perfect amity;

"That, if Tōgō *dono* and Kashiwa-bara *dono* should express their adherence to me, I would assign (*sashi-oku*) Ono-buchi as well as Kuroki and Minari-gawa, to Tōgō, and Yu-ta, to Kashiwa-bara, in addition to their present holdings;

"That, no matter what unexpected circumstances might arise in the three *kuni*, we should mutually support and be supported;

"That, though a slanderer should appear and speak [to me] whatever [false charges against you], I would not believe them; and

"That the various matters which we have discussed [and decided upon] at this time shall not henceforth be altered.

"If the foregoing articles be stated in falsehood, the punishments of

The Great *Bodhisattva* Shō-Hachiman,

the Great *Myō-zhin* of Inari, and

the Great *Myō-zhin* of Upper and Lower Suwa,<sup>11</sup>

would be visited upon me.

"Ō-ei 10 y. 12 m. 13 d. [25 January 1404].

Motohisa, (*monogram*).

"Shibuya *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu dono*."

\* A facsimile of this document will be found opposite p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, viii, 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Yamada Shō-Yei zhi-ki*.

<sup>3</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, viii, 13, relying upon the *Ō-ei ki* and records about Korehisa.

<sup>4</sup> *Yamada S.-Y. z. k.*

<sup>5</sup> See also *Sei-han ya-shi*, v, 75.

<sup>6</sup> Ryō-Shun's letter dated Mei-toku 4 y. 10 m. 11 d. (1393), in the Ibusuki documents.

<sup>7</sup> *SK*, XXIV.

<sup>8</sup> In *Kushiki-no*.

<sup>9</sup> In 1411, Morihisa lived in Yamato *in*, as did his grandfather Morohisa; Ara-kawa and Ha-



shima, together with Naga-toshi, were held by his brother Tadatomo. (*Shimadzu k. s.*, viii, 21.) This does not necessarily imply that the Iriki-in were dispossessed of the grants, since the same pieces of land might still yield incomes to different holders.

<sup>10</sup> *Kokoro-zashi*, volition.

<sup>11</sup> These are all Shintō deities. Inari and Suwa (in Shinano) were deities to whom the Shimadzu were specially devoted, for whom many temples were built in Satsuma; Shō Hachiman was established at Kokubu, Ōsumi. The use of the words Bodhisattva (Bo-satsu, Buddhist deities next in rank to the Buddhas) and Myō-zhin (a Buddhist-Shintō term) shows how closely Buddhism and Shintō were bound together in popular beliefs.

## 128. DUES IN IRIKI IN, 1406

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, IX.)

ON the reverse side of the margin:—"Register of assessment at Tomari-no. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

"THE share of Tomari-no:

one place, Ko-mukaé, *ta 4 tan 4 jō*:

annual tax<sup>2</sup> money, 800 *mon*,  
mulberry[-tree dues] commuted, 1 *kwan*,  
cotton money, 50 *mon*;

one place, Kita-no lot, *ta 4 tan 4 jō*:

annual tax<sup>2</sup> money, 800 *mon*,  
mulberry commuted, 700 *mon*,  
cotton money, 50 *mon*;

one place, Miya-da:

mulberry commuted, 1 *kwan*,  
cotton money, 50 *mon*;

one place, Ichi-no-no, *ta 1 tan 1 jō*:

annual tax<sup>2</sup> money, 250 *mon*,  
mulberry commuted, 1 *kwan*,  
cotton money, 50 *mon*,  
for leather, 500 *mon*.

"Ō-ei 13 y., *hinoé inu*,<sup>3</sup> 6 m. 12 d. [27 June 1406]."

<sup>1</sup> Five *kana* unintelligible.

<sup>2</sup> *Go nen-gu*.

<sup>3</sup> The 23rd of the sexagenary cycle.

## 129. SHIBUYA SHIGEYORI'S DEVISE AND TESTAMENT, 1406

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, III; *SK*, XXIII.)

SHIGEYORI'S letter of devise to his son Kiku-gorō-Maru, the early name of the eighth lord Shigenaga, and testament, both dated Ō-ei 13 y. 11 m. 15 d. (25 December 1406), are, except the names of the devisor and the devisee, identical with A and B of No. 115.

## 130. SHIMADZU HISAYO'S GRANT, 1411

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, IV; *SK*, XXIV.)

DESPITE the wish expressed in 1404 by the retired *shō-gun*, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, that they composed their differences, the two branches of the Shimadzu continued their unahated rivalry. When Korehisa died in 1407, Motohisa at once took the fortress of Hirasu, near Ikari-yama, which had belonged to the former. With this intrusion into central Satsuma, however, Motohisa, the titular *shu-go* as he now was of the entire *kuni* and of Ōsumi, was the acknowledged ruler only of parts of south Satsuma and south Ōsumi, while the late Korehisa's sons Morihisa and Tadatomo, and Morihisa's son Hisayo, still controlled the greater part of central and north Satsuma, and held domains even in the south.<sup>1</sup> The Shibuya also were arrayed on their side, reaping advantage from the division of their nominal lords. When Motohisa went to Kyōto in 1410 in order to pay his respects to the *shō-gun* Yoshimochi and was absent from Kagoshima between April and September, the Iriki-in probably had already retaken Kiyoshiki, whose recalcitrant inhabitants had driven away the Izhūin lord stationed there by Motohisa (see No. 126, n. 1). On his return to Satsuma, Motohisa and his brother Hisatoyo led an expedition to Kiyoshiki in large forces, in 1411, and encamped at Hoko-no-o, a mile to the north. He was compelled, however, to divide more than 3000 of his knights and place them in positions to check a possible assault by Tadatomo and Hisayo from Kuma-no-zhō and Ikari-yama. Soon Motohisa was seized by a malady, and, abandoning the campaign and hastening back to Kagoshima, died there, without heir, on 25 August.<sup>2</sup> As his powerful kinsman Izbūin Yori-hisa was about to uphold his young son in succession to the deceased *shu-go*, the latter's younger brother Hisatoyo forcibly displaced him and assumed the reins at Kagoshima. On this occasion, Iriki-in Shigenaga probably renewed his homage to Hisayo at Ikari-yama, for the latter rewarded him with the grant stated in the following document.

"THE entire region of Akune *in* is, by reason of desire<sup>3</sup> at this time, vested (*okonau*)<sup>4</sup> in you. You shall hold it without interference, unto your children's children. Therefore, ordered thus.

"Ō-ei 18 y. 9 m. 15 d. [2 October 1411]. *Hyō-é no zhō* Hisayo, (monogram).

"Kiyoshiki *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> *Yamada Shō-Yei zhi-ki*.

<sup>2</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, viii, 20, and *KK*, IV.

<sup>3</sup> *Kokoro-zashi*, volition. This word occurs here without the honorific *on*, as in No. 125C, the absence of which makes it rather uncertain whether the volition referred to was of the writer or of the recipient of this document.

<sup>4</sup> [*Ade*]-*okonau* (to assign), on the side of the grantor, creates *shiri-okonau*, or, *chi-gyō* (to hold), on the side of the grantee.

## 131. IZHŪIN YORIHISA'S GRANTS, 1417

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, IV.)

THE following grants were made to Iriki-in Shigenaga by the rebel Izhūin Yorihisa, whose design to make his son succeed Motohisa had been frustrated by Hisatoyo (No. 130). Yorihisa was of the Shimadzu blood, and sufficiently strong to oust the new *shu-go* for a time from Kagoshima in 1413, and four years later to wrest from him a consent to yield to him the large domains of Taniyama *kōri* and Kiire *in*.<sup>1</sup> Immediately he offered to Iriki-in Shigenaga a part of the same Taniyama, besides parts of Mitsue *in*, north of Kagoshima. It is doubtful that Shigenaga had already or would now cast his lot with the rebel. Nor could the grants have been of value to Shigenaga, for not only were they invalid gifts made by a usurper, but also Yorihisa himself was soon driven out of Taniyama. As for the grants in Mitsue *in*, they were near, if not within the hereditary domain of the Hishi-zhima family; and bestowal of them by another was probably an empty act.

"[Dō-Ō]<sup>3</sup> respectfully vests(*ade-okonau*)<sup>2</sup> in you Naka-mata and Nishi-mata, in Mitsué *in*, and Yamada *mura*, in Taniyama *kōri*, Satsuma *kuni*. \*A detailed statement of the *tsubo* is on another sheet.\* Therefore, you shall hold(*chi-gyō*)<sup>2</sup> [the said places] without interference, in accordance with precedents. Stated thus.

"Ō-ei 24 y. 9 m. 20 d. [29 October 1417].  
"Kiyoshiki<sup>4</sup> *dono*."

Dō-Ō,<sup>3</sup> (monogram).

\* \* In small characters in the original text.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 126.

<sup>3</sup> The Buddhist name of Izhūin Yori-hisa.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 130, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Iriki-in Shigenaga.

### 132. SHIMADZU HISATOYO'S OATH, 1423

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, IV.)

IN 1419 Shimadzu Hisatoyo, the *shu-go*, at last won the loyalty of Iriki-in Shigenaga. Early in that year, Shigenaga was involved in a quarrel between Ichiku Iéchika and Tadatomo, son of the late Korehisa and hereditary foe of Hisatoyo's branch of the Shimadzu family. The events which took place are narrated in the quaint language of the memoirs of Yamada Shō-Yei, as follows: "When Yamashiro *no kami dono* [Tadatomo] of the Sō-shū [branch of the Shimadzu] was at the fortress of Naga-toshi, the Shihuya rose up, and, taking a position,<sup>1</sup> gave a battle. But the Shihuya side was easily beaten, and scores of men of Kiyoshiki were cut down. Thereupon, as [Shigenaga] sent word that he hesought the aid of the lord [Hisatoyo, the latter] consulted his chief vassals. Since they said that, if [Shigenaga] had already given allegiance to the *shu-go* and taken part even in a single campaign, aid might be given him, but as, on the contrary, he had long been disrespectful to the *shu-go* and now appealed for help only after a defeat, his petition could scarcely be listened to, therefore the matter was dropped. Now Kiyoshiki *Dan-zhō* [Shigenaga] again said firmly that [if Hisatoyo helped him] he would thereafter serve him with single loyalty. Then [Hisatoyo, thinking] that these men [the Shihuya] might be of use in chastizing Yamashiro [Tadatomo]'s trihe, while the Sō-shū [branch of the Shimadzu] would probably be an eternal enemy [of Hisatoyo's branch], as it had been in the past and was at present, decided to lead an expedition [in support of Shigenaga]. Although the chief vassals still said that both Ujihisa and Motohisa, in two successive generations, met difficulties, when they crossed the [Iriki] mountains northward, at the hands of these very men [of the Shihuya, Hisatoyo dismissed this] as a private complaint. Presently the lord went [to Nagatoshi] and closely invested the fortress. But as picked men defended it, days passed [without success]. Men of both the Sagara and Massaki came down [to the aid of the enemy, who], thickly encamping, harassed our positions day and night; and Matsumoto, of the lord's following, fell. Moreover, Kawanobe Inu-tarō *dono*, [son of Hisayo], came far from the south and pressed the rear. A detachment was sent to meet the lord's enemy in the rear, but that was unavailing, and every day saw nothing but desultory encounters of *no-bushi*. But the enemy could not after all withstand the superior numbers, and at last, making peace, gave up his fortress, which the lord took over. On a later day the lord entrusted Kiyoshiki Sō-dai [Shigenaga] with it, whose delight was beyond words. The lord wished to send forces to [Tadatomo's fortress of] Kuma-no-zhō in order to hold the enemy, and also to finish off with the southern rebels; but since the armies were weary of the long campaign, and, moreover, since the present foe was subdued, [Hisatoyo] took his army back to Kagoshima. For this [favor], Kiyoshiki So-dai's allegiance] was unaltered during the lord's lifetime and unto Tadakuni's time."<sup>2</sup>

Hisatoyo seems to have been a haron of unusual capability. He not only gained Shigenaga's loyalty, but within three years also conquered all the many insurgents in south Satsuma who had embarrassed his brother, thus depriving Izhūin Yori-hisa of his main support; the latter Hisatoyo conciliated with favors and by marrying him his daughter. Then turning north again, he subdued both Tadatomo, at Kuma-no-zhō, and Morihisa, at Yamato *in*, his hereditary rivals within the Shimadzu family.<sup>3</sup> As for the Shibuya branches, the Taki were divided, one faction siding with the Tōgō, the Kokubun, and the Shūin,<sup>4</sup> against the *shu-go*, and another, together with the Ketō-in

and the Iriki-in, standing for him.<sup>5</sup> Hisatoyo married a Shimadzu lady to Iriki-in Shigenaga,<sup>6</sup> and in 1423 gave him the following oath, the latter probably reciprocating.

"THAT, although [Son-Chū]<sup>7</sup> hears that frequent slanders are afloat, he has never since the campaign of Yamada unto this day contrived to bring about your downfall; and

"That if there should be any cause for real grievance, [Son-Chū] would not care to conceal it; and that, if you on your part hold him in regard, he will be unforgetful of you unto the remote future.

"If [Son-Chū] falsified these articles, the punishments of the greater and lesser deities<sup>8</sup> of all Japan, and especially of

the Great *Bodhisattva* Shō Hachiman,  
the Great *Myō-zhin* Upper and Lower Suwa,  
the Great *Gon-gen* at Udo and at Kirishima,  
the Heavenly Deity Ten-man,  
Inari, and Gi-on,

would fall down upon him.

"Therefore, the letter of oath is [written] thus.

"Ō-ei 30 y. 8 m. 30 d. [4 October 1423].

*Shami* Son-Chū,<sup>7</sup> (Shimadzu Hisatoyo's monogram).

"Kiyoshiki<sup>9</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> At Ō-ishi *ga hira*, Yamada *mura*.

<sup>2</sup> Yamada *Shō-Yei zhi-ki*; also *cf.* *Sei-han ya-shi*, vi, 93-94.

<sup>3</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, ix, 10-12.

<sup>4</sup> In the valuable notes of 1484 left by a travelling priest, there were in Midzu-biki at that time Taki Hiko-tarō, Kokuhun (Hei-zhirō Chikatomo), and Chō-shū Sahuro-kurō. (*Un-yu zakki*, I.) The Taki branch of the Shibuya family had lost hold of their ancestral domain at Taki. See the introduction to No. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Yamada *Shō-Yei z. k.*

<sup>7</sup> Shimadzu Hisatoyo.

<sup>6</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>8</sup> Shintō deities. *Cf.* No. 127, n. 11. The temples of Udo and Kirishima are in Hiuga; the main temples of Tenman, Inari, and Gion, in Kyōto.

<sup>9</sup> Iriki-in Shigenaga.

### 133. SHIBUYA SHIGENAGA'S LETTERS OF DEVISE, 1423 AND 1441

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, IV; *SK*, XXV and XXVI.)

THE devise by Iriki-in Shigenaga to his son Hatsu-gorō-Maru, the boyhood name of his successor Shigemochi, dated Ō-ei 30 y. 8 m. 16 d. (20 September 1423), is identical with the earlier Iriki-in devises of 1371 and 1406 (Nos. 115 and 129), except that, in the later document, the following item is inserted in the line next to "Kashiwa-zhima *mura*":—

"one place: Kwan-dō and Naga-toshi, in Satsuma *kōri*."

The Iriki-in genealogy records that, in 1436, Shigemochi was granted by Shimadzu Takahisa 6 *chō* of land at Ha-shima. *Cf.* No. 127 B and C.

Shigemochi died some time after this date, and, in 1441, Shigenaga drew up a new devise, dated Ka-kitsu 1 y. 2 m. 27 d. (19 March 1441), for his grandson Kiku-gorō-Maru, who later, under the name Shigetoyo, succeeded his father Shigemochi as the tenth Iriki-in lord. This devise differs from that of 1371 (No. 115) only in the following respects:—"The north part of Kiyoshiki, and the



south part of the same," is written in one line; with "Ichiino *mura*," the phrase "one-half *ji-tō shiki* and *shita-ji*" does not occur; and after "Kashiwa-zhima *mura*" is found the line, "Nagatoshi *myō* and its *ji-tō shiki*, in Satsuma *Kōri*, Satsuma *kuni*."  
As for Nagatoshi and Kwan-dō, see Nos. 9, 107, 136A, etc.

### 134. TERA0 SHIGETAKA'S COMING OF AGE, 1431

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

AFTER having undergone gradual changes, the ceremony of marking the attainment of majority by a warrior in this period seems to have taken a form somewhat like the following. When he was fifteen or more years old, a lucky day was selected for the occasion, when a relative or friend whose personality and social position commanded respect, assisted by another, officiated. The latter prepared the hair<sup>1</sup> of the youth, and the former put upon his head a cap called *eboshi*, which signalized his coming of age. There ensued an intimate relationship through life between him and the officiating warrior, called, respectively, the *eboshi-go* and *eboshi-oya*, that is, cap-child and cap-father. When the young man was thus initiated into manhood, he discarded his boyhood name, and was given a formal name, usually written in two characters one of which was often common with the names of his fathers. Sometimes, if the youth was of an important family, the cap-father was his lord himself, and a part of the latter's name was granted as part of the new name to be assumed by his cap-child.<sup>2</sup>

In the present instance, the young man was the heir-general of the Terao branch of the Iriki-in family, and his cap-father the eighth lord, Shigenaga, of the main stock. Dropping the name Chiyo-wō-Maru, the lad took the name Shigetaka, which was apparently selected by his cap-father; the first part of the new name was common to men of the Iriki-in and other families of the Shibuya. His popular name, that is, the name by which he was informally known, was Shirō. The *eboshi-oya* certified his act of christening in the following document.

This ceremony was followed by a feast, and an exchange of gifts, (see examples in the Iriki-in genealogy appended to this volume), but no tournament; such was the sum total of the formality of attaining knighthood in Japan. Nor was there a separate class or distinct order of knighthood which, as in European feudalism, partly coincided with vassalage and partly was independent of and parallel to it; knights and vassals were practically synonymous.

"SHIBUYA Shirō

Taira *no* Shigetaka.

"Ei-kyō 3 y. 11 m. 15 d. [19 December 1431].

*Dan-zhō shō-hitsu* Shigenaga (monogram).

"Shibuya Shirō *donō*."

<sup>1</sup> The custom of shaving the forelock, which became increasingly common after the sixteenth century, seems to have been rare at the time of this document. As regards the shaving, cf. the Roman customs of "capillatura" and "harhatoria"; see Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France*, 405 ff., and Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I. 77 f., II, 70, n. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ko-zhi rui-en: rei-shiki bu*, chaps. 9-11; *Bu-ke zhi-ki*, Chap. 44.

### 135. SHIBUYA SHIGENAGA'S RECOGNITION OF HOLDINGS, 1437

(Terao docs.; also *KK*, VIII.)

SHIGENAGA, as the chief of the entire Iriki-in family and its branches, recognized by this letter the succession of the young Terao Shigetaka to his father's holdings. The tendency had for some time been toward a greater coherence and more marked hierarchical organization of men of each family, — a tendency which should be considered along with the gradual development of primogeniture which was taking place at the same time. Cf. Nos. 111 and 119.

"[SHIGENAGA] has heard that, as your father Moroshige died in battle when you were little, you are without a letter of devise concerning Moroshige's domains, and has also heard that the letters of succession since Myō-Shō,<sup>1</sup> too, have been lost. Since [Shigenaga] is aware of these facts, [he declares that] wherever the said documents may be, the domains shall be held(*chi-gyō*) by Shirō Shigetaka without interference by others. The details of the *ta*, *hata*, and homesteads, are stated in separate papers. Therefore, as testimony for the future, the statement is [made] thus.

"Ei-kyō 9 y., *hinoto mi*,<sup>2</sup> 2 m. 28 d. [3 April 1437]. Shigenaga, (monogram).

"Mukaé Shirō<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 109.

<sup>2</sup> The 54th of the sixty-year cycle.

<sup>3</sup> Terao Shigetaka.

### 136. SHIMADZU HARUHISA'S GRANTS AND OATHS, 1462 AND 1466

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, IV.)

DURING the lordship of Shimadzu Tadakuni (1425-1470), successor to Hisatoyo, the three *kuni* again fell into a state of great disorder. In 1442, Iriki-in Shigenaga and Yoshida Wakasa *no kami* were charged by the *shō-gun's* government to aid Tadakuni against his rebellious brother Mochihisa.<sup>1</sup> In the following documents A and B, Haruhisa, the heir of Tadakuni, renewed for Iriki-in Shigetoyo his predecessors' grants to the Iriki-in of Kwan-dō and Nagatoshi, and of the Yamada fortress at the latter place, and swore his trust in Shigetoyo's pledge of fidelity. Another oath was given four years later (C), as an accompanying note says, in response to one sworn by Shigetoyo to prove his innocence of the false rumor of his unfaithful intention which had been circulated. From these examples it may be inferred that oaths of fidelity and support were reciprocal.

Compare the following oaths with those of 1404 and 1423 given above (Nos. 127 and 132), and note the difference in their character. What we see below is the lord's oaths of trust and support sworn in response to the vassal's oath of fidelity.

The custom of giving a written oath seems to have been introduced into Japan with Buddhism, and is traceable back to the eighth century. But the early oaths do not appear to have been reciprocal. Also, the deities were invoked in a different way: they would punish any third person who should commit an act contrary to the import of the pledge, not, as in the later oaths, the first person if he falsified his statements under oath.<sup>2</sup> The earlier form gradually passed into the later, with intermediate forms sometimes seen in the Kamakura period. Oaths were neither limited in their application to the swearing of fealty and support between lord and vassal, nor always reciprocal when they were used in other relations. Nor can it be said that the relations of vassalage were always confirmed by means of written oaths, though the custom obtained naturally at places like south Kyū-shū where infidelity among new, reluctant vassals was frequent. Even at such places, the practice appears to have been recent in origin and not always customary. In the Kamakura period, a written oath of fealty was probably unknown, while the act of homage consisted in the vassal's paying personal respects to the lord, which act was called *gen-zan* (audience). The lord, in acknowledging the relationship, confirmed it by granting to the vassal a writ of investiture or of confirmation of a domain. It was during the period of civil war, especially after the middle of the 16th century, that the new custom of exchanging written oaths of fealty and trust gained a degree of currency. Then, simultaneously, a custom arose of scratching with a knife the back of the fourth finger of the left hand and pressing the little blood thus obtained on the sheet containing the oath, below the signature or monogram; this *keppan* (blood-seal), also, might be employed with oaths of any kind. When the civil war subsided and Japan passed into the peaceful age of the Tokugawa shogunate, the formality of initiating the relation of vassalage largely reverted to the simpler mode of the Kamakura period; and the act of *gen-zan* was often followed by the gift by the lord of a sword, and then he and the vassal drank each a cupful of *saké*. This last act was sometimes popu-

larly called "the confirmation of vassalage for three lives" (*shū-zhū san-ze no katame*). For customs attending the acts of homage, see the Iriki-in and Terao genealogies at the end of this volume.

## A

"Kwan-dō, Naga-toshi, and the Yamada fortress, in the Satsuma part of Shimadzu *shō*, are vested (*ade okonau*) in you. You shall forthwith possess (*ryō-chi*) them in accordance with precedents, and there shall be no disturbance. Stated thus.

"Kwan-shō 3 y. 3 m. 24 d. [23 April 1462].

Haruhisa, *monogram*.

"Iriki-in<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

## B

"Pledge.

"Since [Haruhisa] acknowledges [your oath] that, whatever changes may occur in the world, you will serve him with single devotion, he also on his part will rely implicitly upon you, even unto children's children. If there should arise calumnious or evil persons [between you and him, he] would hear a complete avowal of your mind.

"If these statements be false, the punishments of

the Ten-shō Dai-zhin Gū, of Ise,<sup>4</sup>

the Great *Gon-gen* at the three places of Kumano,

the Great *Bodhisattva* Niita Hachiman,

the Ten-man Dai Zhi-zai Ten-zhin, and

the Great *Myō-zhin* Upper and Lower Suwa,

would be visited upon [Haruhisa].

"Kwan-shō 3 y. 3 m. 24 d. [23 April 1462].

Haruhisa, (monogram).

"Iriki-in<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

## C

"Your courteous renewed [oath] has been received through Zhūrō-zaémon. Since [Haruhisa] received your previous [oath], he has not entertained the least suspicion of you. Now that he acknowledges [your oath] that [as heretofore] you will henceforth [serve him with] single devotion, he will not be unmindful of you.

"If these statements be false, the punishments of

the Ten-shō Dai-zhin Gū, of Ise,<sup>4</sup>

the Great *Gon-gen* at the three places of Kumano,

the Great *Bodhisattva* Niita Hachiman,

the Great *Myō-zhin* Upper and Lower Suwa,

the Great *Bodhisattva* Shō Hachiman, and

the Great *Gon-gen* of the three places of Kirishima,

would be visited upon [Haruhisa].

"Kwan-shō 7 y. 4 m. 16 d. [30 May 1466].

Haruhisa, (monogram).

"Iriki-in<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, x, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Koku-shi dai zhi-ten*, 717-719.

<sup>3</sup> Shigetoyo. In these documents, we see for the first time the family-name Iriki-in in actual use, though for the sake of simplicity we have been employing this appellation throughout the volume in our references to the family. It has been already explained (No. 63, n. 15; also see the preface to the Iriki-in genealogy) that feudal families at will adopted informally the names of their domains as family-names, and that, as the family and its estate were divided and subdivided through suc-

cessive generations, the ramifying branches adopted the names of their shares of the original domain. The result was that, as division progressed, the branch families were known by the names of smaller and smaller localities; this condition is shown clearly in No. 144. As for the principal family of the original stock, it would either retain the name of the whole domain in spite of its division, or else take the name of the part which it had reserved for itself. In the present instance, the main stock had chosen the latter way of designation and was known as the Kiyoshiki family, Kiyoshiki being the seat of its residence and fortress, (see Nos. 118C, 121F, G, H, 123 and 130-132). The fact that the family was now called by the name of the whole of the *in* of Iriki is significant. Formerly, the chiefs of many branch families were direct vassals of the *shō-gun*, and not of the head of the main family, and, moreover, the *in* contained domains held by other families not of the Shihuya stock; with the progress, however, of the law of primogeniture, with the simultaneous advance of the feudal organization of the entire clan under its chief, with the gradual annexation of the domains of other clans within the *in*, and with the increasing subjection of the entire region and its lord to the Shimadzu haron in relations of vassalage, it had become perfectly natural to call the lord of the *in* by the name of the region as a whole. The united local control of Iriki *in* had come to form a part of the provincial feudal hierarchy under the haron. Cf. Nos. 138 and 144.

\* It is noteworthy that no such titles betraying Buddhist influence as Bodhisattva, *myō-zhin*, and *gon-gen*, were used in connection with the Great Temples (*Dai zhin-gū*) of Ise, whose chief deity is the ancestress of the imperial family. These temples have always been regarded as apart from all others, and were comparatively, though by no means completely, free from the prevailing belief that Shintō deities were re-incarnations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

### 137. OATHS OF IRIKI-IN SHIGETOYO AND SHIMADZU TADAMASA, 1481

(Copies in Iriki-in docs.; also KK, IV.)

WHEN the eleven-year old Shimadzu Takehisa, later Tadamasa, succeeded his father Haruhisa, in 1474, the three *kuni* were still torn with strife and rebellion, and an arduous, tragic life awaited the youthful lord. It was probably on his attainment to majority that the following oaths were exchanged between him and Iriki-in Shigetoyo. Two months later, Takehisa and Shigetoyo's son Shigetsuna mutually swore oaths in nearly identical terms, which are omitted here.

#### A

"OATH.<sup>1</sup>

"That whatever changes may occur in the three *kuni*, I will, as heretofore, serve the lord with single [devotion] and without a second thought;

"That my mind has several times been expressed to Murata *dono*, and that there remains naught else; and

"That if a calumny or an evil report should [arise], I beg that [the lord] deign to tell me of it and I be permitted to utter my thought.

"If these statements be false, [ . . . (The names of deities). . . ]<sup>2</sup>

"Bun-mei 13 y, *kanoto ushi*,<sup>5</sup> 6 m. 23 d. [19 July 1481].

Shimotsuke *no kami*, Shigetoyo.

"Respectfully presented to Murata Hizen *no kami*<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

#### B

"Pledge.<sup>4</sup>

"That I acknowledge [your oath] that whatever changes may occur in the three *kuni* you will entertain (*kokoro-zasu*) toward me single [devotion]; and that I, too, will, whatever may happen in the world, consult you with single [faith];



"That I acknowledge [your statement] that you will be ever more loyal toward me; and that since you are of that mind, I will regard your important affairs as my own, and we will mutually rely and be relied upon; and

"That if, despite this understanding, a calumny or an evil report should arise, we would mutually explain ourselves with complete frankness.

"If these statements be false, the punishments of  
 the Ten-shō Dai-zhin Gū, of Ise,  
 the *Gon-gen* of the three places of Kumano,  
 the Great *Bodhisattva* Shō Hachiman,  
 the Ten-man Ten-zhin, and  
 the Great *Myō-zhin* Upper and Lower Suwa,  
 would be visited [upon me].

"Ten-myō 13 y., *kanoto ushi*,<sup>5</sup> 6 m. 23 d. [19 July 1481]. Takehisa, *monogram*.

"Iriki-in *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> *Ki-shō mon*. In the original copy, the word *ki* is omitted. By this error the genealogist of the family was misled to think that the document was a responsive letter posterior to B, (the two characters *shōmon* of the mutilated word being the same as those of *uke-bumi*, for which see No. 22). That this is wrong may be inferred from the texts of the two documents. B was a response to A, not A to B.

<sup>2</sup> The copyist omitted the conventional ending of the oath.

<sup>3</sup> Murata Tsuneyasu, a chief councillor of Takehisa.

<sup>4</sup> *Kei zhō*.

<sup>5</sup> The 38th of the sexagenary cycle.

### 138. IRIKI-IN SHIGETOYO'S DEVISE TO SHIGETOSHI, 1490

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, IV and *SK*, XXX.)

"To devise

To the son Mata-gorō Shigetoshi<sup>1</sup>

"The *mura*, houses, *ta* and *hata*, even unto mountains and wilds, without a single exception, in Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kumi*, are hereby devised. Formerly, since service was called by the *shō-gun*<sup>2</sup> directly from Kyōto, relatives also were, according to their loyal services, supported<sup>3</sup> with private domains;<sup>4</sup> but as in this age the *shu-go* calls [upon the lord] for service from all the lands in the *in* without exception, there is no longer any need of private domains<sup>4</sup> as in the past, but all [holdings] are the same as grants.<sup>5</sup> Though there be many sons, or though there be relatives who have rendered different loyal services, nothing shall be assigned to them as private domains.<sup>4</sup> If there be any who makes a devise contrariwise to this sense, the heir-general shall, in accordance with that letter of devise, hold [the domain devised thereby].

"One place, Nagatoshi *myō* and Yamada *mura*, in Satsuma *kōri*;

one place, Kusawara *myō*, ditto;

one place, Tazaki *mura*, ditto;

one place, Amatatsu *mura*, ditto;

one place, Hashima *mura*, ditto;

one place, Hiramatsu *mura*, in Kamo, Ōsumi;

one place, the Moriyama *kado*<sup>5</sup> and the Maébara *kado*,<sup>6</sup> in Mochida, same;

譲与

所与是文部重造

薩摩平国入東院内村在家田畠

主山野一所と云云譲与也

名くハ京都直依有片能親代

依長忠為和領有田畑並田畠代

守前從防自田畠を譲りて此

市に和領と云入者此ハ平国

所ハ和領子多し之ハ云和親代

非有常と云其ハ和領也云々

若肯此有和領不似和親代

和領ハ和親

一取薩摩郡内永利村田村

一取同天原村

一取同天原村

一取同天原村

一取同天原村

一取同天原村

并和先創

一取薩摩郡内永利村田村

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"The *ji-tō shiki*, *ta* and *hata*, in each of the aforesaid, without a single exception, are devised.

"Likewise, according to precedents,  
 one place, Chiku-zen *kuni*: the wet fields and homestead at Kashiwara;  
 one place, Chiku-go *kuni*: the Naga-buchi homestead and the Minaki homestead;  
 one place, Kai *kuni*: houses, *ta* and *hata*, at Ashi-iri, in Nishi-zhima;  
 one place, Mimasaka *kuni*: Shimo-mori, Kami-yama, and Ōashi, in Kawaé *gō*;  
 one place, Sagami *kuni*: the homestead and wooded land at Fuji-gokoro, in Zō-shi *gō*, Shibuya.

"The aforesaid domains are Shigetoyo's hereditary possessions. Therefore, they are, together with the documents of succession and letters of transmission, devised for all time to Shigetoshi.<sup>1</sup> As for the obligations (*ku-zhi*), they shall be performed according to precedents. Next, after [the death of] Shigetoyo, though there be several brothers, the heir-general shall be [appointed] according to ability (*ki-yō*), and all the domains without a single exception shall be devised to him alone. If there be any who, contrariwise to this sense, divided the domains among his sons, he should not be considered as Shigetoyo's descendant. Since it is ruled thus, if perchance the domains were devised in parts, the heir-general should, in accordance with the tenor of this letter, seize and hold [all the domains] in sole control. As testimony for the future, the letter of devise is [written] thus.

"Ei-den<sup>7</sup> 1 y. 8 m. 21 d. [12 September 1490].

Shimotsuke *no kami* Shigetoyo (monogram)."

<sup>1</sup> The Japanese text printed in this volume has Shigetuna, which is an error for Shigetoshi, the eleventh Iriki-in lord.

<sup>2</sup> The word used is *kō*, for which see No. 142, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Kaku-go*, to support.

<sup>4</sup> *Shi-ryō*, private holding, hereditary and subinfeudable.

<sup>5</sup> *Kyū-bun*, or simply *kyū*, grants of land made, not by the *shō-gun* to local chieftains, but by the latter to their relations and followers. Formerly, under the system of *go ke-nin* (direct vassals of the *shō-gun*), there was an essential difference between the *shi-ryō* of the principal members of the lord's family and the *kyū* granted to his minor members and vassals: the *shi-ryō*, as the term was employed here, were held directly of the *shō-gun*, but the *kyū-bun* were subgrants privately given out of the *shi-ryō* by their holders. Now the difference between the two had practically ceased to exist, since the chief of the Iriki-in family was responsible to the local *shu-go* for the service which was due to the latter from the former's entire fief. In this age of practical anarchy, the *shō-gun* as suzerain had been eclipsed by the *shu-go*; the direct vassalage of the Iriki-in lord's relatives under the *shō-gun*, which characterized the Kamakura period (*cf.* the preface to No. 13), had gradually been converted into their indirect allegiance to the *shu-go* under the lordship of their family-head; the *shu-go* had attained local suzerainty, not so much because he was a *shu-go*, as because he had at length succeeded in reducing other provincial lords to feudal subjection. A local feudal hierarchy with the former *shu-go* at its apex had come into being, which comprised many lesser hierarchies under the chiefs of warrior-families. *Cf.* Nos. 136, n. 3, and 144.

<sup>6</sup> *Kado*, literally, gate; it usually meant in South Kyū-shū, in the Tokugawa period, an agricultural estate consisting of the peasant-holder's house and land, (*cf.* No. 104, n. 22). At the time of this devise, as is seen here, a warrior also held *kado*. Nor is it unlikely that a *kado* was sometimes more inclusive than in the later ages, comprising more than one homestead and forming a little hamlet; this is, however, a conjecture. The literal sense of the word would seem at any rate to suggest the origin of the institution as a family estate, in which the residence of the holder formed an integral part.



<sup>7</sup> This year-period, Ei-den, was not official. Its first year corresponded to the second year of En-toku, A.D. 1490.

## 139. DEMESNES AND HOMESTEADS, c. 1490

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*; *SK*, XXX.)

THE first part seems to be wanting. There is a great deal of institutional information which may be culled from the analysis of this and No. 140. The names of *mura* and *aza* will be distinguished below; the *mura* are widely scattered over various parts of Iriki *in* and even beyond; the *aza* names are all interesting, and some are indicative of the original condition of the plots, but a translation of the words would take us too far afield. Some words may be found in Nos. 59 and 104 and Index. For the *kado*, see No. 104, n. 22, and No. 138, n. 6. For the lord's "own cultivation" (*zhi-saku*), or, demesne, see No. 18, n. 4.

"THE *kado* of Kami-baru,<sup>1</sup> west;  
the *kado* of Hara-baru;<sup>1</sup>  
the *kado* of Nishi-zono,<sup>1</sup> Upper Soéda;<sup>2</sup>  
the *kado* of Ta-naka,<sup>1</sup> Kura-no;<sup>2</sup>  
the *kado* of Shimo Saka-moto,<sup>1</sup> Naka-mura;<sup>2</sup>  
the *kado* of Suwa-zono,<sup>3</sup> Yamada;<sup>2</sup>—commutation for labor only; the annual tax is  
used for the temple;

the *kado* of Ta-naka,<sup>1</sup> Kusa-baru;  
the *kado* of Higashi,<sup>1</sup> Ama-tastu;<sup>2</sup>  
the *kado* of Ué-no-sono,<sup>1</sup> Ta-zaki.<sup>2</sup>

"The lord's own cultivation (*zhi-saku*),

[according to the rice] crop of Ei-den 1 y., *kanoe inu*, [1490].

"2 *tan* 2 *jō*, Minao-ta tsubuki [?],<sup>1</sup> 123 bundles; retainers:<sup>4</sup> Zhūro-zhirō and Waka-zhirō;

5 *tan*, Tsutsumi-ta,<sup>1</sup> Kura-no;<sup>2</sup>  
5 *tan*, Tsuru,<sup>1</sup> Kura-no;<sup>2</sup>  
1 *tan* 2½ *jō*, Sako-ta,<sup>1</sup> Kura-no;<sup>2</sup>  
4 *tan* 2 *jō*, Yama-moto,<sup>1</sup> Naka-mura;<sup>2</sup>  
4 *tan* Kawara-da,<sup>1</sup> Naka-mura;<sup>2</sup>  
4 *tan* 1 *jō*, Maéda,<sup>1</sup> Naka-mura;<sup>2</sup>  
2 *tan*, Tsuku-da,<sup>1</sup> Kusu-moto;<sup>2</sup>  
3 *tan* 3 *jō*, San-dan-ta,<sup>1</sup> Kusu-moto;<sup>2</sup>  
3 *jō*, Ichi-semachi, the same;  
1 *tan* 2½ *jō*, Kuwa-bata, the same;  
1 *tan* 2 *jō*, Tera-sato, the same;  
2 *tan*, Hara-da, Upper Soéda;  
1 *tan*, Kuwa-no-ki Maru, the same;  
6 *tan*, Tori-goé Yamada;  
1 *chō* 2 *tan*, Chika-da, the same;  
4 *tan*, Misorai, the same;  
3 *tan* 2 *jō*, Yama-shita, the same;  
5 *tan*, Tokiten [?], the same;  
1 *tan*, Uchi-waki-da, the same;

1 *chō* 1 *tan*, 3 *chō* 1 *tan* 2 *jō*, Konadeshima [?], Ama-tatsu.

"*Hata* of his own cultivation (*zhi-saku*).

5 *tan*, Ike-tsuru,<sup>1</sup> Naka-mura;<sup>2</sup>

2 *jō*, within Yama-moto, the same;

2 *jō*, from the stream, the same;

4 *jō*, Yama-shita, Kura-no;

2 *tan*, Yama-shita again, the same;

1 *tan* 2 *jō*, Miya-no-waki, the same;

5 *tan*, Ō-sono, the same;

2 *tan* 3 *jō*, Azechi, the same;

2 *jō*, Ta-no-ué, the same;

1 *tan*, Tsuru, the same;

1 *tan*, Ta-zhima, the same;

one place,<sup>5</sup> Kokita homestead, the same;

one place,<sup>5</sup> in Lower Ku-jū, originally held by Kamiya *dono*;

4 *tan*, Upper Tsuru, Naka-mura;

3 *tan* 1 *jō*, Funa-gawara, the same;

3 *jō* Dō-no-maé, Kusu-moto;

1 *tan* 3 *jō*, Kubo-sono, the same;

2 *tan*, Mitachi-sono, Ama-tatsu;

tea *sono*, Shima-en, Tō-no-hara;

tea *sono*, Kume-kata;

large tea *sono*, Kura-no.

"Homesteads.<sup>6</sup>

"Saburo-émon, of Kura-no:<sup>2</sup> *ta*, 1 *tan* 0½ *jō*; [*hata*], one place, 1 *tan* 3 *jō*;

Hachiro-zhirō, same: *ta*, 2 *tan* 4 *jō*; [*hata*], one place, 1 *tan* 4 *jō*;

Taro-shirō, same: *ta*, 1 *tan* 1 *jō*; [*hata*], one place, 3 *tan* 2 *jō*;

Kuro-tarō, same: *ta*, 1 *tan* 0½ *jō*; [*hata*], one place, 1 *tan*;

Suke-kurō, same: *ta*, 2 *tan* 3 *jō*; [*hata*], one place, 4 *jō*;

Sei-zaburō, same: *ta*, 3 *tan* 2½ *jō*; [*hata*], one place, 2 *tan* 1 *jō*;

Suke-roku, same: *ta*, 1 *tan* 2 *jō*; [*hata*], one place, 2 *tan* 4 *jō*;

Shiro-gorō, same: [*hata*], one place, 2 *tan*;

Saburo-shirō, same: [*hata*], one place, 1 *tan* 1 *jō*;

Mago-hei-zhi, same: [*hata*], only;

Mago-tarō, of Soéda: *ta*, 1 *tan* 4 *jō*;

Kuro-shirō, same: *ta*, 4½ *jō*;

Rokuro-shirō, same: *ta*, 1 *tan* 4 *jō*;

Hei-gorō, same: *ta*, 1 *tan*;

Zhiro-émon, same: tea *sono*, one place, 2 *tan*;

Hiko-kurō, of Yamada . . . :<sup>7</sup> *ta*, 2 *tan*; *hata*, one place, 6 *tan*;

Hiko-saburō, same: *hata*, one place, 5 *tan*;

Hiko-gorō, same: *hata*, one place, 2 *tan*.

"*Hata* of his own cultivation (*zhi-saku*), at Soéda.<sup>2</sup>

"1 *tan*, Hara-guchi,<sup>1</sup> Soéda;<sup>2</sup>

2 *tan*, Moriki-no-shita, same;

1 *tan*, Tsubuki-ta no ué, same; 2 *jō*, Inari no maé, same:  
tea *sono*. The foregoing are lots of Upper Soéda."

[Later note]:—"Inserted in the life of Iriki-in *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu* Shigetoyo *nyū-dō* I-Shin. Shigetoyo died Bun-ki 1 y., *kanoto tori*, intercalary 6 m. 2 d. [16 July 1501]."

<sup>1</sup> *Aza*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mura*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sono* assigned for the maintenance of the Suwa temple.

<sup>4</sup> *Chū-gen*, "middling." Their status is not explained; nor is it known whether the two men had to do with this lot only.

<sup>5</sup> *Hata* had formerly been counted roughly by the number of plots or groups of plots situated at the same place; gradually their extents had begun to be stated in records.

<sup>6</sup> *Ya-shiki*, homestead, included land attached to it. In the following list, the *ya-shiki* are specified by the personal names of the occupants.

<sup>7</sup> Two characters unintelligible, resembling *tsukuri-ko*, literally, cultivating child. One would expect here the name of a place or a lot.

#### 140. DEMESNES AND DUES, 1492

(Iriki-in docs.; also *KK*, IV.)

"THE lots in Naka-mura for which I have exchanged the Taki lady's<sup>1</sup> own cultivation (*zhi-saku*),<sup>2</sup> 6 *tan* 3 *jō*:—4 *tan*, Shimo Mochi-sako, and 2 *tan* 3 *jō*, Kawara-da,—in all, 6 *tan* 3 *jō*.

"For the *kado* of Miya-da has been exchanged the *kado* of Mukai-Nakamura. Their annual taxes (*nen-gu*) are equal; their obligations (*ku-zhi*) are equal. The dues (*nashi-mono*) from Miya-da, 1 *kwan* 500 *mon*, \*inclusive of 500 *mon* for the deputy;\* the dues from Mukai-Nakamura, 1 *kwan* 150 *mon*. The *kado-wo*<sup>3</sup> is equal; silk *kuda*,<sup>4</sup> equal; cotton, equal; *kado* straw-coat (*mino*), equal.

"The things presented from Miya-da, but not presented from Nakamura:—*imo*,<sup>5</sup> 1 to 5 *shō*; *kado* indigo, 1 *to*; *Kara-wo*,<sup>6</sup> 150 *mon-me*; annual tax of barley, 5 *to*. In lieu of these, *hata* of *uki-men* is added, [namely], 1 *tan*, at Ike-tsuru.

"The things presented from Miya-da:—sweet chestnuts [? (*ama-kuri* [?])] commuted, 100 *mon*; *akane*,<sup>7</sup> commuted, 59 *mon*; selected cocoons, 3 *shō*, or 600 *mon* if commuted; for the *nai-ken*<sup>8</sup> lot, 599 *mon*,—\*since these are wanting in Mukai-Nakamura, two *tan* of *ta* is added, [namely], 2 *tan*, at Maéda.\*

"The lots presented anew to the Taki lady:<sup>1</sup>—2 *tan*, at Maéda, and 2 *tan*, at Ike-tsuru.

"Total of the exchanged *zhi-saku*<sup>2</sup> lands: *ta*, 1 *chō* 2 *tan* 4 *jō*; *hata*, 4 *tan*.<sup>9</sup>

"En-toku 4 y. *midzunoé ne*,<sup>10</sup> 3 m. 1 d. [28 March 1492]. Shigetoshi<sup>11</sup> (monogram)."

\* \* Written in small characters in the original.

<sup>1</sup> *Uji*; see No. 12, n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Zhi-saku*, "own cultivation," demesne; see No. 18, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Wo*, a fibrous plant for making rope.

<sup>4</sup> *Kuda*, literally, tuhe; silk-reel?

<sup>5</sup> *Imo*, starchy edible root.

<sup>6</sup> *Kara-wo*, a species of *wo* (n. 3).

<sup>7</sup> *Akane*, reddish root, a dye stuff.

<sup>8</sup> *Nai-ken*, "private examination" [of land]; the exact signification in this connection is unknown.

<sup>9</sup> There must be some error about the area of the *hata*.

<sup>10</sup> The 49th of the sexagenary cycle.

<sup>11</sup> This is probably the same as Iriki-in Shigetoshi, the 11th lord.

## 141. GRANT OF MOMO-TSUGI TO IRIKI-IN SHIGETOMO, 1536

(A copy on Iriki-in docs.; also KK, V.)

DURING the half-century following the oaths of 1481 (No. 137), the Iriki-in family had two great opportunities for aggrandizement, which it exploited with marked ability.

In 1484-1485, a sectional quarrel about Obi in south Hiuga suddenly assumed serious aspects when the Itō lords, the historic enemy of the Shimadzu, brought to the field thousands of knights from north Hiuga and sought to control this strategic point. Shimadzu Takehisa personally led an army of more than 5,000 men, and succeeded in inflicting upon the enemy a signal defeat. Among his forces were 1,300 men under Shimadzu Takado, of Chō-sa, and these probably included contingents from Iriki. While this campaign was absorbing the *shu-go's* attention, most of the stronger warrior-families in Satsuma beyond the Iriki or other mountain ranges rose, not so much in open rebellion, as with a view to taking advantage of the moment and seizing the territories of weaker neighbors. It was thus that the Tōgō and the Taki, assisted by the Ketō-in, captured the fortress of Midzu-hiki, west of the Niita temple, in the middle of February 1485; and that the Iriki-in took the now historic stronghold of Ikari-yama about the same time. The former was lost within two months to men of Idzumi,<sup>1</sup> but the Iriki-in held the latter, and made it an important outpost of their expanding sphere of influence. Such acts were condoned by the *shu-go*, partly because he was occupied elsewhere, but chiefly because he needed the support of the Shibuya in his almost incessant struggles with his antagonists, in which, it must be said, the Iriki-in proved faithful in warlike service.

The renewed turmoil in south Ōsumi which broke out about 1494,<sup>2</sup> and which grew worse from 1506<sup>3</sup> with the defection of the powerful Kimotsuki at Kō-yama, drove the unfortunate *shu-go*, Shimadzu Tadamasa, formerly Takehisa, to despondency. Valiant but of a high-strung temper he died in abject despair, perhaps by his own hands, in 1508, at the age of 45.<sup>3</sup> In the next eighteen years, four lords—Tadaharu, 1508-1515, Tadataka, 1515-1519, Katsuhisa, 1519-1526, and Takabisa, 1526-(1566)—succeeded one another, and, in the laconic style of the official history of the Shimadzu, "the three *kuni* were in great commotion."

The second opportunity for the Iriki-in came with the rebellion of Shimadzu Sanehisa against the *shu-go* about 1526. Established at the strategic Idzumi, in northwest Satsuma, where his branch of the Shimadzu had implanted its influence for several generations, Sanehisa had gradually extended his control, not only over Taki and Midzu-biki, but further south into regions westward from Momo-tsugi and Yamada, thus bringing him into direct conflict with the Iriki-in, (*cf.* Nos. 131, 133, and 136), and threatened to assail Kagoshima itself. The interests of the *shu-go* and the Iriki-in were now largely common, for the former's security would depend upon the success of the latter against the same enemy. Having already about 1510 received from the former *shu-go* Tada-baru the grant of Kuma-no-zhō,<sup>4</sup> which, however, was probably purely nominal, Iriki-in Shigetoshi and his son Shigetomo waged frequent wars in 1529 and 1530 with Sanehisa about Yamada and Momo-tsugi.<sup>4</sup> In 1536, Katsuhisa, who had been ignominiously ousted from Kagoshima by Sanehisa, granted to Iriki-in Shigetomo, by the following document, the fortress of Momo-tsugi, which was being strongly held by his enemy Sanehisa. The grant, therefore, implied that the grantee might, if he would, take it at the point of his sword. It was not until 9 October 1539 that Shigetomo at last took possession of the fortress by a night assault. Two months before, Shigetomo, in consideration of his loyal service for Shimadzu Takahisa in his campaign at Ichiku,<sup>5</sup> was given by the latter "a strict order," as the compiler of the *Kiyoshiki ki-kan* (V) puts it, "to conquer and take (*kasume-toru*, literally, to snatch) the region of Sen-dai."<sup>6</sup> By the end of 1539, "[Shigetomo] had taken," continues the same account, "Kuma-no-zhō, as well as Ta-zaki, Hirasu, Miyo-sato, and Takaé, all which had been Sanehisa's domains. Sanehisa having been defeated several times, these places all became the possessions of the [Iriki-in] family by this battle [of 21 October]. [Shigetomo] transferred Taneda Kii no kami Shigetoshi and others to Kuma-no-zhō, and bade them defend it." These newly acquired places, together with Kwan-dō and Naga-tosbi, which had been granted previously, comprised much of the region reaching out to the seashore, and this dominion was nearly contiguous with Iriki in. The family now had risen to the height of its power.<sup>7</sup>



"THE domain of the Momo-tsugi fortress, in Sen-dai *kōri*,<sup>8</sup> Satsuma *kuni*, is vested (*ade okonau*) in you, as reward of your loyal service. You shall forthwith, in accordance with this order, hold [the same]. Ordered thus.

"Ten-mon 5 y. 7 m. 23 d. [9 August 1536].

Katsuhisa, *monogram*.

"Iriki-in *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, xii, 8-11; *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xiii, 12, xiv, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Shimadzu *k. s.*, xii, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xii, 16.

<sup>4</sup> KK, IV.

<sup>5</sup> Shimadzu *k. s.*, xvi, 14.

<sup>6</sup> This refers to the region south of the river Sendai, west of Iriki in.

<sup>7</sup> The Shimadzu of Idzumi had given up "the region of Sen-dai," hut were still strongly entrenched in the north, and their quarrels with the Tōgō continued twenty years longer.

<sup>8</sup> There was no such *kōri*; the right name should be Satsuma *kōri*. Such careless use of names of territorial divisions was not infrequent; documents in this volume contain abundant examples.

## 142. GRANT OF KŌRI-YAMA TO IRIKI-IN SHIGETOMO, 1537

(A copy in Iriki-in docs.; also KK, V.)

SHIMADZU KATSUHISA, driven out of Kagoshima by Sanehisa, had fled from one place to another, when he wrote the following letter, perhaps from Yoshimatsu. Kōri-yama, which he gave to Shigetomo, was south of the Tsusedo pass on the road toward Kagoshima, from which it was some twelve miles north.

Shigetomo's political power was not due purely to his territorial conquests, hut also to the marital relation which had been contracted between his and the Shimadzu families. Of his two younger sisters, one was wife of Tōgō Shigesuke, and the other, who was of the same mother as Shigetomo, had married the present Shimadzu *shu-go*, Takahisa, and given birth to the latter's successors, Yoshihisa and Yoshihiro, and their younger brother Toshihisa. As a vassal of distinguished service and brother-in-law of his lord, Shigetomo had run his career of conquest without obstruction. Both the official history of the Shimadzu family and the Iriki-in's own genealogy accuse him of having gradually waxed arrogant and refused to listen to Takahisa's admonitions. Rumors were soon afloat that Shigetomo was contriving a rebellious scheme in collusion with his kinsmen the Tōgō and the Ketō-in; of this the Iriki-in genealogy is, in fact, more positive than the Shimadzu history. Whether there was any foundation for the evil reports, Takahisa declined to accept his vassal's repeated explanations, and finally in 1443 forbade him longer to pay him homage. As Shigetomo remained obdurate, Takahisa sent forces to the fortress of Kōri-yama, which his predecessor had granted to him seven years before, and forcibly took it back. Shigetomo had died shortly before, and his sister, the lady Shimadzu, in the preceding year.<sup>1</sup>

"YOUR specially faithful service (*hō-kō*)<sup>2</sup> in relation to my plans of return to the *kuni* is most excellent. Therefore, as reward for this [evidence of] loyalty, the fortress of Kōri-yama, together with thirty *chō*, in Mitsue in, is vested (*ade okonau*) in you. You shall at once, in accordance with this order, hold the same. Ordered thus.

"Ten-mon 6 y. 3 m. 14 d. [23 April 1537].

Katsuhisa, *monogram*.

"Iriki-in<sup>3</sup> *dono*."

<sup>1</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, xvi, 10, and the Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>2</sup> *Hō-kō*, a word most properly translated as "service," appeared from this period with increasing frequency. It consists of two Chinese characters: *hō*, to offer and to uphold, and *kō*, authorities and public. The double meaning of the word *kō* is instructive as an index to a cardinal principle of the political philosophy of China which profoundly influenced Japanese thought: authorities and the public were nearly identical, for sovereignty was vested in the ruler, (see No. 155, n. 6). *Kō* would, in its strict signification, apply only to the emperor and the state, hut was, in Japanese history,

used throughout the ages by the actual wielders of political powers regardless of their origin or of the legal foundation of their authority; the emperor, the imperial house, the *shō-gun*, and the feudal baron, have successively employed the word in regard to themselves and to affairs concerning their political life. The term *ku-zhi*, for example, meaning obligations to the authorities (*ku* being the same character as *kō*, and *zhi*, matters or affairs),—the word which is found throughout this volume—referred, in the succeeding periods, to obligations owed to the state, to the *kuni*, to the domainial lord, to the *shō-gun*, and to the feudal lord. It is with the last signification of *kō* that the composite word *hō-kō* is used in this document.

<sup>3</sup> One record cited in the *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xvi, 20, says that the recipient of the grant was Shigetoshi, father of Shigetoyo.

### 143. GRANT OF I-ZAKO TO IRIKI-IN SHIGETSUGU, 1560

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, V.)

IN spite of the lord's displeasure which his father's conduct had incurred upon himself, Iriki-in Shigetsugu, son and heir of Shigetomo, was permitted to continue to pay court to the *shu-go*; Shigetsugu, in fact, rendered armed service in several minor campaigns. For nearly ten years from 1548, however, Shigetsugu and other men of the Shibuya aided in the insurrections led by Honda and Kimotsuki about Koku-bu and Kajiki, near which the Ketō-in held a domain. By high ability and the magnanimous treatment which he always accorded to an enemy who yielded, Shimadzu Takabisa succeeded in winning his recent antagonists and annexing their territories. The following grant was a result.

"I-ZAKO<sup>1</sup> *myō*, in Kagoshima, is vested (*ade okonau*) in you, by reason of [your] service (*hō-kō*). You shall forthwith, in accordance with this order, hold the same. Ordered thus.

"Ei-roku 2 y., *tsuchinoto hitsuzhi*,<sup>2</sup> 12 m. 23 d. [9 January 1560].

Takahisa, *monogram*.

"Iriki-in Kaga no kami dono."

<sup>1</sup> Local pronunciation for Inu-sako. I-zako is northwest of Kagoshima and south of Hisbi-zhima.

<sup>2</sup> The 56th in a cycle.

### 144. REGISTER OF HOLDINGS, c. 1560

(Iriki-in docs.; also KK, V.)

THE following important document is undated, but we have tentatively dated it 1560. It is evidently a complete register of the holdings<sup>1</sup> of the lord's relatives and vassals, religious institutions, servitors, and artisans, in the Iriki-in domain about that time. The last five lines have been added at some time during the Tokugawa period (c. 1600-1868); they are of interest, as they purport to show an approximate total value of the holdings in terms of *koku* of rice measured according to the method of evaluation of the later age.<sup>10</sup>

Without omitting a single item, the editor has, for the sake of clearness, abridged the units of land-measurement as in No. 18, and tabulated the data. In the original, the names of the kinds of holdings and the names of the units are repeated under each holder, as follows:—

"For (*kata*) Mimasaka no kami:

homestead, 3 places;

[*ta* and *hata*], 11 *chō* 6 *tan* 3½ *jō*.

of this, *uki-men*, 2 *chō* 6 *tan* ½ *jō*,

and *hata*, 1 *chō* 5 *tan* 1 *jō*."

By using this group as a model, the reader may readily restore the table to the original form.

"REGISTER of the areas of the granted lands."<sup>1</sup>

[Holder]	Home- steads	[ <i>Ta</i> and <i>hata</i> , <i>uki-men</i> ]	including]	[and] <i>hata</i>
Mimasaka <i>no kami</i>	3	11.6.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.6.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.5.1
Okamoto Iyo <i>no suke</i>	12	38.3.3	10.8.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4.6.0
Mata-roku		7.4.0	1.0.0	
Kubuki <i>Gyō-bu</i>		5.3.0	1.0.0	
Nikaidō Yamashiro <i>no kami</i>		6.7.0	1.4.0	
		also 0.2.0 in Naka-mura		
Yamaguchi Yo-gorō	4	9.8.1	2.4.0	0.6.2
Baba Shin-zhirō		6.1.1	0.8.1	0.2.3
Hiwaki Inaba <i>no kami</i>	6	12.9.1	3.7.0	1.4.2
Nishi-muda Yo-zhi	2	7.7.0	2.1.3	0.3.1
Kako Zhiro-shirō		5.6.2	0.9.2	0.3.0
				sow 3 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Horikiri Sama <i>no suke</i>		5.5.2	1.4.2	0.3.0 $\frac{1}{2}$
				also 3 <i>to</i> , choice
Murao Matsu-kame-Maru		7.8.0	0.4.2	0.0.3
Yamaguchi Hei-zaemon <i>no zhō</i>	2	5.4.4	0.4.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0.6.3
Yanagita Saburo-emon <i>no zhō</i>		5.0.0	0.4.2	
Tashiro Goro-zhirō	1	4.5.2	0.5.2	0.7.1
Hiwaki Sō-zhirō	1	3.3.1	0.7.1	0.2.0
Shimada Suke-gorō	1	4.3.2	0.8.2	0.6.0
Murao Mata-hachi		2.9.4	0.6.0	
Taneda Hiko-tarō	5	5.8.3	2.7.3	0.7.4
Taneda Gorō-zaemon <i>no zhō</i>	1	6.4.3	0.7.0	0.0.3
Hemuki Mago-roku		3.2.0	0.6.0	0.2.4
Taneda Gen-gorō	1	5.4.0	0.8.0	
Taneda Hiko-emon <i>no zhō</i>	3	4.6.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	0.9.3	0.1.3
Seze Zhuro-emon <i>no zhō</i>		3.1.2	1.1.2	0.4.3
Taneda Mata-kurō	1	6.0.0	1.8.0	0.0.2
Yoshikawa Hyōgo <i>no suke</i>	2	5.8.0	0.9.3	
Hagi Taro-zaemon <i>no zhō</i>		0.4.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>3</sup>	1.9.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>3</sup>	0.9.2
Katsuta Kurō	1	3.6.1	3.4.1	0.2.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kubuki Mago-zaemon <i>no zhō</i>		5.2.2	0.1.2	0.0.2
				sow 2 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Taguchi To-zhirō	19	9.7.0	1.6.0	0.4.0
Taguchi Gen-zhirō		6.0.0 <sup>3</sup>	6.5.0 <sup>3</sup>	
		216.4.2		
Sa-kyō <i>no suke</i>	2	8.6.4	1.5.4	2.3.0
Mukaé Shiro-zaemon <i>no zhō</i>	1	3.7.3	0.5.0	0.1.0
Iwade Tō-zaemon <i>no zhō</i>		5.3.2	1.0.2	0.1.2

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Imamura Owari <i>no kami</i>	2	5.6.0		0.1.2
Yoko-ōji <i>Saémon</i> Tarō		5.3.4	0.6.4	0.2.0 sow 2 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Shirakawa Hachiro-zhirō	1	4.3.0½	0.8.2	
Haraguchi Taro-saburō	1	3.3.4½	1.5.1	0.1.1 sow 2 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Hara Shin-zhirō	1	3.6.3½	2.5.4	0.6.0
Kenjō Taro-zhirō	2	2.5.2½	0.3.2½	0.1.4
Ueno Gen-zhirō	1	1.8.3	0.6.3	0.3.0 sow 2 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Taguchi Suke-tarō		1.6.3½	0.4.0	
		<hr/> 45.7.2		
Murao Zhiro <i>Saémon no zhō</i>	6	7.5.0	2.7.1	1.9.0
Murao <i>Shō-gen no suke</i>	4	8.9.0	1.3.0	0.6.0
Midzu-ike Shichiro <i>Emon no zhō</i>	9	10.4.0	4.2.0	3.2.2
Tani Tsu-suke	3	8.7.3	0.2.0½	0.3.0
Iibo		7.0.0	0.7.0	0.5.0 sow 5 <i>shō</i> <sup>3</sup>
Koba Saburo-zhirō		2.9.0	1.0.0	0.9.0 sow 4 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Murao Suke- <i>zaémon no zhō</i>	2	6.4.0	0.8.0	1.4.0
Oniwara Suke-shichirō	1	3.1.2	2.6.0	0.7.0 sow 6 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Hiwaki Hiko- <i>zaémon no zhō</i>	2	4.6.1	2.6.0	0.7.0
		<hr/> 58.6.0		

Homesteads [*Ta* and *hata*, inclusive of]*hata*

Murao Saburo-tarō	2	2.2.2	
Kawanishi Mago-shirō		0.6.0	
Koba Taro-gorō		0.8.2	0.0.2
Taneda Zhiro-kurō	1	1.0.1½	0.1.0 sow 2 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Hill and wild land at Komure <sup>2</sup>			
Nagano Suke-zhirō	1	0.7.2	0.0.2½ Also sow 1 to 6 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Uwai Hiko-saburō	1	1.0.1	0.1.2½
Uchimura Suke-zhirō		0.5.0	
Ichikozaki Iya-saburō		0.5.3	0.0.2 sow 3 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Koba Hiko-shichi		0.5.4	
Hijioka <i>Saémon</i> -tarō		0.6.3	
Haga Suke-shirō		0.9.1	0.0.1



Haruda Hachiro-kurō		0.4.0	
Arima Hei-zhirō		0.8.1	
Taguchi Zhiro-gorō		0.9.0	
Haga Saburo-shirō		0.6.3	
Kozhima <i>Saémon-gorō</i>		0.4.4	
Amano Hiko-shirō		0.4.0	sow 3 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Maéda Goro-saburō		0.5.0	
Yama-shita Suke-hachi		0.4.0	
Ikeda Ko-shirō		0.6.4	0.2.0
Mukai Suke-gorō		0.6.0	
Toya Suke- <i>zaémon no zhō</i>		0.6.2	
Futaki Kuro-zhirō	4	2.7.2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1.0.4
Maéda Mata-zhurō	1	0.8.2	
Gotō Iya-tarō		0.4.0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Sonoda Suke-shirō		0.2.0	
Kamimura Mata-zhirō		1.4.3	0.1.2
Kawasaki Mago-zhirō		0.5.0	
Akazaki Iya- <i>zaémon no zhō</i>		0.6.0	0.2.0
Tashiro Hiko-hachirō		0.4.1	
Kamikawa Kaku-Zhō		0.3.2	0.3.2
Iwamoto Hiko-kurō		0.5.1	
Taneda Higo <i>no kami</i>		0.3.2	0.0.2
Shiga Suke-kurō		0.5.3	0.0.2
Nishimuda Oto-go		0.5.0	
Matsumoto Suke-roku		0.4.0	
Nariéda Rokuro-zhirō		0.9.0	0.9.0
Nariéda Zhiro-saburō		0.9.3	0.9.0
Imamura Shiro-saburō	1	1.8.0	0.6.0
Imamura Zhiro-tarō		0.7.0	0.1.0
Kawara Gen-zhirō	1	1.4.3	0.5.0
Tani Tsu . . .		1.0.0	
Nariéda Shichiro-gorō		0.5.3	0.1.0
Akasaka Dai-gaku	2	2.3.0	0.6.0
Higashi Hei-gorō	1	0.8.0 <sup>3</sup>	1.1.0 <sup>3</sup>
Imamura Saburo-tarō	1	1.3.3	0.7.0
			sow 4 <i>shō</i> <sup>2</sup>
Hamada Yo-zhirō		0.6.0	0.1.0
Yamanokuchi Hei-saburō	1	1.3.3	1.3.0
Yamanokuchi Hei-roku		0.4.0	0.1.0
Shishino Suke- <i>zaémon no zhō</i>	1	0.8.0	0.2.2
Fujita Tō-zaburō		0.6.0	
Taneda Mago- <i>emon no zhō</i>		0.7.2	0.3.0
Tashiro Yo-zō	2	1.2.0	0.7.0

Makado Mago-taro		0.6.0	0.1.0
Makado Mago-zhūrō		0.5.0	0.1.0
Shima Gen-go		0.8.0	0.7.0
Imamura Iya-saburō		1.4.3	0.7.0
Shimoda Saburo-kurō	I	1.2.3	1.2.3
Yamanokuchi Hei-shirō	I	0.8.2	0.2.0
Maéda Hiko-saburō		0.6.0	0.1.0
Tominaga		0.2.0 <sup>3</sup>	0.8.0 <sup>3</sup>
Kubota Saburo-shirō		0.4.0	0.1.0
			Go-tō-emon
Imamura Mata-zhirō		0.6.2	0.2.0
Tanaka Rokuro-shirō	I	1.5.4	0.7.0
Tsuneyoshi Mago-zhirō		0.8.4	
Kiridōshi Goro-saburō		0.7.0	0.1.0
Hamada Mago-saburō		0.5.0	
Ishibuchi Ko-saburō		0.5.3	
Imamura Suke-kurō		0.5.0	0.1.0
Higashi Hei-roku		0.5.3	0.1.0
Kawanishi Mago-kurō	I	0.4.0	0.2.0
Imamura Suke-shichi		1.1.3	0.2.2
Imamura Suke-hachi		0.4.0	0.1.3
Murao Iya-zhirō		0.7.0	0.2.0
Sumeda Hachiro-saburō	I	0.5.3	0.4.0
Imamura Mata-kurō		0.5.0	0.0.4
Taneda Miya-zhirō	I	0.4.3 <sup>1/2</sup>	0.3.1
Takeshita Hiko-zhirō	I	1.1.2	0.8.3
Kobata Shin-zaburō		0.5.0 <sup>1/2</sup>	0.1.0
Hamada Iya-tarō	3	0.3.1 <sup>1/2</sup>	0.0.4
			Also sow 1 to 6 shō <sup>2</sup>
Yamanokuchi Zhiro-tarō		0.4.1	0.3.1
Uwai Mago-zhirō		0.2.3	
Mochida Zhiro-gorō		0.2.3	
Mizoguchi Hei-zaburō		0.3.4	0.2.2 <sup>1/2</sup> sow 2 shō <sup>2</sup>
Ogata Suke-tarō		0.2.3	
Taguchi Yo-zō		0.5.3	

Shimamoto Owari	1.0.0	Osada Shin-zaémon no zhō	1.7.3
Sonoda Suke-shichi	0.8.0 <sup>1/2</sup>	Sonoda Suke-kurō	0.6.2
Shichirō	0.1.4	Shiro-zaémon no zhō	0.5.0
Shimamoto Shiro-zhirō	0.4.3	Uwai Zhiro-zaémon no zhō	0.2.0
Sonoda Zhiro-zaémon no zhō	0.5.0	Rokuro-byō-é	0.4.0
			Also 0.1.0
Ki-zhūro	0.5.3	Kuro-émon	0.5.4

Gen-go	0.3.1	Shin-gorō	0.8.3 $\frac{1}{2}$ homestead 2 <i>tan</i>
Shichirō	0.7.0	Rokuro-shirō	0.5.3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Iya-hachi	0.6.1	Hiko-shirō	0.4.0
Iya-roku	0.5.3	Shin-zaburō	
Tora <i>bō</i>		Zhūro- <i>byō-é</i>	0.5.1
Zhūro-shirō	0.4.0	Shichiro-gorō	0.1.3
Hachiro-kurō	0.6.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	Suke-hachi	0.5.0
Taro-saburō	1.2.4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Saburo-shirō	0.1.2
Mago-gorō	0.1.1	Hiko-zhirō	0.3.0
Hashiguchi Suke-shirō	0.5.2	Tamata Emon-shichirō	0.5.1
Gen-shichi	0.3.3	Saburo-shirō, Ku-jū	0.6.0
Mata-kurō	0.4.0		
Iya-saburō	for Rokuro-shirō of Tanaka 0.3.0 same	Suke-saburō	0.5.2 0.6.0 with homestead
Suke-shichi	0.8.2	Emon-shichi	0.7.4
Zhūro-zhirō	0.5.2	Emon-saburō	0.7.0 Also 0.4.0
Rokuro-zhirō	0.5.0	Hei- <i>émon</i>	0.8.2
Saémon-zhirō	0.5.0	Yo-saburō	0.2.0
Zhiro-gorō	2.2.2	Saburo-zhirō	0.3.0
Yo-hachi	0.2.0	Fusa	0.3.0
Hachiro-saburō	0.5.0	Mago-shichi	0.3.1
Hiko-saburō	homestead only	Rokuro-tarō	0.2.2
Goro-saburō	0.6.1	Taro-gorō	0.3.2
Emon-saburō	0.2.0	Hiko-saburō	0.3.3
Harada Kuro-tarō	0.6.0	Hachiro-shirō	0.3.3
Rokuro-gorō, smith	0.5.4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Go- <i>zaémon</i> , smith, homestead <i>hata</i> only	
Zhūro-saburō, smith	0.2.3	Shichiro- <i>emon</i> , <i>kado</i> master of	
Saémon-shirō, <i>kado</i> master of		Uchida	0.2.0
Nakano	0.1.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Hachiro-zhirō, smith	0.8.1
Shichiro- <i>émon</i>	0.6.0 one homestead		
Zhu-shō <i>zhi</i> <sup>4</sup>	10.5.2	Ko-shun <i>an</i>	4.6.2
Dan-Kwa	1.3.0	Toku-san <i>zhi</i>	2.6.1
Hō-un <i>zhi</i>	6.9.3	Zhi-kwō <i>zhi</i>	3.3.3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ru-ri-kwō <i>zhi</i>	4.2.1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in Hiwaki	Sai-fuku <i>zhi</i>	5.2.0
Ten-puku <i>zhi</i>	5.7.3 in Hiwaki	Gen-pō <i>zhi</i>	2.6.0 in Hiwaki
Kwannon <i>zhi</i>	3.4.4	Kō-fuku <i>zhi</i>	1.8.4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chū-Gen	1.4.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in Hiwaki	Dai-chi <i>an</i>	2.3.0
	Original site in Nakamura		Original site in Tō-no-hara. 0.1.2 uncultivated

Shō-gaku <i>in</i>	0.3.0	Fuku-sen <i>an</i>	1.6.3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Original site in Tō-no-hara		
Kajime	1.3.4	Sakamoto <i>bō</i>	1.6.0
Hei-toku <i>zhi</i>	1.9.4	San-kwō <i>zhi</i>	0.4.0
Hei-an <i>zhi</i>	1.0.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Fuku-wō <i>zhi</i>	1.2.0
	Also 0.2.0 in Ama-tatsu		
Suwa <i>bō</i>	3.7.4	Ryū-kō <i>zhi</i>	1.0.0
San-tō <i>an</i>	0.4.0	Suwa <i>bō</i> , Ama-tatsu	1.5.0
Kachime	2.4.3	Man-puku <i>zhi</i>	2.7.3
			Yamada
Tō-kwō <i>zhi</i>	3.0.2	Dai-an <i>zhi</i>	1.5.0
	Yamada		Also 0.5.0 in Ama-tatsu
Rai-fuku <i>zhi</i>	1.2.4	Zui-sen <i>an</i>	1.5.2
Machino	1.8.0	Miya-no-waki	2.9.4
Matsu-shita	1.1.0	Ko-ba-hara	0.5.0
The <i>hafuri</i> , <sup>5</sup> Upper Soéda	1.4.4	Kyō-dzuka	2.3.1
Naka-zhima	2.1.0	Ichī no miya	1.2.3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ten-zhin: <i>sono</i> of Shirawa	3.0.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Hafuri</i> , Kura-no	0.9.3
Hayama-da, Kura-no	0.2.0	Iwado-no, Kura-no	0.1.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<i>Kado</i> master Tanaka		Saburo-emon
Suwa, Yahazu-no	0.6.0	Miya-maé	1.2.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ii-mure	0.3.0	Muru-tachi	0.2.0
	Around <i>kado</i>		Kuki-zaki
Kami-sono <i>nai-shi</i> [?] <sup>6</sup>	1.8.2	Taka-go <sup>7</sup>	0.4.2
Akagi domain	0.0.2	Ō-ike <sup>8</sup>	0.1.1
	Shō-Gyō		
Domain of Iwa Hachiman	0.1.3	Ō-i temple land	0.0.3
			Around <i>kado</i>
Domain of Niita [Hachiman]	1.0.0	Domain of Dai myō-zhin, Ta-	
	Ritual <i>ta</i>	zaki	0.2.0
Domain of Ten-zhin, <sup>9</sup> Sen-dai	0.2.3	Memorial service <i>ta</i> , for Shibi	0.1.1
Shibahara	1.3.4 $\frac{1}{2}$		Imamura Mata-kurō
<i>Ta</i> for Sannō, Ama-tatsu	0.2.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Suwa domain, Ama-tatsu	0.1.0
	<i>Nai-shi</i> <sup>10</sup>		Around <i>kado</i>
<i>Ta</i> for Gon-gen, Ama-tatsu	0.6.0	Kukizaki dai myō-zhin	1.6.1
	<i>Hafuri</i> Zhiro-kurō		Takayanagi <i>hafuri</i>
Gon-gen, Ko-naka-zaki	0.8.4	Gon-gen, Sako	0.2.0
			Cultivated by Kubota, Kuma-no-zhō
<i>Hafuri</i> Hiko-shirō	0.9.4 $\frac{1}{2}$	Go-dai <i>ta</i>	1.0.0
Suwa domain, Motomura	0.2.0	Domain of Ten-zhin, Murao	0.6.4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Suwa domain, Soéda	0.2.0	The <i>bettō</i>	0.5.2

[Note in red on a pasted slip] :—

"Total *ta* and *hata*, 561 *chō* 5 *tan* 3 *se*<sup>10</sup> 20 *bu*.

Unhulled rice, 32,087 *koku* 2 *to* 2 *shō* 8 *gō*;

assessed at two *to* per *se*.



Reduced to *taka*,<sup>11</sup> 11,698 *roku* 6 to 7 *shō* 8 *gō*.

"Year of *tori*, 1 m. 11 d."

<sup>1</sup> *Kyū-chi tan-betsu tsuke chō*. For "grants" (*kyū*), see No. 138, n. 5. All holdings (sub-fiefs) under the Iriki-in lord were now *kyū*.

<sup>2</sup> *Maki*, sowing seed. One is reminded of the custom found in some German domains in the Middle Ages to indicate the extent of a holding or a demesne by mentioning the quantity of seed corn (*Scheffelssaat*) used there. R. Koetzsche, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (1924), 228.

<sup>3</sup> Manifest errors in figures.

<sup>4</sup> The following items mostly are Buddhist and Shintō institutions and persons; *zhi*, *an*, and *in* are Buddhist houses.

<sup>5</sup> *Hafuri* is a Shintō priest.

<sup>6</sup> *Nai-shi* is a grade of rank among ladies of the imperial court. Here the two characters should perhaps be read *uchi samurai*; if so, the word may mean private servitor attached to an institution.

<sup>7</sup> *Taka-go* literally means little hawks; it may refer to land reserved for the maintenance of young hawks to be used in falconry.

<sup>8</sup> *Ō-ike* literally means a large pond.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. No. 25.

<sup>10</sup> One *se* in the Tokugawa period was a tenth of a *tan*, or, 30 *bu*, for a *tan* then consisted of 300 *bu*, instead of 360 as before Hideyoshi. See No. 149.

<sup>11</sup> *Taka* of a piece of land meant its officially assessed productivity stated in terms of *roku* of hulled rice. The regular annual tax was equivalent to a certain percentage of the *taka*. The latter was usually rated well below the actual productivity. See No. 149.

## 145. SURRENDER OF GRANTED DOMAINS BY IRIKI-IN SHIGETOYO, 1574

(*Uwai Akikane nitchō*; also *KK*, V.)

THE tyrannous and much hated lord of Ketō-in, Yoshishige, was stabbed to death, on 15 February 1565, by his jealous wife, a Shimadzu lady, who in turn was immediately murdered by the former's page Murao. Thus ended this illustrious house of the Shihuya family after more than three hundred years of feudal existence under fourteen successive lords since its settlement in Ketō in. The domains of the extinguished house were at once annexed by Iriki-in Shigetsugu, but the former vassals of Yoshishige would not support the new master but rather follow the liege lord Shimadzu Takahisa;<sup>1</sup> the latter accordingly took over Ketō in, and, in 1580, granted it and Miya-no-zhō, together with twelve *mura*, including Tsuruda, Kashiwa-hara, Naka-tsu-gawa, and Kuhuki, to his son Toshihisa.<sup>2</sup> A revolt begun in 1568 by a Ketō-in was readily suppressed.<sup>3</sup>

All the Shihuya had become vassals of the Shimadzu, but some of the former had still retained their lands. Of the five branches of the stock that settled in Satsuma in 1247, the Tsuruda lost their land in 1401, the Taki lost theirs in 1422, which was annexed by the *shu-go* in 1470, and now the Ketō-in domain also came to an end. There still remained the two houses Iriki-in and Tōgō in their historic territorial spheres, the former vastly more powerful than the latter.

Yoshihisa, the 16th Shimadzu lord, whose mother was Iriki-in Shigetsugu's aunt, succeeded his father, Takahisa, at an age of thirty-three, in 1566. Soon he found himself confronted by three formidable antagonists: Kimotsuki in south Ōsumi; Hishigari at northeast corner of Satsuma, allied with the Sagara beyond the boundary of Higo; and Itō, the most puissant of all, who after decades of persistent effort, finally in 1568 took the important town of Ōhi in south Hiuga, and added it to his vast dominion in the north. Itō then struck hands with the Hishigari-Sagara combination, and gradually crept into the strategic points north of the Kirishima mountain range, along the Iwase and the upper Sendai rivers. It was to this powerful alliance that the Shihuya attached themselves,<sup>4</sup> in 1568, hardly realizing that the very strength of the enemy of the Shimadzu lord was destined soon to challenge the latter to put forth his great resources of power and to raise him in a short time to the pinnacle of his military glory. In 1569, the retired *shu-go* Takahisa posted his able son

Yoshihiro north of Mt. Kirishima as hulwark against Itō's advance; and, in September, with Yoshihisa attacked Ōguchi, forcing Sagara's 8,000 men to surrender, displacing Hishigari,<sup>5</sup> and once for all taking control of the important frontier road leading to Higo. This rendered the Shihuya's position untenable. In February 1570, "(Iriki-in) Shigetsugu induced Tōgō Yamato *no kami* Shigenao *nyū-dō* Ki-Shun," says the Iriki-in genealogy, "to surrender to the *shu-go*, lord Yoshihisa, and, offering him Taki, Midzu-hiki, Chūgō, Yuta, and Nishikata, to apologize for his guilt of many years. At this time, Shigetsugu also offered the five fortresses, Kuma-no-zhō, Momotsugi, Hirasa, Ikari-yama, and Takaé. This was done for the sake of the permanent security both of the lord's and of his own houses."<sup>6</sup> Yoshihisa, with characteristic liberality, pardoned the offense of Shigetsugu and Ki-Shun, permitting the former to retain Kiyoshiki and the latter, Tōgō, the original homes of their respective families. At the same time, Midzuhiki, Chūgo, Nishi-kata, Yuta, and Kyōdomari, all along the lower Sendai, were added to the domains of Shimadzu Yoshitora at Idzumi; Miyasato was granted to Hirada Sō-Ō; and Shimadzu Iēhisa, the *shu-go*'s brother, was appointed *ji-tō*<sup>7</sup> of Kuma-no-zhō.<sup>8</sup>

Thus was the fortune of the Tōgō, who had for some time been reduced in circumstances and dependent upon either the Shimadzu or the Iriki-in, still further crippled. In 1587, Yoshihisa assumed control of Tōgō and appointed a Shimadzu as its administrator.<sup>9</sup> So was the Tōgō branch of the Shihuya forced to go the same way as the Tsuruda, the Taki, and the Ketō-in. The Iriki-in only remained.

The Iriki-in still held their hereditary domain of the *in*, and, besides, Ama-tatsu to the north-west, and Yamada and Tazaki to the west. To these Shimadzu Takahisa had some time before added the grant of Yoshida,<sup>10</sup> on the seashore south of the estuary of the Sendai. About the end of 1570, Iriki-in Shigetsugu died and was succeeded by Shigetoyo.<sup>11</sup> That Shigetoyo still retained something of the high air of his more recent predecessors may be inferred from the conduct of his envoy Murao Kurando, who went to Kagoshima in 1574 to present to the *shu-go* a sword, the customary annual gift from the vassal on the first day of the eighth lunar month, (which in this year fell on 17 August). Murao disputed the order of precedence at the audience which the councillors of the *shu-go* had prescribed, and returned to Kiyoshiki without presenting the sword.<sup>12</sup> This incident was followed closely by the events narrated in the diary of Uwai Akikane quoted below. Uwai (often pronounced Ōwai) was a vassal of high station under Yoshihisa, and was, as will be seen, a principal actor upon the scene that he described. His language is plain but curious, and difficult of translation.

"[THE 8th month 8th day, 24 August 1574. (Previously Yoshihisa, refusing to give credence to a rumor of Iriki-in Shigetoyo's rebellious intentions, had casually referred to it one day during a conversation with the latter, and intimated that Shigetoyo might take some step to prove his innocence.)] . . . I attended the court as usual. Iriki-in *dono* has sent his reply to what the lord said to him last month. Iriki-in *dono*'s envoys Yamaguchi Chikuzen *no kami* and Tōgō Mimasaka *no kami* delivering the reply, it was received by us three, Honda Shimotsuke *no kami dono*, Ijichi Kageyu *dono*, and myself. We received it at the *goma-dokoro*.<sup>13</sup> The sense [of the reply] was: [Iriki-in *dono*] was deeply grateful that, when at the audience of last month the lord, referring to the rumor of his evil intentions, dismissed it with only one remark, and left his personal fortune undisturbed; [Iriki-in *dono*] acknowledged the justice of the lord's remark that, since men had insisted that they would not serve him in company with a disloyal person, [Iriki-in *dono*] should do something to convince them of his innocence; he would therefore return to the lord his granted domains; and he would be obliged if the elders (*rō-chū*) specified which [grants] he should offer. Accordingly, we gave the reply to Murata *dono* and Hirata *dono*. They asked me to report it to the lord, but, doubting that the moment was opportune, I did not report.

"[The 10th day, 26 August. Iriki-in *dono*'s reply was presented to the lord.]

. . . The lord said that, as the councillors (*dan-gō shū*) would attend court in a day or two, the elders (*rō-chū*) might well consult at that time; that, however, if specific domains were demanded, it might appear that he had spoken to [Iriki-in *dono*] because he wished them; and that it might be well if any domains returned were substituted *chō* for *chō*. As for the matter of an oath, the lord said that its wording also might be referred to [deliberation at] the *dan-gi sho*,<sup>14</sup> that Iriki-in *dono*'s oath only might be phrased according to his own discretion, but his chief vassals or, as had been suggested by Hagino Uneme, those who were wont to come to court, might each affix a religious (*shin-pan*)<sup>15</sup> and blood seal (*keppan*). . . .

"The 11th day [27 August]. Attended court as usual. This morning we three, Honda Shimotsuke *no kami*, Ijichi *Kageyu*, and myself, heard a message from Iriki-in *dono* at the *goma-dokoro*,<sup>12</sup> his envoys being Tōgō Mimasaka *no kami* and Yamaguchi Chikuzen *no kami*. The sense [of the message] was: as had been said before, [Iriki-in *dono*] was grateful that, when men spoke of his rebellious thought, the lord did not have recourse to law, as he might have done, but saved his personal fortune with only one remark, and, moreover, granted him his original domain;<sup>16</sup> although [Iriki-in *dono*] had said that he would offer whatever granted domains the elders (*rō-chū*) should specify, he now begged to say that, since he held<sup>16a</sup> four *myō* besides Kiyoshiki, he would offer all the four places, namely, Yamada, Ama-tatsu, Ta-zaki, and Yoshida. The reply was conveyed to the lord. The lord said that, if these were all accepted, it would appear as if he had mentioned the matter with a view to getting these domains; and that, therefore, substitutes should formally be granted. The lord further said that, as regards Yoshida, as it was the place specially granted by his father [Taka-hisa], so that [Iriki-in *dono*] might have a little land on the seashore, it should not be disturbed. This day Iriki-in *dono* attended at the court."

[On the 12th day, 28 August, the lord's pleasure was conveyed to the envoys of Iriki-in *dono*.]

"The 16th day, [1 September]. Attended court as usual. The blood-sealed (*keppan*) oath of Iriki-in *dono* was handed in, and also one by five of his own vassals, who are all his official agents. Shortly the oaths were presented to the lord. The sense [of the oaths] was: that, although it had been proposed that all the region of Sen-dai beyond the mountains would be offered, since it was conceded that Yoshida<sup>17</sup> would be granted as heretofore and that for the remainder substitutes would be formally granted, [Iriki-in *dono*] would forever be grateful. As for his men who at present were at Yamada and Ama-tatsu, [he said that] they should not come to Kiyoshiki, but that, since he should regret exceedingly to abandon them [without support], he would offer [to the lord] the men along with [the land]. This was also conveyed to the lord. As the lord said that the two questions, whether we should reply [to Iriki-in *dono*] and [whether we should accept] the men together with [the land], should be submitted to the elders, their opinions were sought accordingly. They all said that, as for the lord's reply, a reply was given formerly when Iriki presented [an oath of allegiance with] a religious seal, but it would be needless to give a reply this time, since his renewed oath was due to his loss of faith, while our side was unchanged; and that, as for the men, [the elders] should give [to Iriki-in *dono*] a private reply that those men might properly go to him, the reason [for this view] being that, since they probably all were

men who had followed [Iriki-in *dono*] for many years, they surely would not come to us.<sup>18</sup> These opinions were shortly presented to the lord. He said that it would be well to give a letter [to Iriki-in *dono*], as document for proof in the future, saying that he acknowledged his oath sworn with the blood-seal that the latter would forever entertain no evil intention. The elders agreed that that would be fair. Haseba *Oribe no suke* was accordingly instructed to draft a letter.<sup>19</sup>

"This day Lord Chū-sho<sup>20</sup> has sent a private message to the elders. Niiro Musashi was his envoy; I transmitted [the message]. It said that Chū-sho held<sup>16a</sup> about 40 *chō* at Nishite *myō*, Kuma-no-zhō; that, the boundaries of this domain being intricate, frequent dispute had arisen, to his regret, with Kuma-no-zhō; that now he had heard that Iriki-in *dono* had presented Yamada, Ama-tatsu, and Ta-zaki; that Yamada was a *myō* of about 30 *chō*, of which a half had been assigned [to Chū-sho] when a division was made last time; that, although the remainder [in the hands of Iriki-in *dono*] might not amount to 30 *chō*, [Lord Yoshihisa] might accept it as 30 *chō*; that this, in addition to the 12 *chō* of Ama-tatsu and Ta-zaki, would make 42 *chō* more or less; and that [Chū-sho] wished that this be granted to him in exchange for his holding at Kuma-no-zhō. He would not complain [if this exchange was effected]. [The message further] said that, as regarded the affair of Iriki-in *dono*, it would be awkward if it were rumored abroad that [Lord Yoshihisa] had spoken to him because he wished [the latter's] domains on account of Lord Chū-sho's suggestions; and that [a suitable arrangement of] this matter would be left to the discretion of the elders. The elders replied that they thought that [Chū-sho's suggestion] seemed reasonable, but, not knowing Lord [Yoshihisa]'s thought, could only acknowledge [the receipt of Chū-sho's] private message. Chū-sho said that he would leave that also to the discretion of the elders."

"18th day, [3 September]. . . . As [the lord's] reply<sup>19</sup> to Iriki-in *dono*'s oath] was finished this morning, it was handed [to the latter]. Also an answer [to his vassals' oaths] was given. Merely receiving these, he begged leave, and returned."

(On the 20th, [5 September], there was a suggestion at court that Ama-tatsu be granted to Honda Kii.)

Uwai's diary also records that when, in 1575, Honda Kii *no kami* was appointed *jī-tō* of Yamada returned by Iriki-in Shigetoyo the preceding year, and the difficult boundary line between this region and Iriki *in* was examined, it was ordered that more than twenty *chō* out of the seventy-five *chō* which had been registered as being included in Iriki *in* should rightly belong to Yamada; and that, when, on 6 December, Shigetoyo complained of this decision to Yoshihisa, the latter, rejecting his councillors' advice to the contrary, ordered that the original demarcation should continue.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hon-pan zhin-buttsu shi*; and *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xviii, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xix, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xix, 6; *Sasshū shi*, III.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Hiuga ki*, the Shihuya families, the Taki and the Tōgō, are mentioned rather loosely as Itō Yoshisuke's allies (*yo-riki*); in *Shi-seki zassan*, I, 437.

<sup>5</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xviii, 7.

<sup>6</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>7</sup> For the meaning of the word *jī-tō* in this period, see No. 154.

<sup>8</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xviii, 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Sasshū shi*, III. Five years later, Shigetora, the second son of Shimadzu Iehisa, who had been adopted into the Tōgō family, was restored to the Shimadzu and his name was changed to Tadanao.



<sup>10</sup> At least after the middle of the 14th century, Yoshida always contained a large stud-farm for the Shimadzu; this was probably not included in Takahisa's grant to the Iriki-in.

<sup>11</sup> Shigetoyo (d. 1583), the 14th Iriki-in lord, should not be confused with the 10th lord of the same name.

<sup>12</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xviii, 14. Murao insisted that at the audience he should follow, and not, as the haron's council had decreed, precede, the envoy from Tōgō, for, Murao argued, the first lord of Tōgō was an elder brother of that of Iriki.

<sup>13</sup> The chamber in which the Buddhist rite of *goma* was sometimes performed.

<sup>14</sup> *Dan-gi sho*, which, as appears here, was used for occasional political deliberations, was a chamber specially set apart for certain Buddhist services (No. 152A and n. 26); it was, in the Tokugawa period, maintained with an income from a *taka* of 800 *koku* (No. 153A).

<sup>15</sup> Often sheets bearing the seals of the Kumano or other deities were used for writing oaths.

<sup>16</sup> *Hon-ryō*; here it refers to Kiyosbiki.

<sup>16a</sup> *Kaku-go*. See No. 138, n. 3, where the same word is used, on the lord's side, in the sense of "supporting" a vassal with a fief.

<sup>17</sup> Subsequent history of Yoshida does not concern us. It is enough to say that it was soon lost to the Iriki-in.

<sup>18</sup> A sidelight on the question of the loyalty of rear-vassals. Incidentally, however, it is not unfair to assume that the elders proposed this arrangement with a conscious intent further to embarrass the finances of the lord of Iriki. It is a well-known fact that he was henceforth burdened with a disproportionately large number of vassals. See our preface to No. 154.

<sup>19</sup> The reply was given on 3 September. It is not known whether it was a responsive oath by Yoshihisa or his mere acknowledgment of Shigetoyo's oath; neither document has been preserved.

<sup>20</sup> This was probably Shimadzu Yoshihisa's younger brother, Iéhisa, later lord of Naga-yosbi. *Chū-sho* was the Sinico-Japanese term for offices in the Naka-tsukasa (*Chū-mu*) department of the imperial government at Kyōto, in which the post *tai-yu* had been given to Iéhisa as an honorary title.

<sup>21</sup> Cited also in *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xviii, 18.

## 146. MILITARY SERVICE, 1576 AND c. 1578

THE great house of Itō, led by its valiant lord Yoshisuke (1513-1585), had already established its control over a large part of north Hiuga and at Ōhi. Its conflict with the Shimadzu had biterto been on the main indirect, but now they came into a violent clash under the shadow of Mts. Kirishima. Between this system of volcanic elevations and the range that separates Hiuga from Higo, there lies a strip of verdant lowland through which flow the rivers Iwase and upper Sendai, the one to the east and the other to the west and south. It is here that the forces of the three *kuni* led personally by the chiefs of the rival houses met for sanguinary struggles. We need not tarry to narrate the battle of Kizaki-hara, of June 1572, in which the Itō lost many of their best warriors;<sup>1</sup> the fierce fighting about Taka-haru, east of Mt. Kirishima, in October 1576;<sup>2</sup> and Yoshisuke's final defeat at No-zhiri, To-zaki, and Kamiya, in January 1578.<sup>3</sup> He fled almost a solitary fugitive to Bungo, and appealed to the lord Ōtomo for revenge.

In the campaign of 1576, Shimadzu Yoshihisa together with his brothers Yoshihiro and Iéhisa, brought into the field a huge army raised from the whole of Satsuma and Ōsumi, as well as from Shō-nai in Hiuga, the original Shimadzu *shō*; and men of the Shihuya followed Iéhisa. They probably served also in the battles of the next year, when Yoshihisa came with more than six thousand knights. The following document A is a somewhat later copy of the import of the general order for the special military service issued in preparation of the expedition of 1576.

Having already put under the yoke of vassalage all the rivals, old and new, who had resisted the rule of his house, and having subdued Kimotsuki, the only remaining foe in Ōsumi, and now decisively broken the power of the Itō, Shimadzu Yoshihisa had become the acknowledged suzerain of the major part of south Kyū-shū. The scene had been cleared for greater events, and these now followed with dramatic swiftness. The historic Ōtomo family, in Bungo of central Kyū-sbū, which

was then aspiring for the control of the island, found its advance northward checked by the newly risen powers of the Ryū-zō-zhi and others; at this juncture, Itō Yoshisuke came from the south, and pleaded for his rehabilitation at Sadowara, Hiuga. Crushing the Tsuchimochi, in northern Hiuga, where they had been established for seven hundred years,<sup>4</sup> Ōtomo Sō-Rin threw upon the plains of this coastal region a hundred thousand, some say more, men raised in his wide dominion. Then followed the heroic defense of Taka-zhō by a thousand warriors against the vast hordes of the enemy; the succor of the Shimadzu lords with an even greater army; and the terrific contest, on 10 December 1578, in which the Ōtomo lost a half of their hosts, either drowned in the river Ōmaru or strewn dead over the ground for miles between the fortress and Mimigawa.<sup>5</sup> Sō-Rin fled, vowing an unending vengeance; Sadowara was permanently annexed by the Shimadzu.

Men of Iriki again followed the *shu-go* into the field. The document B is probably a note of the general order for the military service in this campaign.

## A

(SK, 2nd series, VI.)

"APPORTIONMENT of men(*shū mori*) at the time of the attack upon the fortress of Taka-baru, Ten-shō 4th year [1576].

"Assignment [of service] for the expedition:

"Those [holding] one *chō*<sup>6</sup> of *ta*: one man per *chō*, [meaning] two men, master and follower; providing their own rice for food. Besides, one attendant laborer (*tsume-fu*) shall be provided by the churches and temples; 3 draught horses shall be assessed upon churches and temples.

"Next, the implements to be carried:

"1 <i>te-kabushi</i> , <sup>7</sup> height $3\frac{1}{2}$ <i>shaku</i> , width $2\frac{1}{2}$ <i>shaku</i> ;	1 log, 6 <i>shaku</i> long;
1 hoe( <i>kuwa</i> );	1 broad-axe( <i>yoki</i> );
1 saw( <i>noko</i> );	1 sickle( <i>kama</i> );
1 dirt-carrier( <i>mokko</i> ); <sup>8</sup>	1 adze( <i>nada</i> );
	1 coil of rope.

"Those [holding more than] 2 *chō*: one man per *chō*, [meaning] three men, master and followers; providing their own rice for food. 2 draught horses shall be assessed upon churches and temples, as well as widows.

"The aforesaid implements for work(*fu-shin*) shall be carried into the camps at the rate stated above for each *chō* of *ta*.

"Up to 100 *chō* and 1,000 *chō*, the assessments shall be [the proportionate multiples of that for] one *chō* of *ta*.

"Those who have no land(*mu-ashi shū*) shall provide between two of them one attendant laborer(*tsume-fu*)<sup>9</sup> being assessed [also?] upon churches and temples, and widows; rice for food to be their own provision. 3 draught horses shall be provided likewise by churches and temples.

"For thirty days during the expedition the rice for food shall be self-support; beyond thirty days, it will be provided by the authorities.<sup>10</sup> Those [holding *ta*] between five and nine *tan* shall provide their own rice for food; those between one and four *tan* shall receive rice for food from the authorities.<sup>10</sup>

"Ten-shō 4 y. 8 m. 1 d. [24 August 1576]."

[Notes in red added during the Tokugawa period quote opinions estimating the equivalents of a *chō* in terms of *koku* of rice: two say that the average of one *chō* of all grades of *ta* would be 35 *koku*, another gives 25 *koku*, and still another says:]—

"The *taka* of 8,000 *chō* was 240,000 *koku*. At this rate, 1,000 *chō* were 30,000 *koku*; 100 *chō*,

3,000 *koku*; 10 *chō*, 300 *koku*; 1 *chō*, 30 *koku*. According to the record office, the assessment of *taka* followed from former times was as stated above; that is, at those times one *chō* was computed at 30 *koku* . . ."

## B

(SK, 2nd series, VII.)

[Note in red],—"About Ten-shō 6th year," [1578].

"Assessment (*kubari*) of military service (*gun-yaku*):—

"Holders of 1 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 2 men, master and follower; the master's service shall be personal;<sup>12</sup>

holders of 2 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 3 men, master and followers;

holders of 3 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 4 men, master and followers;

holders of 4 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 5 men, master and followers;

holders of 5 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 6 men, master and followers;

holders of 6 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 7 men, master and followers;

holders of 7 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 8 men, master and followers;

holders of 8 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 9 men, master and followers;

holders of 9 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 10 men, master and followers;

holders of 10 *chō*:<sup>11</sup> 11 men, master and followers;

"The foregoing is the assessment [based upon that] for one *chō* of *ta*. The military service from 10 *chō* up to 100 *chō* and 1,000 *chō*, [shall be performed on the same basis]. It should be understood that armor (*gu-soku*) is assessed at the rate of one set for one *chō*."

<sup>1</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, xviii, 10-11; *Nisshū hei-ji ki*, by the priest Bun-Shi (1607).

<sup>2</sup> Shimadzu *k. s.*, xviii, 20-21; *Nisshū h. j. k.*

<sup>3</sup> Shimadzu *k. s.*, xviii, 23; *Nisshū h. j. k.*

<sup>4</sup> *En-ryō sei-kan*; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, xviii, 26-27; *Nisshū h. j. k.*

<sup>6</sup> Meaning more than one *chō* and less than two.

<sup>7</sup> Not clear; literally, "hand cover."

<sup>8</sup> Small rope-net with loops at the ends through which a pole may be thrust in for carrying on two men's shoulders. See E. S. Morse, *Japan day by day*, 1917, I, 117.

<sup>9</sup> This would remind one of Charlemagne's capitularies ordering the poorer subjects to combine themselves in groups, so that each group should be able to equip and send one of the men *in hostem*.

<sup>10</sup> *Kō-gi*. For the word *kō*, see No. 142, n. 2; *gi*, as in the many phrases of this and later ages in which this character is used, cannot be said to mean anything more than "matter" or "fact," and hardly adds anything to the general meaning of the phrase or clause in which it occurs. *Kō-gi* here, which has been translated as "authorities," refers to the Shimadzu lord's council.

<sup>11</sup> See n. 6; the following numbers from 2 to 10 *chō* should be considered similarly.

<sup>12</sup> This is a probable sense of the clause: *zhin-tai wa zhin-yaku taru beki koto*. The phrase *zhin-tai*, literally, personal body, seems peculiar to the Shimadzu harony, and was used in varied meanings; here, as in No. 150B, it appears to refer to the principal person mentioned, that is, in this connection, the master (*shu*). The second *zhin(hito)*, if it is not a miscopy of some other word, also means person; here, the probable significance is that service by proxy should be excluded. The clause must apply to all the holders here classified.

# 147. COMPOSITION OF THE BESIEGING ARMY AT MINA-MATA, 1581

(Copies in SK, 2nd series, VIII.)

THE crushing defeat sustained in Hiuga by the Ōtomo tended to cripple their power even in central Kyū-shū outside of Bungo. Lesser lords in Higo began to court the Shimadzu's favor, and the latter were induced, already in 1579, to maintain a garrison of their men at Kumamoto. It was not long before pieces of territory were, through either alliance or conquest, annexed in Higo. The Iriki warriors participated in some of those campaigns in 1580.<sup>1</sup> The siege of Mina-mata, just beyond the boundary line between Satsuma and Higo, in September 1581, of which the following document reveals the organization, was intended to secure for the Shimadzu an uninterrupted communication between Kumamoto and their dominion in the south. The defender of the fortress, Sagara Yoshiaki, the haron at Hitoyoshi, surrendered almost without resistance before the overwhelming hosts of the besiegers, on 17 September.<sup>2</sup> With a little subsequent maneuvering, a great part of the *kuni* of Higo, fell within the Shimadzu's growing sphere of influence.

There are in SK two copies of the record of the composition of the campaign of Mina-mata, of which one bears notes in red taken from other copies of the same material. The following version is the result of a collation made by the editor of all the variants.

"In Ten-shō oth year, *kanoē tatsu*,<sup>3</sup> [1581], since Sagara Yoshiaki, head of the Mina-mata fortress in Ashikita *kōri*, Higo, does not pay homage<sup>4</sup> [to Shimadzu Yoshihisa], forces of the three *kuni*, Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga, have been raised, and, on 8 m. 19 d. [16 September], camps have been pitched at three places and intervening fences built, and the more than 700 [men of the enemy raised] from Kuma and Yatsu-shiro, [Higo], are besieged.

"THE first and foremost encampment, [at a place] called Kasa-no-jin or Karuishi-ga-o.<sup>5</sup>

"The commanders:<sup>6</sup> Shimadzu *Naka-tsukasa tai-yū* Iéhisa,<sup>7</sup> of Sadowara, [with] 4 private<sup>8</sup> captains;<sup>9</sup>

Shimadzu *U-ma no kami* Yukihiisa,<sup>10</sup> of Kiyo-midzu, [with] 5 private captains;

Adjutants:<sup>11</sup> Kabayama *Hyō-bu tai-yū* Norihisa, of Mukasa, [with] 2 private captains;

Niuro Ōmi *no kami*<sup>12</sup> Takehisa, of Ton-da, [with] 1 private captain;

Yoshitoshi Shimō-osa *no kami* Tadazumi, of Shio-mi, [with] 2 private captains;

Tanegashima *Sa-kon no dai-bu* Tokitaka,<sup>13</sup> [with] 3 private captains;

Tōgō Gen-shichi-rō Shigetora, [with] 1 private captain;

Iriki-in *Dan-zhō no chū* Shigetoyo, [with] 4 private captains;

Hishigari Tomo-emon, of Hon-zhō, [with] 1 private captain.

The lord's official,<sup>14</sup> Izhūin Mikawa *no kami* Tada-akira.

"The *ji-tō*<sup>15</sup> of the *to-zhō*,<sup>15</sup> together with the *zhū-chū*:<sup>15</sup>—

Izhūin Shimotsuke *no kami* Hisaharu, the *ji-tō* of Kushima;

Uéhara Nagato *no kami*, the *ji-tō* of Obi;

Izhūin Mimasaka *no kami* Hisanobu, of Kiyotake;<sup>16</sup>

Narahara Kano *no suke*, of Sakaya;

Ōtera Ōi *no suke*, of Tano;

Nomura Bitchū *no kami*, of Uchiyama;

Yoshitoshi Yamashiro *no kami*, of Kuraoka;

Niuro Musashi *no kami* Tadamoto, of Ō-guchi;

Niuro Nui *no suke* Hisatoki, of Aya;



Sagara Shin-suke, of Yatsu-shiro;  
 Hirata Kano *no suke* Sō-Ō, of Kinowaki;  
 Ichiku Mimasaka *no kami*, of Nozhiri;  
 Izhiri Iga *no kami*, of Hijiya;  
 Nomura Kaga *no kami* Shigetsuna, of Shirasu-zaki;  
 Ijichi Tango *no kami*, of Kadokawa;  
 Mera *Uma no zhō*, of Kamiya;  
 Saruwatari Kamon *no suke* Nobumitsu, of Ha-tsuki;  
 Ijichi Min-bu *shō-yū* Shigeyasu, of Hira-idzumi;  
 Umekita Ku-nai *saémon* Kunikane, of Yunowo;  
 Fukunaga Tango *no kami*, of Ura-no-myō;  
 Kamada Nagato *no kami*, of Tarumidzu;  
 Niiro Ji-bu *shō-yū* Tadanobu, of Sogi.

"In all, 22 captains,<sup>9</sup> and 21 immediate<sup>17</sup> *to-zhō*, besides *zhū-chū* all private.<sup>8</sup>

Total, 53 captains.

"Total, 31,000 men, of whom *ji-tō* of the *to-zhō* and private-rear<sup>18</sup> *ji-tō* are 53.

"The second [encampment] at Kuma-no-mure, Zenikame-ga-o, and Hakkei-ga-o.<sup>19</sup>

"The commanders:<sup>6</sup> Shimadzu Hyō-go *no kami* Tadahira,<sup>20</sup> of Massaki, [with] 10 private<sup>8</sup> captains;

Shimadzu Bun-go *no kami* Tomohisa, of Hira-matsu, [with] 2 private captains;

Adjutants:<sup>11</sup> Hongō Sanuki *no kami* Tadatora, of Shō-nai, [with] 12 private captains;

Ei Sa-ma *no kami* Hisatora, [with] 2 private captains;

Ōno Suruga *no kami* Tadamune, of Yamada, [with] 1 private captain;

Kajiki Dan-zhō *no chū* Kanehiro, [with] 6 private captains;

Shikine Tō-emon Yorimoto, [with] 1 private captain.

The lord's official,<sup>14</sup> Iwakiri Mikawa *no kami* Nobuakira.

"The *ji-tō*<sup>15</sup> of the *to-zhō*:<sup>15</sup>—

Uwai Ise *no kami* Akikane, the *ji-tō* of Miyazaki, Hiuga;

Kamada Idzumo *no kami* Masachika, the *ji-tō* of To-no-kōri;

Hishizhima Shiki-bu *tai-yū* Yoshitomo, of Soi;

Yamada Shin-suke Arinobu, Taka-zhō, of Hiuga;

Niiro Kageyu Tadamune, of Tsuneyoshi;

Kamada Chikugo *no kami* Masamune, of Takarabe;

Hirada Shin-zaémon Muneharu, of Hokita;

Kamada Owari *no kami* Masatoshi, of Ushine;

Ichiku Ko-shirō Iéchika, of Matsuyama;

Miyabara Sa-kon *shō-gen* Kagetoki, of Kushikino.

"In all, 10 *ji-tō* of immediate<sup>17</sup> *to-zhō*, with *shū-chū*.<sup>15</sup>

"The *ji-tō* of the private<sup>8</sup> *to-zhō* of Hyō-go *no kami* dono:—

Arikawa Uta *no kami*, of Iino;

Uwai Zhiro-zaémon Satokane, of Kobayashi;





Kawakami Mikawa *no kami* Tadatomo, of Kurino;  
 Godai *Ukyō no suke* Tomohisa, of Makwanda;  
 Itō *Saemon no suke*, of Magoshi;  
 Shirasaka Mino *no kami* Kaneyori, of Yoshida;  
 Nangō Wakasa *no kami* Tadaakira, of Kakuto;  
 Mera Suruga *no kami*;  
 Murao *Uemon hyō-e*, of Suki;  
 Sogi Yetchū *no kami*, deputy *ji-tō* of Yoshimatsu;  
 Yamaguchi Ō-kura.

"The private<sup>8</sup> *ji-tō* of Hongō<sup>21</sup> *dono*:—

Kosugi Tango <i>no kami</i> ;	Hongō Mata-zhirō, of Taki;
Hongō Ki-zaemon, of Miyako-no-zhō;	Hongō Mikawa <i>no kami</i> , of Kajiyama;
Hongō Kurando Hisayoshi, of Shiwachi;	Hongō Kamon <i>no suke</i> , of Takarabe; <sup>22</sup>
Hongō Uemon hyō-e, of Yamada;	Hongō Uta, of Yasunaga;
Hongō Dewa <i>no kami</i> , of Nonomiya;	Hongō Ōi <i>no suke</i> , of Katsuoka;
Hongō Kyū-zaemon, of Suéyoshi;	Shiwachi Gyō-bu shō-yū Tadatsuna, of Umekita;

"The private *ji-tō* of Kajiki *dono*:—

Kimotsuki Bizen, of San-de-dō, of Odori, and Hinata-yama;  
 Kimotsuki Awaji, of Karekawa.

"The private *ji-tō* of Ei *dono*:—

Tsumagari Kamon *no suke*, of Ibusuki.

"The private *ji-tō* of Uma *no kami dono*:—

Machida Suwō *no suke*, of Shin-zhō; Kawakami Chū-bei, of Kiyomidzu.

"Total, 31,000 men, of whom *ji-tō* of the *to-zhō* and private-rear<sup>18</sup> *ji-tō* are 51.

"The main encampments, at Katsu-idzumi-ga-oka,<sup>23</sup> also called Idzumi, Kawakami, and Hama-ga-hira.

"The *tai-shu*,<sup>24</sup> lord Yoshihisa;

the commander,<sup>6</sup> Shimadzu Saemon *no kami* Toshihisa,<sup>25</sup> of Miya-no-zhō;

the commander of the rear encampment, Sasshū Yoshitora, of Idzumi;

Adjutant,<sup>11</sup> Shimadzu To-sho *no kami* Tadanaga, of Kushira;

Adjutant, Sada Hōki *no kami* Hisamasa;

Adjutant, Ijichi Nui *no suke* Shigesada, of Shimo-Ōsumi;

Adjutant, Nezhime Shichirō Shigeharu, of Nezhime;

The lord's official,<sup>14</sup> Kawada Suruga *no kami* Yoshi-akira, of Kawada;

Elder,<sup>26</sup> Kiire Shiki-bu tai-yū Hisamichi, the *ji-tō* of Kiire;

Elder, Izhūin Uemon dai-bu Tadamune, the *ji-tō* of Kōyama;

Elder, Hirada Mino *no kami* Mitsumune, of Chōsa;

Elder, Murauchi Yechizen *no kami* Tsunesada, of Kamo;

Elder, Machida Dewa *no kami* Tadanobu, of Izhūin;

Elder, Kawakami Sa-kon shō-gen Hisatoki, of Taniyama;

Elder, Honda Shimotsuke *no kami* Chikasada, of Yoshida;



The lord's messenger,<sup>27</sup> Niiro *Uémon no suke* Yasutomo, of Ōsaki;  
 The lord's messenger, Yoshida Mimasaka *no kami*, of Ada;  
 The lord's messenger, Ijichi Hōki *no kami*, of Era;  
 The lord's messenger, Honda Inaba *no kami*, of Kaseda;  
 The lord's messenger, Hishizhima *Ku-nai shō-yū* Kunisada, of Ichiku;  
 The lord's messenger, Saisho Shin-suke, of So-no-kōri;  
 The lord's messenger, Ijichi Bizen *no kami*, of Yamada of Sendai;  
 The lord's messenger, Kamada *Gyō-bu saémon*, of Shibushi.

"The *ji-tō*:<sup>15</sup>—

Kawakami Kōtsuke *no suke* Nobuhisa, of Imuta;  
 Katsura Taro-*byōé* Tada-akira, of Hirasa;  
 Kawakami Zhūrō-*zaémon* Masuhisa, of Nagayoshi;  
 Yoshida Wakasa *no kami*, of Yamada of Chōsa;  
 Ada *Kamon no suke*, of Kawanabe;  
 Takasaki Ōi *no suke*, of Isaku;  
 Honda *Higashi-ichi no kami*, of Miyasato; (one copy has, Hirano Tamba *no kami*);  
 Sada *Ku-nai shō-yū* Tadamasa, of Momotsugi;  
 Niiro Yechigo *no kami* Takahisa, of Kuma-no-zhō;  
 Samezhima Sō-getsu-sai, of Tafuse;  
 Nomura Ichi-*emon* Kiyotsuna, of Takaé;  
 Shirahama Zhiro-*zaémon*, of Ōmura;  
 Mihara Shimo-osa *no kami*, of Hioki;  
 Murata *Uta no suke*, of Ichiku;  
 Hirano Tango *no kami*, of Kajiki;  
 Tōya Shinano *no kami*, of Nagano;  
 Nomura *Hyō-bu shō-yū*, of Yamazaki;  
 (One copy has): Yoshitoshi *Gyō-bu-saémon*, of Mukasa.

"The lord's attendants,<sup>28</sup> 20 men:—

[in charge of] the lord's luggage, <sup>29</sup> Ada Gen-shichi,	
[in charge of] the lord's luggage, Izhūin Gen-roku,	
[in charge of] the lord's luggage, Hirano Shin- <i>zaémon</i> ,	
[in charge of] the lord's luggage, Tashiro Zhin-suke;	
Kiwaki San- <i>zaémon</i> ;	Nomura <i>Min-bu shō-yū</i> ;
Yoshioka Ko-shirō;	Iwakiri <i>Uta no suke</i> ;
Mihara Hei-zaburō;	Mihara Gen-roku;
Mihara <i>Ukyō no suke</i> ;	Higo Yo-saburō;
Samezhima Hei-zaburō;	Ketō-in Kyū-zhirō;
Hirada <i>Sama no suke</i> ;	Honda <i>Emon no suke</i> ;
Honda Iya-gorō;	Murata <i>Emon no suke</i> ;
Haseba <i>Ōribe no kami</i> , <sup>30</sup>	Koreéda Zon-Riki <i>bō</i> .
"[In charge of] the lord's treasury, <sup>31</sup> mounted, 6 men:—	
Kawakami Hiuga <i>no kami</i> ;	Ijichi Suruga <i>no kami</i> ;
Kamada Kaga <i>no kami</i> ;	Minowa Tanba <i>no kami</i> ;
Ijichi <i>Ji-bu shō-yū</i> ;	Tateyama Sanuki <i>no kami</i> .

"100 spears,<sup>32</sup> with a footman<sup>33</sup> between 10 spears; 2 spear commissioners;<sup>34</sup>  
 100 bows,<sup>32</sup> ditto;  
 100 guns,<sup>32</sup> ditto.

"In all, 300 bearers of weapons beside the lord, of whom 30 are substitutes.<sup>35</sup>

"3 war commissioners,<sup>36</sup> with 30 men for each;  
 2 standard commissioners;<sup>37</sup>  
 3 ensigns,<sup>38</sup> with 60 men;  
 4 commissioners for works,<sup>39</sup> with 12 men;  
 2 commissioners for horses,<sup>40</sup> with men.

"The lord's weapons, <sup>41</sup> 10;	60 foot soldiers; <sup>33</sup>
the lord's bows, 3, 3 men;	the lord's quivers with <i>utsubo</i> arrows, 3, 6 men;
the lord's <i>nagi-nata</i> , <sup>42</sup> 2, 3 men;	the lord's hand-spears, 2, 3 men;
the lord's field swords, 2, 3 men;	the lord's long swords, 2, 3 men;
the lord's short sword, 1, 3 men;	60 pages; <sup>43</sup>
2 bearers of the lord's <i>kasa</i> - <sup>44</sup> holders; 3 bearers of the lord's <i>kasa</i> ;	
2 bearers of the lord's staffs: one <i>mu-sha</i> staff, one <i>taka</i> staff; <sup>45</sup>	
12 bearers of the lord's vehicles;	
3 chests of the lord's helmets and armors, 9 men;	
the lord's horses, 3: 2 saddled, 1 plain;	
3 bearers of the lord's sandals;	
the lord's grooms, 15 men.	

"The lord's personal guard,<sup>46</sup> in all, 53,000 men, of whom 70 are captains.<sup>9</sup>

"570 armored men beside the lord; the Kagoshima *zhū-chū*<sup>15</sup> are all private<sup>8</sup> *ji-tō*. The *ji-tō*<sup>15</sup> of the *to-zhō*,<sup>15</sup> and *ji-tō* and *zhū-chū* of private-rear *to-zhō*<sup>18</sup> are included.

"2 culinary officials,<sup>47</sup> with 35 men: 3 dressers,<sup>48</sup> 6 *ko-ban*, 9 fire makers,<sup>49</sup> 2 rice cooks,<sup>50</sup> and 15 middlings, namely, 6 middlings attached to the stables, and 9 laborers (*fu*).

"This is the distribution of the 115,000 men of the entire army in the three encampments."

[Note in red]:—"The story of this campaign is as follows: the lord sent a message to Sagara *dono*, by the two envoys, saying that, since it was inconvenient to send by sea guards to Ūtsu *dono* and Zhō *dono* [the lord's allies at Kumamoto], he wished to make them take a direct route overland [through Sagara's territory] in their journey to Higo; and that, if [the latter] agreed to this, he would henceforth be at peace with him. [Sagara] replied that that would never be permitted. Accordingly, with a view to cutting through the land route and sending guards to Ūtsu *dono* and Zhō *dono*, first of all the lord pitched three camps at Mina-mata. Mina-mata was carried, and Ashi-kita, Nana-ura, even Yatsu-shiro, were possessed [by the lord]. This was the first step of his entry into Higo."

This document is accompanied by a letter dated 1830, signed by the councillors and record-keepers of the Shimadzu lord and addressed to Narahara Suke-zaémon. According to this, the original of this record, after having been borrowed from the Narahara family by the record office and copied, had been damaged by rain; then a second copy was made from the first, and given to Suke-zaémon with the letter, which certified the accuracy of the transcription.

<sup>1</sup> Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>2</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xix, 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> The 17th of the cycle.

<sup>4</sup> *Ki-ka ni iru*, literally, to come under the standard.

<sup>5</sup> Northwest of the fortress of Mina-mata.

<sup>6</sup> *Tai-shō*.

<sup>7</sup> Yoshihisa's younger brother; see No. 145, n. 20.

<sup>8</sup> *Uchi*, private; literally, within. The term here refers to men supported in a fief held by a mesne lord. The "private" men, therefore, were rear-vassals of the overlord. *Uchi* is contrasted with *jiki*, immediate; see n. 17 below.

<sup>9</sup> *Mono-gashira*.

<sup>10</sup> Yoshihisa's cousin.

<sup>11</sup> *Waki-zhō*.

<sup>12</sup> In this record the reader will find that the title *kami* (civil governor) of the same *kuni* was in several instances held by more than two men. When such was the case in the sphere of the Shimadzu alone, one may readily see that in the whole of Japan there must have been in this period many persons styled as *kami* of each single *kuni*. The title had become purely honorary, and was granted by the imperial government, not only to warriors, but also to men talented in liberal arts. This title, like many others originally connected with the public official organization, was now on the road to being assumed under feudal or even purely private sanction.

<sup>13</sup> Where the fief of a vassal is not, as in the preceding five cases, specifically mentioned, it may be presumed that he carried the name of his fief or principal fief as his family-name, and that, therefore, he was still holding his original domain (*hon-ryō*), the place-name of which his ancestors had adopted as their family-name; in the next three instances, for example, the fiefs of the respective vassals were Tanegashima, Tōgō, and Iriki-in. As for the fifth, Hishigari, the name Hon-zhō (literally, original fortress) meant the domain connected with the principal fortress of Hishigari.

<sup>14</sup> *On yaku-sha*; his official capacity is not stated. Probably he acted as the intermediary between the camp and the lord.

<sup>15</sup> These important terms are explained in Nos. 152 and 154. Work through the Index.

<sup>16</sup> The word *ji-tō* is not repeated in the original, but understood hereafter.

<sup>17</sup> *Jiki*, "immediate," meant under direct control of the lord, as distinguished from mediate control. The latter, in the case of rear-vassals, was expressed by the word *uchi*, "within"; see n. 8.

<sup>18</sup> *Mata* (mediate, rear) - *uchi* (private). The meaning of this combination is the same as when *uchi* alone is used; see n. 8.

<sup>19</sup> Respectively, north, northeast, and southeast, of the invested fortress.

<sup>20</sup> Yoshihisa's successor, later Yoshihiro.

<sup>21</sup> It will be seen how this vassal, who was a kinsman of the lord, used men of his own clan as his private (*uchi*) *ji-tō*.

<sup>22</sup> A careful student will discover several places where both immediate (n. 17) and private (n. 8) vassals held fiefs. This indicates a significant point in the Shimadzu lord's policy of feudal control.

<sup>23</sup> Southwest of Mina-mata.

<sup>24</sup> *Tai-shu* means great *shu-go*.

<sup>25</sup> Yoshihisa's younger brother.

<sup>26</sup> *Rō-chū*.

<sup>27</sup> *Tsukai shū*.

<sup>28</sup> *Go kin-zho shū*.

<sup>29</sup> *O ni-motsu shū*.

<sup>30</sup> Haseha, it will be recalled (No. 145), drafted the lord's answer to Iriki-in's oath of fealty. Haseha was the chief secretary of the lord's council.

<sup>31</sup> *O nan-do*.

<sup>32</sup> Evidently each weapon was borne by a warrior.

<sup>33</sup> *Kachi shū*.

<sup>34</sup> *Yari bu-gyō*.

<sup>35</sup> *Te-gawari*.

<sup>36</sup> *Ikusa bu-gyō*.

<sup>37</sup> *Hata bu-gyō*.

<sup>38</sup> *Hata sashi*.

<sup>39</sup> *Fu-shin bu-gyō*.

<sup>40</sup> *Uma-ya bu-gyō*.

<sup>41</sup> *Dō-gu*.

<sup>42</sup> *Nagi-nata*, a weapon with a broad blade curved convexly and a long handle.

<sup>43</sup> *Ko mono*.

<sup>44</sup> *Kasa*, a shallow mushroom-shaped hat, with rim upturned at the sides.

<sup>45</sup> Staffs used, respectively, in war and in hawking.

<sup>46</sup> *Hata-moto*, literally, "under the standard."<sup>47</sup> *Dai-dokoro dai-kwan*.<sup>48</sup> *Hō-chō*.<sup>49</sup> *Hi-taki*.<sup>50</sup> *Meshi-taki*.

## 148. HIDEYOSHI'S DEMAND OF HOSTAGES, 1592

(A copy in SK, 2nd series, XIV.)

EARLY in 1584, Kyū-shū had become an arena for struggle for supremacy between the three great combatants, Shimadzu, Ōtomo, and Ryūzōzhi, such lesser warriors in northern and central Kyū-shū as had survived the earlier stages of the civil war being tossed about like leaves before variable winds. The Ōtomo had been severely defeated in Hiuga more than five years before (No. 146), but were still powerful in Bungo, and awaited opportunities for expansion. The Ryūzōzhi, more recent in influence than the others, were yet formidable in Hizen, and carried their conquest into Chikugo, and then into Higo, and so came into occasional collision with the outposts of the Shimadzu. Fortune again favored the arms of the latter. On 4 May, the 3,000 men under Shimadzu Yoshihisa overcame the fortress of Shimahara, Hizen, defended by Ryūzōzhi Takanohu with a considerably larger army, killing Takanohu,<sup>1</sup> and forcing his son Masa-ié to surrender his territories in Higo. Barons of Chikuzen and Chikugo followed Masa-ié's example and allied themselves with Yoshihisa. Now a renewed conflict between the Shimadzu and the Ōtomo became imminent, for the former were as aggressive as the latter were revengeful; the difference from the war of 1578 was, however, that the positions of invader and defender had now been reversed. The Shimadzu began from 1585 to make great preparations for a conquest of Bungo, not dreaming that a terrible disaster impended against which they were as helpless as would be an opposition against themselves by the reduced and isolated lord of Iriki. The Ōtomo had appealed for succor to Toyotomi Hideyoshi.

Upon Hideyoshi had fallen the great task of again unifying the feudal Japan torn and wearied by a prolonged civil war. Having risen from a low rank, and avenged the murder of his late lord Oda Nobunaga, Hideyoshi had already reduced to subjection the whole of central and western Japan and gained the alliance of a large part of the east, and had recently been appointed the Grand Councillor (*Kwan-paku*) of the empire. On 12 November 1585, he wrote in the name of the emperor to Shimadzu Yoshihisa, commanding him to cease hostilities with the Ōtomo pending the settlement of the boundaries in Kyū-shū which he was considering, and threatening a personal punitive expedition, should Yoshihisa fail to obey.<sup>2</sup> Flushed with local successes, and hardly realizing that they were dealing with a consummate political master and military genius, Yoshihisa's councillors had the temerity to answer that the contemplated war against Bungo was on their part purely defensive in character.<sup>3</sup> Next year Hideyoshi offered Yoshihisa a half of Chikugo and Higo in addition to the latter's proper sphere in south Kyū-shū.<sup>3</sup> The Shimadzu had, however, allowed themselves to be carried away too far by pride and ambition to listen even to this singularly generous proposal. In November 1586, Shimadzu Yoshihisa, Yoshihiro, and Ichisa led three great armies by way of Higo and Hiuga into Bungo; their vanguard won a decisive victory at Toshimitsu on 20 January 1587, and four days later entered Funai, the historic seat of the Ōtomo family, replacing the latter. Fortresses in the *kuni* surrendered one after another.<sup>4</sup>

Already Hideyoshi's first lines had landed in Kyū-shū. He had embarked on his expedition with warriors levied from thirty-seven *kuni* in central and west Japan, numbering, it is said, a quarter of a million.<sup>5</sup> The greater part of this vast army followed Hidenaga, the younger brother of Hideyoshi, into the plain lying between Takarahe and Taka-zhō, in Hiuga near the old battlefield where recently the issue was decided between the Shimadzu and the Ōtomo (No. 146), and encamped there on 13 May;<sup>6</sup> eleven days later, he repulsed a night attack by southerners after a stiff encounter. Hideyoshi himself came from Higo by sea, and, ascending the river Sen-dai, took his quarters at the Buddhist church Tai-hei *zhi*,<sup>7</sup> on 1 June. The spirited opposition offered by Katsura Tada-akira at the fortress of Hirasa, which had once been held by the Iriki-in and of which now their descendants were among the defenders,<sup>8</sup> was practically the only example of determined resistance made by the vaunted valor of the Satsuma warriors. The invasion into Bungo had been hastily recalled, and all the Shimadzu lords surrendered and personally paid homage to either Hideyoshi or Hidenaga, receiving considerate treatment at their hands.<sup>9</sup> Hideyoshi carved the entire Kyū-shū



among local chieftains and his own vassals, giving to the Shimadzu lords, as new grants in fief, the whole of Satsuma, nearly all Ōsumi, and Murakata *kōri* and Sadowara, in Hiuga.

Iriki-in Shigetoyo had died in 1583, his spirit having since been deified by his descendants as Hirose *myō-zhin*<sup>10</sup> established at Kiyoshiki. Since he was without heir, Shigetoki (1573-1600), the second son of Shimadzu Yukihisa, nephew of the late *shu-go* Takahisa, was adopted as the fifteenth Iriki-in lord. Shigetoyo's widow was an elder sister of Yukihisa, and Shigetoki himself married a daughter born between her and Shigetoyo. When Shigetoki subsequently divorced her, he next married the eldest daughter of Shimadzu Toshihisa;<sup>11</sup> and it will be remembered that both Toshihisa and the successive *shu-go* Yoshihisa and Yoshihiro were issue of an Iriki-in lady. Thus was the relation of the two families closely cemented. Shigetoki as a matter of course served faithfully in war under his lord, and, when Hideyoshi demanded hostages of the Shimadzu, Shigetoki was among the number upon whom the latter imposed this form of obligation.

The custom of rendering hostages in one form or another as proof of faith dated early in Japanese history. In ancient times, Korean princes sent hostages to Japan. The practice obtained throughout the feudal ages, becoming specially frequent and attended by pathetic consequences in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the whole of Japan was plunged in sectional wars and the mere plight of word of men was hardly dependable; Hideyoshi himself had committed the care of his mother to Tokugawa Iéyasu. The residence in Edo of the wives and children of the barons (*dai-myō*) which was enforced during the Tokugawa period was a survival in a polite form of the same historic custom.<sup>12</sup> The following document shows one stage in the changing arrangement of the hostages to be rendered by the Shimadzu to Hideyoshi. Yoshihisa's little granddaughter Kamezhu was among those offered at first; later after the battle of Seki-ga-hara, in 1600, the wives of Yoshihiro and Iéhisa, who had been serving in the same capacity, were rescued from the castle of Ōsaka.<sup>13</sup>

"ORDER of rotation of hostages.

"Besides these,

the hostage of Hongō Sanuki *no kami*,—his son by birth,

the hostage of Izhūin Kō-Gan, and

the hostage of Niūro Musashi *no kami*,—

these three shall be constant attendants.

"First:

Shimadzu Saémon *nyū-dō*<sup>14</sup> *dono* shall present a grandchild;

Kimotsuki *chū-zhō* [shall present] 2 sons of relatives or elders;

Niūro Musashi *nyū-dō* shall [present] Zhiro-shirō and Sa-kyō alternately.

"Second:

Shimadzu Mata-shirō<sup>15</sup> *dono* shall present his son by birth;

Tanegashima Sakon *no dai-bu* [shall present] 2 sons of relatives or elders;

Iriki-in Mata-roku<sup>16</sup> [shall present] 2 sons of relatives or elders.

"Third:

Shimadzu To-sho *no kami*<sup>17</sup> *dono* shall present a son by birth;

Nezhime Shichirō [shall present] 2 sons of relatives or elders;

Kiire Shiki-bu *tai-yū* shall present a son by birth.

"Thus.

"To the three groups shall be added the three men, Honda Shimotsuke *nyū-dō*, Machida Dewa *no kami*, and Hirada Sa-kon *shō-gen*, each [shift thus] consisting of four men. However, these names have been separately written, since you have earnestly pleaded that, these three men being your officials, one at a time of the needed men be kept at Kyōto [during your visits there]. Though they attend upon you, they shall be hostages as in the three groups. When Yoshihisa, Yoshihiro, and Hisayasu<sup>18</sup> are in

the *kuni*, one man each should, as at first, be added to the three groups and stay in Kyōto. Since the term of rotation has been decided as seven months, changes by private agreement shall henceforth cease.

"Thus.

"Ten-shō 19 y. 10 m. 2 d. [17 November 1591].

Ishida *Ji-bu shō-yu* Mitsunari, *monogram*.

"To Yoshihisa *sama*,<sup>10</sup>  
Yoshihiro *sama*,  
and their attendants."

<sup>1</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, xix, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, xix, 23.

<sup>3</sup> SK, 2nd series, XII, contains the order of the armies of Hideyoshi's expedition to Kyū-shū.

<sup>4</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, xx, 4.

<sup>5</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>6</sup> Uwai Akikane *nitchō*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, xix, 28-29.

<sup>8</sup> See No. 25, n. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Shimadzu *koku-shi*, xx, 4-7. A detailed account of Hideyoshi's campaign against the Shimadzu, with documents relative to the period, is found in the *Ni-hon sen-shi: Kyū-shū eki*, compiled by the general staff of the Army Department. Latterly Tokutomi Ichirō has treated the expedition in detail in his *Kin-sei Ni-hon koku-min shi*, age of Toyotomi, part 3, (1921).

<sup>10</sup> *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xii, 5.

<sup>11</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>12</sup> *Ko-zhi rui-en: Hei-zhi bu*, xviii; *Koku-shi dai zhi-ten*, 2064.

<sup>13</sup> *Sappan shi-dan shū*, 408-410.

<sup>14</sup> Yoshihisa.

<sup>15</sup> Yoshihiro.

<sup>16</sup> Shigetoki. One of the hostages be presented was Shigetaka, the heir of the Terao branch.

<sup>17</sup> Iéhisa.

<sup>18</sup> Yoshihiro's son.

<sup>19</sup> *Sama* is a less formal honorific of personal address than *dono*, applicable to men and women; its use began later than *dono*.

## 149. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE SURVEY AND THE GRANT OF THE SHIMADZU FIEFS, 1594-1595

THE grants of land in fief that Hideyoshi made in 1587 to various members of the Shimadzu were subsequently revised more or less; we give below the writs of grant of 1595 (C and D). These grants followed the general cadastral survey of Japan that had been completed by Hideyoshi's commissioners. Of this survey, instructions relative to its conduct (A and B) are cited.

Aside from the following, Hideyoshi had granted, on 25 September 1588, to Toyohisa, 977 *chō*<sup>1</sup> (later valued at 37,000 *koku*) in places about Sadowara, Hiuga, (SK, 2nd series, XIII). This was the beginning of the Sadowara branch of the Shimadzu, which continued to be treated separately from the other branches of the family.

It will be seen (in D) that in 1595 Hideyoshi had reserved for himself and his two vassals domains in Ōsumi aggregating nearly twenty thousand *koku* of taxable value. These, in addition to the thirty thousand at Idzumi, in northwest Satsuma, which he had seized for an offense from Shimadzu Tadanaga, fifty thousand *koku* in all, were, as reward for Yoshihiro's distinguished service in the Korean war (see No. 150), granted in complete fief (*ichi-yen*) to the latter on 24 January 1600.<sup>2</sup>

The Idzumi domain thus merged into the main fief of the Shimadzu included, among other places, the following *mura* in Taki, most of which had formerly been held by the Taki branch of the Shibuya family:—

"425.216 *koku*, Yuta *mura*, Taki *kori*;

126.76 *koku*, Nishikata *mura*, Taki *kori*;

115.628 *koku*, Ōgochi, Taki *kori*;

- 95.26 *koku*, Ushi-no-hama *mura*, Taki *kori*;  
 91.262 *koku*, Shinashi *mura*, Taki *kori*;  
 574.036 *koku*, Taki, lower, Taki *kori*;  
 1013.055 *koku*, Taki, upper, Taki *kori*;  
 624.733 *koku*, Mugi-no-ura, Taki *kori*;  
 618.702 *koku*, Ōtsu, Taki *kori*;  
 717.176 *koku*, Kusamichi *mura*, Taki *kori*;  
 1208.017 *koku*, Midzubiki *mura*, Taki *kori*;  
 937.153 *koku*, Sendai of Miya-uchi, Taki *kori*;  
 431. *koku*, Ōshōji of Miya-uchi, Taki *kori*."

The old domains of the Tsuruda and the Ketō-in<sup>3</sup> branches of the Shihuya had for some time been seized by the Shimadzu, and were included in Hideyoshi's grants, as were also those of the Tōgō branch and some of the holdings of the Iriki-in. The 300 *koku* of Tō-no-hara, for example, were given by Yoshihisa in 1502 to a grandson of his brother Toshihisa.<sup>4</sup> As for Kiyoshiki, the ancestral home of the Iriki-in, it was comprised in the fief for Yoshihisa himself defined in 1505 (D). In the same year, when he made a general shift of his great vassals<sup>5</sup> from their historic domains he removed Iriki-in Shigetoki from Kiyoshiki to Yunowo, Ōsumi, on the Sendai river near the boundary of that *kuni*.<sup>6</sup> This was done the more readily, as Shigetoki was of the Shimadzu descent. But the severance of so illustrious a house from its home after three and a half centuries of residence could hardly be effected without causing deep regrets. The family genealogy attributes this, not to the will of the Shimadzu lord, but to his adviser Izhūin Tadamune.<sup>7</sup> Iéhisa wrote to Shigetoki in 1506 a letter consoling him for the loss by his house of its original domain;<sup>8</sup> and, in 1613, Yoshihiro restored Shigetaka, successor to Shigetoki, to Iriki in. Of this last event, we shall treat again in connection with No. 152.

## A

(A copy in Haseha docs.)

The well-nigh complete survey of the economic land in Japan that Hideyoshi made between 1587 and 1595 was one of the important measures he took in order to establish a firm and uniform system of feudal government which she needed after a long period of practical anarchy; it was also a great task which could be accomplished by only such a masterly despot as Hideyoshi. Following the custom which had obtained in limited spheres, he resolutely ordered the adoption throughout the realm of the unit *tan* consisting of 300 *bu*, instead of the historic 360, and of the evaluation of the productive capacity (*taka*) of land in terms of *koku* of hulled rice. By the former method, the total extent in *cho* and *tan* of the taxable land naturally increased, aside from such increments and diminutions as resulted at different places from an actual survey; by the system of recording *taka* in *koku*, the taxable value of each piece of land was definitely known, and questions of fiefs and districts could henceforth be handled with little confusion through the official register.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the whole system at once expressed, as well as legalized, standardized, and perpetuated, the evolution in the land system which had been silently going on with an uneven pace in many parts of Japan; namely, the disintegration of the *shō*, accompanied by the re-integration of its minutely split *shiki*, and the control by individual lords of pieces of land as complete fiefs.<sup>10</sup> The loose divisional names like *gō* and *shō* were largely discontinued in the official vocabulary, while the units *kōri* and *mura* were universally employed, the former being a historic administrative district, and the latter, the peasant community, largely self-governing, and consisting of separate peasant estates.<sup>11</sup> Each component part, and, therefore, the aggregate *mura* and *kōri* also, were recorded with their definite *taka* values in *koku*. This system continued to and throughout the Tokugawa period.

Of the several orders containing instructions of the land survey under Hideyoshi that have been preserved, the following two relate to the Shimadzu dominion; many of the instructions given here were repeated in orders issued in other parts of Japan.

[Note on the reverse]:—"Copy of [the order with] the vermilion seal, in five articles."

"REGULATIONS regarding the survey of land in the domain of the Shimadzu.

"That it shall be instructed to holders(*ryō-shu*) everywhere that, all *samurai*,<sup>12</sup> *hyaku-shō*, and others who, because of the land survey, have fled to other *kuni*, shall first be examined, arrested, and delivered.

"That the order shall be certainly circulated in all communities, by previously instructing the village elders(*otona hyaku-shō*) and village officials(*kimo-iri*), that, if, in relation to the surveying, mapping, and assessing of *ta* and *hata*, any one should offer presents or [receiving them] give a lenient treatment, both the giver and the receiver would, as soon as the guilt was heard of, even afterwards, be executed.<sup>13</sup>

"That if any one behaved insolently toward the commissioners of land survey (*ken-chi bu-gyō*), his community would be punished for the offense.

"That if a commissioner of land survey committed an arbitrary act, the commoners(*ji-ge nin*) and *hyaku-shō* should report the matter without concealment to chiefs of the commissioners.

"It should be strictly ordered that, if any violate the foregoing regulations, not only he, but also his relatives and his community, shall be executed.<sup>13</sup>

"Bun-roku 3 y. 7 m. 16 d. [31 August 1594]."

## B

(A copy in Haseba docs.)

[Note on the reverse]:—"Copy of Ishi(-da) *Ji(-bu) shō(-yu) sama's* regulations, in eleven articles."

"That, in connection with this survey of land, sea-dues(*ura-yaku*)<sup>14</sup> might be rated as an annual tax(*nen-gu*).<sup>15</sup> Where this is not done, they shall be assessed in each special instance according to estimate. [In such cases], whatever, according to the report made in reference to the condition of the sea of a *mura*, should be rendered to the government,<sup>16</sup> should be recorded in a separate book.

"That the mountain-dues(*yama-yaku*)<sup>17</sup> shall be likewise dealt with.

"That silk,<sup>18</sup> since it is a thing [from] which [dues] should be rendered to the government,<sup>16</sup> should be registered in the book after considering the condition of the mulberry trees of the place, in such wise that the *hyaku-shō* would not be embarrassed because they were assessed in silk instead of rice, and also that the dues of the government would not suffer; and that, thereafter, no homestead<sup>19</sup> and *hata* where there are mulberry trees shall be rated as first-grade *hata*.

"That [bamboos in] bamboo-groves shall be cut annually at the rate of one-tenth, and a tenth of the tenth shall be given to the holder(*nushi*) of the grove; for example, ten bamboos shall be annually cut from a grove which has 100 bamboos, and nine shall be rendered to the government<sup>16</sup> and one be given to the holder of the grove, and ninety shall stand in the grove; registry shall be made accordingly.

"That, as regards iron, it should also, according to estimate, be assessed either as an annual tax [in money] or in terms of rice. Since this is a thing [from] which [dues] should be rendered to the government, care should be taken in assessing it, so that the worker also would not be embarrassed.

"That, as regards tea-gardens, they should not be assessed for an annual tax (*nen-gu*), for, after the survey, they are not a thing [from] which [dues] should be



rendered to the government.<sup>16</sup> However, some consideration should be had in surveying a homestead and *hata* which have tea-gardens.<sup>20</sup>

"That, as for lacquer-trees, they should also, by general estimation in the *mura* [which have them], be assessed in terms either of rice or of money; they should, however, be recorded definitely as dues (*nashi*) on lacquer-trees.<sup>21</sup> This refers to lacquer-trees found in places which are not homesteads. Lacquer-trees on a *hata* should also be under the control<sup>22</sup> of its holder (*nushi*). They should not be assessed as first-grade.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, a homestead or *hata* where lacquer-trees are shall be [valued as] first-grade *hata*.

"That, since the [Buddhist] churches and [Shintō] temples, resident houses of *samurai*,<sup>12</sup> and merchant houses, which should be excluded from the survey, have been decided by a [special] report, all others shall be surveyed.

"That in each *mura*, the resident houses of the two men, the *shō-ya*<sup>24</sup> and the *kimo-iri*,<sup>25</sup> shall be excepted.

"That trees as heretofore shall all be under the control<sup>22</sup> of the *hyaku-shō* holding the land (*ji-nushi hyaku-shō*), and should not be considered as owing dues to the government.<sup>16</sup>

"That the river-dues (*kawa-yaku*) shall be estimated in the *mura*, and be fixed as an annual tax (*nen-gu*).

"Thus.

"Bun-roku 3 y. 7 m. 16 d. [31 August 1594]. Monogram of Ishida *Jibu shō-yū*.

"To the Commissioners of Satsuma."

### C

(A copy in SK, 2nd series, XIX.)

"Of 283,488 *koku* in Satsuma *kuni*, 175,057 *koku* in Ōsumi *kuni*, and 120,187 *koku* in Murakata *kōri* in Hiuga *kuni*, total 578,733 *koku*, we have, on [the completion of] the recent land survey, excluded for us 10,000 *koku* for our treasury (*kura-iri*),<sup>26</sup> 6,200 *koku* for Ishida *Ji-bu shō-yū*,<sup>27</sup> and 3,000 *koku* for Yū-Sai,<sup>27</sup> and support (*fu-jo*) you [to the extent of] 559,533 *koku*. The contents [of the fief] are [stated] on separate sheets. You shall completely (*mattaku*) hold (*ryō-chi*) the same.

"Bun-roku 4 y. 6 m. 29 d. [4 August 1595].

*Hideyoshi's vermilion seal.*

"To Hashiba<sup>28</sup> Satsuma *Zhi-zhū dono*."

### D

(A copy in Shimadzu *sei-roku ki*, IV.)

In the following translation, *taka* are given in a simplified form, with the *koku* as the unit, instead of repeating, as in the original, all the lower units as well.

"Catalogue of the holdings (*chi-gyō*), Ōsumi *kuni*, Satsuma *kuni*, and Murakata *kōri* in Hiuga *kuni*.

"For the treasury (*kura-iri*)<sup>26</sup> of *Tai-kō*<sup>29</sup> sama:—

in Kajiki, Aira *kōri*, Ōsumi *kuni*:—

2,355.968 *koku*, Kida *mura*;

259.165 *koku*, Takaida *mura*;

668.425 *koku*, Nishi-byū *mura*;

233.458 *koku*, Hinokiyama *mura*;

1,373.647 *koku*, Tando *mura*;

911.724 *koku*, Oyamada *mura*;

720.967 *oku*, Karekawa *mura*; 1,067.24 *oku*, Takashi *mura*;  
 1,315.119 *oku*, Mizobe *mura*; 1,914.47 *oku*, Sakimori *mura*.

"Total, 10,000 *oku*.

"The deputy (*dai-kwan*) for the foregoing, Ishida *Ji-bu shō-yū*.<sup>27</sup>

"Ishida *Ji-bu shō-yū*'s<sup>27</sup> holding (*chi-gyō*):—

in Kiyomidzu, So-no *kōri*, Ōsumi *kuni*:

3,644.388 *oku*, Tomi-ogawa *mura*; 1,700.963 *oku*, Kami-ogawa *mura*;  
 300. *oku*, Minato *mura*; 55.543 *oku*, Komura, Funa-tsuki;  
 607.504 *oku*, Mochi-tome *mura*, in Shikine.

"Total, 6,328.448 *oku*.

"Yū-Sai's<sup>27</sup> holding (*chi-gyō*):—

in Kimotsuki *kōri*, Ōsumi *kuni*:

915.901 *oku*, Iwa-hiro *mura*; 1,889.45 *oku*, Taka-kuma *mura*;  
 200 *oku*, part of Hosoyamada *mura*.

"Total, 3,005.351 *oku*.

"For Ryū-Haku's<sup>30</sup> treasury (*kura-iri*):<sup>28</sup>—

14,656.945 *oku*, 16 *mura*, in So-no *kōri*, Ōsumi *kuni*;  
 19,566.02 *oku*, 28 *mura* in Kuwabara *kōri*, Ōsumi *kuni*;  
 11,625.167 *oku*, Nezhime *mura*, in Shimo Ōsumi, Ōsumi *kuni*;  
 6,785.714 *oku*, 9 *mura* in Shimo Ōsumi, Ōsumi *kuni*;  
 5,240.253 *oku*, 7 *mura* in Kimotsuki *kōri*, Ōsumi *kuni*;  
 5,980.377 *oku*, 6 *mura* in Hishigari *kōri*, Ōsumi *kuni*;  
 2,781.365 *oku*, 3 *mura* in Isaku *kōri*, Ōsumi *kuni*;  
 10,445.17 *oku*, Shibushi *mura*, in Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga *kuni*;  
 7,379.853 *oku*, 7 *mura* in the same *kōri*;  
 3,962.988 *oku*, Yatsushiro *mura* in the same *kōri*;  
 4,017.072 *oku*, 6 *mura* in the same *kōri*;  
 4,571.685 *oku*, 2 *mura* in Iriki, Satsuma *kōri*;  
 1,888.08 *oku*, Nakaé *mura*, in the same *kōri*;  
 1,098.99 *oku*, Momotsugi *mura*, in Sendai, in the same *kōri*.  
 "Total, 100,000 *oku*.<sup>31</sup>

"For the treasury (*kura-iri*) of Hashiba<sup>28</sup> Satsuma *Zhi-zhū*.

13,545.561 *oku*, Kagoshima, in Kagoshima *kōri*, Satsuma;  
 7,789.905 *oku*, Yoshida *mura*, in the same *kōri*;  
 6,058.073 *oku*, Ichiku *mura*, in Hioki *kōri*, Satsuma;  
 14,321.069 *oku*, Izhūin *mura*, in the same *kōri*;  
 3,926.919 *oku*, Kushikino *mura*, in the same *kōri*;  
 5,213.419 *oku*, Isaku *mura*, in Ada *kōri*, Satsuma;  
 3,883.393 *oku*, Naka *mura* and Yamada *mura*, Taniyama *kōri*, Satsuma;  
 16,857.062 *oku*, Ibusuki *mura*, Ibusuki *kōri*, Satsuma;  
 14,939.395 *oku*, Ei *mura*, Ei *kōri*, Satsuma;  
 531.047 *oku*, Ha-shima *mura*, in Satsuma *kōri*;  
 3,182.151 *oku*, Nishite *mura*, in Kuma-no-zhō, Satsuma *kōri*;

1,882.35 *koku*, Yamada *mura*, in the same *kōri*;  
 2,642.509 *koku*, 3 *mura* in Kamo, Aira *kōri*, Ōsumi;  
 7,864.754 *koku*, Chō-sa *mura*, the same *kōri*;  
 1,779.304 *koku*, Mukō island, the same *kōri*.  
 "Total, 100,000 *koku*.

"Izhūin Uémon *nyū-dō's*<sup>32</sup> holding (*chi-gyō*):—  
 8,839.407 *koku*, Miyako-no-zhō *mura*, in Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga;  
 4,109.176 *koku*, 3 *mura*, same  
 3,102.002 *koku*, Kajiyama *mura*, same;  
 2,239.769 *koku*, Yamada *mura*, same;  
 10,325.805 *koku*, 5 *mura*, same;  
 6,830.719 *koku*, Yasunaga, same;  
 1,566.246 *koku*, Nonomiya, same;  
 9,720.289 *koku*, Taka-zhō, same;  
 12,375.21 *koku*, Suéyoshi, in Ōsumi;  
 2,403.813 *koku*, Tsuneyoshi, same;  
 4,337.119 *koku*, Takarabe;  
 1,473.479 *koku*, Meguri;  
 1,209.277 *koku*, Ichinari, in Ōsumi;  
 1,756.518 *koku*, Mobiki, same;  
 80. *koku*, part of Hirabo, same;  
 2,320.797 *koku*, Uchi-no-ura, same;  
 7,264.11 *koku*, Ōsaki, in Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga.  
 "Total, 80,003.84 *koku*.

"Shimadzu *Uma no kami's*<sup>33</sup> holding:—  
 5,206.48 *koku*, 14 *mura*, Tane-ga-shima<sup>34</sup> (island), Kumake *kōri*, Ōsumi,—  
 mountain-dues and river-dues, in terms of rice;  
 66.14 *koku*, 14 *mura*,<sup>35</sup>  
 1,093 *koku*, Erabe<sup>34</sup> *mura* (island),—  
 mountain-dues and sea-dues, in terms of rice;  
 3,634.38 *koku*, Yaku<sup>34</sup> island.  
 "Total, 10,000 *koku*.

"Domains (*ryō*) for the grantees (*kyū-nin*):<sup>36</sup>—  
 266,533 *koku*, in Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga.

"Domains of the churches and temples:—  
 3,000 *koku*, in the aforesaid three *kuni*.

"Grand total, 578,733 *koku*.

"The foregoing arrangement has been made on [the completion of] the recent land survey.

"Bun-roku 4 y. 6 m. 29 d. [4 August 1595].

*Tai-kō's vermilion seal.*

"To Hashiba Satsuma *Zhi-zhū dono*."

Hideyoshi gave to the Itō 40,500 *koku*, according to the survey of 1594, at Obi, Soi, and Kiyo-take, in south and middle Hiuga; to the Akitsuki, about 30,000 *koku*, at Hara, at Taka-zhō and

Takarabe, and at Kushima, north and far south Hiuga; and to the Takahashi, about 53,000, at Agata (later Noheoka) and Miyazaki, north and middle Hiuga.

<sup>1</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xx, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *SK*, 2nd series, XXII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ketō in* was held by Shimadzu Toshihisa, brother of Yoshihisa, from 1580 till his death in 1587. In 1595, Hideyoshi granted it to a Hongō, of a Shimadzu descent; *Ketō in* was assessed at 37,000 *koku*. (*Shimadzu k. s.*, xx, 31.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xx, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Among the more important lords who were removed at this time from their ancestral domains to other places were: the Hongō, to Miya-no-zhō from Miyako-no-zhō held for 245 years; the Tanegashima, to Chirami from the island Tanegashima possessed nearly for four centuries; the Nezhime, to Yoshitoshi from Ko-Nezhime after an equal duration through seventeen generations; the Shikine, to Tarumidzu and Takakuma from Shikine held since 1184; and the Iriki-in, to Yuno-wo from Iriki *in*, where they settled as *ji-tō* in 1247. Izhūin Kō-gan, who had been granted Kō-yama, was now transferred to Miyako-no-zhō vacated by the Hongō, a much more desirable domain. Since he was on intimate terms with Ishida, the favorite councillor of Hideyoshi, it was generally suspected that these removals had been instigated by Kō-gan. (*Sei-han ya-shi*, xii.) However that may be, the Shimadzu lord could hardly have been reluctant to obey Hideyoshi's behest to carry out an order which would result in greatly strengthening his position as haron at the expense of his more powerful vassals. Cf. No. 147, n. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Shimadzu k. s.*, xx, 32; the Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>7</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>8</sup> *Shimadzu k. s.*, xxi, 1.

<sup>9</sup> According to the quality of their soil, the *mura* were classed in four grades; in each grade of *mura*, both *ta* and *hata* were ranked in three grades, with their productive capacities(*taka*) per *tan* assessed in *koku* of hulled rice, as follows:—

<i>mura</i>	<i>ta</i>			<i>hata</i>		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
1st—	1.6	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.	.8
2nd—	1.4	1.2	1.	1.	.8	.6
3rd—	1.2	1.	.8	.8	.6	.4
4th—	1.	.8	.6	.7	.5	.3

<sup>10</sup> See the editor's paper, "Some aspects of Japanese feudal institutions," in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. XLVI, part 1, 1918.

<sup>11</sup> See the editor's "Notes on village government in Japan after 1600," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, for 1910 and 1911.

<sup>12</sup> *Samurai*, literally, "attendant," meant originally feudal men of all grades, but later came to be applied usually to vassals only.

<sup>13</sup> *Sei-bai*, capital punishment.

<sup>14</sup> *Ura* is literally hay rather than sea. *Ura*-dues might be hoat or fishing dues.

<sup>15</sup> *Nen-gu*, literally, "annual tribute," usually meant either all annual levies in general or the chief item, namely, the annual land-tax payable in rice or money. In this document, the term seems to mean taxes whose annual rates were fixed, and not varied from year to year according to the amount of the crop.

<sup>16</sup> Literally, be presented(*tate-matsuru*) for the use(*yō*) of the authorities(*kō*). For the meaning of the historic word *kō*, see No. 142, n. 2; here it signifies the feudal government in general, both central(Hideyoshi's) and haronial(Shimadzu's). A proof that the haronial government is included is supplied by the document D of this No., where the local haron *Uma no kami*, Shimadzu Yukihisa, is seen to have been assigned some of the dues described here in these articles as owing to the *kō*.

<sup>17</sup> Dues for lumbering and hunting?

<sup>18</sup> The original has *wata*(cotton), but it clearly is an error for *kinu*(silk); the two characters resemble each other in the cursive form.

<sup>19</sup> House-land was often valued as *hata*.



<sup>20</sup> That is, such homestead and *hata* should be valued a little higher than those without a tea-garden.

<sup>21</sup> That is, they should be recorded as lacquer-dues as such, without being confused with other items of assessment.

<sup>22</sup> That is, tax-free. "Control" is *shin-tai*, for which see No. 16, n. 15.

<sup>23</sup> The first-grade *ta*? The character after *zhō* (first-grade) is not legible.

<sup>24</sup> *Shō-ya*, originally the office-house of the *shō* manager; now the village-head, himself a peasant. See further the editor's "Notes" 16 and 17 referred to in n. 11 above, and his "Life of a monastic *shō*" in the *Annual report of the American Historical Association* for 1916, vol. I, pp. 329 and 340 (n. 18 and n. 105).

<sup>25</sup> *Kimo-iri*, apparently the chief village-official beside the *shō-ya*. For the two terms, see the editor's "Notes" referred to above.

<sup>26</sup> *Kura-iri*, "to be put into the treasury," meant land yielding the lord's own income.

<sup>27</sup> Ishida Mitsunari (or Katsushige) and Hosokawa (Yū-Sai) Fujitaka, both high vassals of Hideyoshi holding large fiefs elsewhere.

<sup>28</sup> Hashiba was the family-name that Hideyoshi had assumed for himself. On Shimadzu Yoshihiro's surrender in 1587, Hideyoshi granted it to him, as he did to some other harons, as a mark of favor.

<sup>29</sup> Hideyoshi had retired from the position of the *Kwan-paku* (Grand Councillor) of the emperor, and taken the title *Tai-kō*, Great Hall, the Chinese name for the ex-Grand Councillor. Hideyoshi was of too obscure a birth to be made a *shō-gun*, and hence had himself appointed to the highest civil office in the imperial government.

<sup>30</sup> Shimadzu Yoshihisa, before finally surrendering himself to Hideyoshi in 1587, retired from active life and called himself Ryū-Haku, betokening his submission.

<sup>31</sup> A separate writ of the same date bearing Hideyoshi's vermilion seal, copied in *SK*, 2nd series, XIX, repeats the same list, and concludes:—" [We] support (*fu-jo*) you with the aforesaid *kura-iri* without service (*mu-yaku*). [You] shall completely (*mattaku*) hold the same."

<sup>32</sup> Izhūin Tadamune, relative and high vassal of Shimadzu lord. He was of service to Hideyoshi at the time of the capitulation of the Shimadzu. Tadamune is the same as Kō-gan mentioned in n. 5 above.

<sup>33</sup> Shimadzu Yukihiisa, Iriki-in Shigetoki's father by birth.

<sup>34</sup> These are all islands. Their economic value was very conservatively recorded in terms of rice.

<sup>35</sup> Some omission or error.

<sup>36</sup> *Kyū-nin* were the greater vassals of the Shimadzu who might be considered as sub-lords under them, possessing their own vassals.

## 150. RECORDS OF MILITARY SERVICE IN THE KOREAN WAR, 1591 AND 1597

THE discovery that has been made<sup>1</sup> from fresh sources, of hitherto unsuspected reasons which finally prompted Hideyoshi to undertake his Korean expedition, is too recent to have found its way into works in European languages which contain accounts of the campaigns. Events of the war have, however, been well described by Murdoch and Brinkley,<sup>2</sup> to whose narratives the reader is referred. We shall not discuss with any degree of fulness the part which the Shimadzu played in the two campaigns, for the story belongs rather to the history of the family, than to a volume of Iriki-in documents. Yoshihisa being too advanced in age, his younger brother Yoshihiro, himself fifty-seven years old, led the Shimadzu contingents in Korea. Yoshihiro's service was not specially marked in the first campaign, 1592-1593, but, in the second, 1597-1598, he bore the brunt of the attack at Sō-chōn delivered by one of the three immense armies of China that had come to the succor of Korea, and, on 30 October 1598, achieved a brilliant victory, thus enabling the expeditionary armies of Japan to retreat with comparative ease. Hideyoshi had died on 18 September.

In the following notes of the military service in Korea, the numbers of the contingent under the Shimadzu in each campaign is set down as 15,000 more or less. Yoshihiro's army in 1592, however, is said to have been 10,000, and even this reduced number may not have been full.<sup>3</sup> In 1597, again,

the same number was credited to him, besides 800 under Iébisu.<sup>4</sup> The Shimadzu had been in rather straitened circumstances after the costly wars they had waged in Kyū-sbū, followed by the great reduction of their territory ordered by Hideyoshi.

Iriki-in Shigetoki was ill in 1592 when Yoshihiro had issued a hurried call to arms and started on 8 April from Kurino with only twenty-three knights. Shigetoki sent two detachments, of seventy-five men each, under his kinsmen Iriki-in Shigeoku and Tōgō Shigekage. When Umekita Kunikane, a vassal of Yoshihiro, fearing punishment for his tardy arrival at Hirado, attempted a foolish revolt in Higo, in July,<sup>5</sup> the Iriki warriors under Tōgō were among the more than two thousand men who were induced to join the insurgent, and shared in the speedy defeat and death which the rebels received at the hands of local barons, (*cf. Hi-go koku shi*, II, 400-407). The other division safely landed in Korea and joined Yoshihiro at Yōng-p'üung Cbōng, in Kyun-geui *do* near the border of Kang-wun *do*, followed by fresh recruits sent by Shigetoki. He was able to take part in the second campaign, and returned on 30 January 1598 to Yunowo, where he had been transferred in the autumn of 1595.<sup>6</sup>

## A

(A copy in *SK*, 2nd series, XIV.)

"THE military service(*gun-yaku*) of Shimadzu *dono* in the Korean expedition:

15,000 men,—

Mata-ichirō<sup>7</sup> *dono*.<sup>8</sup>

"300 banners; 5 hand-spears(*te-yari*).

Yoshihisa.<sup>8</sup>

300 spears, of which 200 are long spears(*naga yari*), and 200, hand-spears. Yoshihiro.<sup>8</sup>

"Besides these, the men should provide hand-spears according to their capacity.

20 hand-spears.<sup>9</sup> In a retinue or in front of a camp, it is not slightly to have nothing but long spears.

"1500 guns.

1500 men with bows.

"600 men with small banners; these should be armored.

"Only distinguished men should be mounted; however, all those who cannot go on foot should be mounted. Therefore, the number of the mounted is indefinite. The mounted men might well bear helmet and armor.

"These regulations shall be observed with zeal.

"Ten-shō 19 y. [1591]."

## B

(A copy in *SK*, 2nd series, XIX.)

"At the rate of one mounted knight for each 1,020 *koku*; 95 knights in all. Total, 3,230 men of this class, being 34 men with each [knight] (*zhin-tai*).

"At the rate of one mounted knight for each 510 *koku*; 24 knights in all.

Total, 408 men of this class, being 17 men with each [knight].

"At the rate of one mounted knight for each 300 *koku*; 143 knights in all.

Total, 1,430 men, being 10 men with each [knight].

"300 squires<sup>10</sup> on foot. 900 laborers(*fu-maru*), being three laborers with each [squire].

"500 landless(*mu-ashi*) men. 1,000 laborers, being 2 laborers with each [landless man].

"665 carriers of weapons(*dō-gu*).

"2,000 laborers from the lord's domains(*kura-iri*).

"2,000 boatmen.

"Grand total, 12,433 men.

"Provision for these men for five months, 10,522.9 *koku*, inclusive of supplies for boatmen and their chiefs.

"272 horses. Their provisions 616<sup>11</sup> *koku* of beans, being for five months, at the rate of 2 *shō* per day [for each horse].

"Rice and beans together 11,438.9 *koku*.

"*Uma no kami*<sup>12</sup> *dono's* 9 mounted knights, with 332 men.

"*Kō-gan's*<sup>13</sup> 69 mounted knights, with 2,332 men.

"Total, 350 mounted knights;

total, 15,097 men.

"Distribution of boats: two voyages counted as one.

"10 boats with 10-*tan*<sup>14</sup> sails, with 80 men per boat,—800 men;

40 boats with 9-*tan* sails, with 70 men per boat,—2800 men;

31 boats with 8-*tan* sails, with 60 men per boat,—1860 men;

4 boats with 7-*tan* sails, with 40 men per boat,—160 men;

6 boats with 6-*tan* sails, with 30 men per boat,—180 men.

"Total, 91 boats, 5,800 men.

"Distribution of horse-boats.

"15<sup>15</sup> boats with 7-*tan* sails, 80 horses, with 5 horses, 15 grooms, and 10 boatmen, per boat;

14 boats with 6-*tan* sails, 56 horses, with 4 horses, 12 grooms, and 8 boatmen, per boat.

"Total, 30 boats, 136 horses, 680 grooms and boatmen.

"Grand total, 5,800 men,<sup>16</sup>

121 boats.

"Boats on hand.

"10 boats with 10-*tan* sails; 5 boats with 9-*tan* sails;

10 boats with 8-*tan* sails; 20 boats with 7-*tan* sails;

20 boats with 6-*tan* sails.

"Total, 65 boats.

"[Boats made].

"45 boats with 9-*tan* sails, costing 65 *kwan* per boat;

21 boats with 8-*tan* sails, costing 55 *kwan* per boat.

"Total, 66 boats made;

total [cost], 4300 *kwan*,—in terms of rice, 2,870 *koku*.

"Bun[-roku] 5 y. 12 m. 5 d. [22 January 1597]."

<sup>1</sup> See the articles by the late Tanaka Voshinari, in *Tō-A no hikari*, XIII, xi and foll.

<sup>2</sup> *A history of Japan*, by James Murdock, ch. xii; *A history of the Japanese people*, by Capt. F. Brinkley, ch. xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> *Sappan shi-dan shū*, (Mr. Komaki's lecture), 348-351.

<sup>4</sup> Hideyoshi's order of campaign, dated Kei-chō 2 y. 2 m. 21 d., in *SK*, 2nd series, XX.

<sup>5</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xx, 18; *Sei-han ya-shi*, xii, 229.

<sup>6</sup> See the Iriki-in genealogy, which records Shigetoki's feats more fully.

<sup>7</sup> Hisayasu, son of Yoshihiro; he died in Korea the next year.

<sup>8</sup> These three names may have been written in wrong places in the original copy.

<sup>9</sup> This phrase is not clear.

<sup>10</sup> *Kaji kō-shō*.

<sup>11</sup> This should be 816 *koku*.

<sup>12</sup> Shimadzu Yukihisa, Iriki-in Shigetoki's father.

<sup>13</sup> Izhūin Tadamune. See No. 140, nn. 5 and 32.

<sup>14</sup> *Tan*, the unit roll of cloth, whose measures varied considerably. A feudal lord's order for Buzen dated 1462 stated that a *tan* of hempen cloth used in taxation should be 28 *shaku* in length, (the width not given); one *shaku* being about 11.93 inches, this *tan* was some 27 feet 8 inches. (*Ōuchi ke heki-sho*, in *Gun-zho rui-zhū*, XIV, 80.)

<sup>15</sup> This should be 16.

<sup>16</sup> Exclusive of grooms and boatmen.

## 151. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE SHIMADZU BARONY, 1603-1640

WITH these documents we enter the period of the Tokugawa shogunate (1600-1867), whose seat of government was at Edo, the present Tōkyō.

Within three years after the death of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1598, most of the harons of Japan allied themselves with one or the other of the two great political parties which had gradually formed themselves, the one upholding his son and successor Hideyori and the other following the leadership of Tokugawa Iéyasu, formerly a peer of Hideyoshi and later his much feared vassal. The rival factions met in a great decisive battle at Seki-ga-hara, in Mino, on 21 October, 1600, from which Iéyasu emerged a complete victor and, consequently, the ruler of feudal Japan. In this and the previous battle at Fushimi, Shimadzu Yoshihiro had for reasons which need not be stated here fought against Iéyasu, despite the favors he had received from him at different times. At Seki-ga-hara, Yoshihiro's nephew Toyohisa was killed, and the former's 1500 men either perished or scattered in all directions. Yoshihiro himself barely escaped, and returned to Kagoshima. Later, a mutual understanding was reached between him and Iéyasu; and the former was recognized as the lord of his old domains, without such reductions for the suzerain and his ministers as were inflicted by Hideyoshi (see No. 140C and D). The Shimadzu harony was recorded as aggregating 605,000 *koku* of *taka*, and consisted of the whole of the *kuni* of Satsuma and Ōsumi and of Murakata *kōri* in Hiuga. Likewise, the 57,000 *koku* of Itō, 53,000 of Takahashi, and 30,000 of Akitsuki, were also secured for the respective harons. 28,600 *koku* at Sadowara (see No. 149), out of the domain confiscated at Toyohisa's death, were granted anew to a Shimadzu as a separate harony.

The rule of the Tokugawa shogunate,—which may be said to have begun with the victory of 1600, although it was three years later that Iéyasu was appointed *shō-gun*,—was purely feudal neither in its governmental organization nor in its institutions of land. This is not a place to enter into a discussion of these large subjects;<sup>1</sup> let it suffice merely to refer to some of the salient features of the new régime which are reflected in the following documents.

(1) The harony (*han*) of the haron (*dai-myō*).<sup>2</sup> It has been said (No. 149) that Toyotomi Hideyoshi, an arbitrary ruler as he was, had the sagacity not only to recognize the general results of the institutional evolution which had taken place gradually and naturally in separate regions of Japan, but also to generalize some of these results and to apply the principles thus deduced to his policy regarding the whole of feudal Japan (Nos. 149 and 150); the first Tokugawa suzerains matured the same policy still further in the régime which they constructed. What is stated thus in abstract terms is well illustrated by the organization of the dominions of the harons.

The harony possessed two aspects, for it was at once a public territory and a feudal grant, that is to say, a state and a fief. As a minor state, the *han* was, on the one hand, under a strict supervision of the *shō-gun's* council at Edo, by which the haron's power over the territory could be revoked for a serious infraction of law; but was, on the other, almost completely autonomous in its internal administration, so long as it fulfilled its obligations to the *shō-gun*. The haron's powers, which were rigorously curbed beyond their legitimate limits, were generously large and full within these limits, which were extremely broad. Because of this autonomy, it was inevitable that the more than two hundred *han* which feudal Japan contained, should produce, as they did, a remarkable diversity among them in details of their governance. The organization of each *han*<sup>3</sup> should, therefore, be studied by itself; that of the Shimadzu *han* will be seen in the documents which follow (Nos. 151-154).



The *han* was also a fief; and, as such, presented peculiarities which the Japanese fief had acquired at the last stage of its long evolution. No longer consisting of fragmentary *shiki*, as in the earliest feudal ages, the fief had gathered into itself all the superior rights of the land which it covered; moreover, the *han* generally, with exceptions, formed a contiguous territory, instead of being, as before, widely scattered over the country and intricately intermingled with other fiefs. The fief in its relation to the *shō-gun* (that is, as a *dominium utile*) was considered more strictly than ever as revocable by him for default in service and for the absence of a recognized heir, though otherwise inheritable. This state of things indicated the increased power which the suzerain had gained over his direct vassals, which presupposed his original conquest or benevolent grant. This theory, however, could as a matter of fact hardly be applied in all rigor to the fiefs of such puissant local chieftains as the Shimadzu. The fief in its relation to the haron's own followers (that is, as a *dominium directum*) had evolved two notable institutions, which were further developed in the new era. (a) The haron reserved for himself domains under his direct control (No 149D and n. 26), which he governed through agents revocable at will, (see No. 152). Only the remainder of his harony he granted to sub-lords and religious institutions. (b) The old custom of subinfeudation was further obviated by a system of rewarding the services of some vassals and officials, not with pieces of land, but with quantities of rice distributed out of the haronial granary. This system greatly added to the flexibility of the administration of the *han* and to the autocratic power of its haron. Both these institutions were employed as well by the *shō-gun* as dispenser of the land of the whole country and by the rear-vassal in the disposition of his small fief, as by the haron in his own *han*.

(2) Peasants in the *mura* (hamlet large or small). The Japanese peasantry in the Edo period practised at once an economic individualism and an administrative collectivism: the possession of arable land was entirely individual; the government of the hamlet was largely by mutual agreement of its inhabitants. (a) The peasants, upon whom the class name *hyaku-shō*<sup>4</sup> had devolved, had succeeded in attaining an institutional position superior to that which they held in the earlier ages. The warriors, who had long resided, more or less in isolation, in their individual domains in the country, had been compelled, by exigencies of continual warfare, to live together near their lords' fortresses, (although this change was less marked in South Kyūshū than elsewhere); the peasants were thus left alone on the fields and so were freed from the immediate control of resident warriors; at the same time, they had gathered into their hands most of the *shiki* relating to the exploitation of land which had formerly been split and vested in many persons feudal and non-feudal. This re-integration of *shiki* had followed the disintegration of *shō* which had preceded it, and had resulted in making the peasant the virtual owner of the land he tilled. His fiscal capacity had been carefully determined and registered (No. 149). The Tokugawa shogunate took special measures to protect him in the status he had thus acquired: the relatively high land-tax which prevailed in this period rendered impossible any considerable aggrandisement of land by the more clever among the peasants, for, among other reasons, the rent they would receive from their tenants would hardly exceed the taxes they would have to pay to the rulers; the official interference which the latter imposed upon the division and alienation of land further insured for the peasant holdings a comparative equality and a large measure of economic security, which continued generation after generation, resisting effects of the natural changes of fortune which occurred among the agricultural population. (b) The withdrawal of the warrior class from the fields also caused the disappearance of the *myō* (name)-land which characterized the condition of land during the early feudal ages; the *myō* had now either been absorbed into old *mura* or expanded and been converted into new *mura* (see No. 149D). The smaller unit having vanished, the *mura* had again become the central institution in the rural administration. The *mura* may be defined as an aggregate of peasant householders who possessed scattered farms under individual titles. The *mura* had, already in the preceding age (No. 149A and B), won a measure of self-government and assumed a collective responsibility toward the feudal ruler in relation to financial and general administrative matters. These collective rights and responsibilities were still further increased and defined by the Tokugawa shogunate.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the whole structure of the latter was built upon a secure foundation of self-governing hamlets composed of well-disciplined peasants with nearly equally balanced estates. And this peasantry formed one of the priceless legacies which the Edo régime at its downfall in 1867

entailed upon the new nation. Inequalities of fortune have developed only after the dawn of the new age; the consciousness of the peasantry as a class is only beginning to be awakened.

The following documents have been selected from a considerable body of sources, in order to show the assessed *taka* of the Shimadzu harony as a whole. Between 1611 and 1614, a new survey of the economic land of the harony was made, for after the previous survey of 1594-1595 (No. 149) many changes in the condition of land had occurred and the consequent injustice had entailed upon the peasant-holders;<sup>6</sup> but the total *taka* proved nearly equal to that of 1603 (A). B is a writ of investiture issued by the second Tokugawa *shō-gun*, Hidetada, to Shimadzu Iēhisa (reg. 1602-1638). C appears to be a summary of the *taka* of the harony presented to the *shō-gun's* government in pursuance of an order of 1634. In the record of 1638 (D), one reads that another survey had been made in 1632.

## A

(*Haseba Yechizen zhi-ki.*)

"*Ta, hata*, mountain-, mulberry-, and lacquer-dues, and sulphur-dues, of the 14 *kōri* of Satsuma *kuni*:—total, 314,805.91705 *oku*.

"*Ta, hata*, and mountain-, mulberry-, and lacquer-dues, of the 8 *kōri* of Ōsumi *kuni*:—total, 170,833.966 *oku*.

"*Ta, hata*, mountain-, mulberry-, and paper-mulberry-<sup>7</sup>dues, of Murakata *kōri* of Hiuga *kuni*:—total, 119,967.40034 *oku*.

"Grand total, 605,607.28339, of which:

*ta*,—358,592.6897;

*hata*,—244.380.16243,

sulphur-, mountain-, mulberry-, lacquer-, and paper-mulberry-<sup>7</sup>dues,—  
2,634.43123."

## B

(A copy in SK, supp., IV.)

"You shall hereby completely (*mattaku*) hold (*ryō-chi*) 314,805 *oku* and fraction of Satsuma *kuni*, 170,833 *oku* and fraction of Ōsumi *kuni*, and 119,967 *oku* and fraction of Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga *kuni*: total, 605,607 *oku* and fraction. The contents are [stated] in another document.

"Genna 3 y. 9 m. 5 d. [4 October 1617].

*The shō-gun's monogram.*

"Matsudaira Satsuma *no kami*<sup>8</sup> dono."

## C

(A copy in SK, supp., XVIII.)

"Contents of holdings (*chi-gyō*) of Satsuma and Ōsumi and in Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga.

"Grand total, 732,616 *oku*, of which:—

313,253 *oku* and fraction, Satsuma;

175,057 *oku* and fraction, Ōsumi;

120,606 *oku* and fraction, Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga;

123,700 *oku* and fraction, the Ryū-kyu islands.

"Thus.

Satsuma *Chū-nagon*."<sup>9</sup>

The copy of this in *Shimadzu sei-roku ki*, viii, hears the following date:—"Kwan-ei 11 y., *kanōé inu*,<sup>10</sup> 11 m. 26 d." (14 January 1635).

The *SK* copy has notes in red added at some later date. The note under "Satsuma" reads:—

"312,549.3 *roku* are the *taka* of *ta* and *hata*;

703.7 *roku* are the rice for the mountain-, river-, hay-, and beach-dues; these are added at the rate of 1 *roku* of *taka* for 1 *roku* of rice.

Besides, [there are] 2,456.3 *roku*, of which:

2,315.3 *roku* are recorded under Midzu-hiki *mura*, in Taki *kōri*, but omitted in this list;

141.0 *roku* are in the register made at this time, but wanting in this list."

The note under "Ōsumi":—

"170,935.348 *roku* are the *taka* of *ta* and *hata*, of which 101,896 *roku* are wanting in the register made at this time;

4,121.8 *roku* are the rice of the mountain-, river-, hay-, and beach-dues, at the same rate [as in Satsuma]."

The note under "Hiuga":—

"120,024.0 *roku* are the *taka* of *ta* and *hata*;

528.0 *roku* are the rice of the mountain-, river-, bay-, and beach-dues, at the same rate."

An additional note:—

"The three items [added],

total *taka* of *ta* and *hata*,—603,508 *roku* and fraction.

Besides, 2,354 *roku* and fraction are wanting in this list.

Total, 605,862 *roku* correspond to the *taka* of the vermilion seal."<sup>11</sup>

## D

(A copy in *SK*, supp., XXVII.)

"Determination of *taka*.

"Grand total *taka*, 732,616 *roku*, of which:—

313,253 *roku* and fraction, by the Kyōto rod,<sup>12</sup>—Satsuma;

175,057 *roku* and fraction, by the Kyōto rod,—Ōsumi;

120,606 *roku* and fraction, by the Kyōto rod,—Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga;

123,700 *roku* and fraction, by the Kyōto rod,—Ryū-kyū,

added in the assessment of Kwan-ei 12th year [1635];

total *taka*, 699,855.84077 *roku*, of which:

1,118.94739, opened land placed under the lord's<sup>13</sup> control before Kwan-ei 16 y. [1639];

559.2736, wild land placed under the lord's control before Kwan-ei 16 y. [1639];

besides, 32,757.15923, deficient in comparison with *taka* according to the Kyōto rod:<sup>12</sup>

when *taka* is revised according to the Kyōto rod, there is an increase of *roku* 5.689 to each 100 *roku* of the present *taka*.

"Of the foregoing,

according to the *taka* surveyed Kwan-ei 9 y. [1632]:—

269,061.8551, Satsuma, of which:

736.88268, opened land placed under the lord's control;<sup>13</sup>

229.70764, wild land placed under the lord's control;

according to the same:—

198,903.35031, Ōsumi, of which:

310.94213, opened land placed under the lord's control;

288.31585, wild land placed under the lord's control;

according to the same:—

108,224.24709, Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga, of which:

71.12258, opened land placed under the lord's control;

41.25007, wild land placed under the lord's control.

*Taka* added in the assessment of Kwan-ei 12 y. [1635]:—

123,712.90201, Ryū-kyū.

“Of the aforesaid total *taka*, the *taka* assigned to the works<sup>14</sup> [?], the lord's expenditures in the *kuni*,<sup>15</sup> and the culinary<sup>16</sup> [?], accounted in Kwan-ei 16 y. 6 m. [July 1639]—for the years of *inu* and *tora* [1634 and 1638]:—

*taka* 160,912.69223 *koku* [from] the lord's domains;<sup>17</sup>

*taka* 1,372.14518 *koku* [from] Yaku island;

*taka* 27.374 *koku* [from] Iwō (Sulphur) island;

*taka* 9,3864 *koku* [from] Take (Bamboo) island;

*taka* 21.37603 *koku* [from] Kuro (Black) island;

*taka* 497.96825 *koku* [from] the Seven Islands;

*taka* 32,829.00074 *koku* [from] the Michi-no-shima islands, Ryū-kyū,

the *taka* assessed at present being, however, 43,250.76334.

Total the lord's domains,<sup>17</sup> 195,671.94283

“*Taka* 6,186.97808, for the various houses;

*Taka* 378.27242, for the various castles;

total, 6,565.2505 *koku*.

“.....<sup>18</sup>

“Kwan-ei 16 y., *tsuchinoto u*,<sup>19</sup> 12 m. [January-February 1640]. The *Taku* Office.”

<sup>1</sup> The reader is referred to the *Introduction to the history of Japan*, by the late Professor Katsuro Hara, chap. xi, and the present editor's papers mentioned in No. 55, n. 17. Also see Summary of Points, B-I-e and f, B-II-d and e, C-III, and D-I-a and h.

<sup>2</sup> For *dai-myō*, see No. 154, n. 30.

<sup>3</sup> It is high time that the use of the most inaccurate and misleading term “clan” for the Japanese word *han* should cease. The word *han*, literally meaning fence, and derivatively frontier, was adopted from the history of China, where it often had signified outer regions organized as defenses of the inner country in which the imperial capital was situated. In the Japan of the Edo period, the term was applied to all haronies, *i.e.*, the regions which the *shō-gun* had not reserved as his own domains, but which he had entrusted to the autonomous rule of his harons. The *han* as an organization was, therefore, past more than a millennium beyond the trihal stage of society; and was, as has been shown here, territorial in character, and even partially post-feudal (*cf.* No. 152). Its European parallel is the “feudal state” or “Territorium,” that is, the dominion whose lord had its complete *Landgericht*, and that, too, in the later stages of its development.

<sup>4</sup> See No. 59, n. 14.

<sup>5</sup> These important points can hardly be fully explained in a brief note. The student is again referred to the works mentioned in n. 1 above, and in Summary of Points, C-VII-h, c, d.

<sup>6</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xxiii, 20-23.

<sup>7</sup> *Kaji*, paper-mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), was a tree of whose bark paper was made. On the system of taxation of the Shimadzu during the Tokugawa period, see *Sei-han den-so kō*.

<sup>8</sup> Shimadzu Iéhisa. The *shō-gun* had given the family-name Matsudaira to several of his more distinguished harons. See No. 140, n. 28.

<sup>9</sup> Shimadzu Iéhisa. *Chū na-gon*, a councilorship at the imperial court, here a purely honorary title.



<sup>10</sup> The 11th year of the cycle.

<sup>11</sup> *Go shu-in*, vermilion seal, used in the sense of a writ bearing the *shō-gun's* seal in vermilion color, or even of the land granted by such writ. The custom of using seals printed in vermilion in lieu of or together with personal monograms grew from the period immediately preceding the Tokugawa. During the latter's age, all writs of investiture issued by the *shō-gun* at his succession which were addressed to the barons below 100,000 *koku* and to his immediate retainers and the religious institutions bore his *shu-in*; the greater barons received writs bearing his monogram. The Shimadzu, of course, belonged to the latter class, but the earlier writs of the period may have borne the seal.

<sup>12</sup> *Sao*, measuring-rod used in land survey. One *bu* or *tsubo* was 6 *shaku* square, (1 *shaku* = 11.93 inches); sticks used were a trifle longer than 6 *shaku*, so that the loss that would naturally result from the use of a stick in measuring might be neutralized. The Kyōto *sao* evidently was a standard stick.

<sup>13</sup> *On shi-hai*.

<sup>14</sup> *On shi-age kata*.

<sup>15</sup> *On kuni-dzukai*.

<sup>16</sup> *O dai-dokoro*.

<sup>17</sup> *Kura-iri*.

<sup>18</sup> Here follows the portion given below as No. 153 D.

<sup>19</sup> The 16th year of the cycle.

## 152. RECORDS OF THE *TO-ZHŌ* AND *SHI-RYŌ*, 1614

WE shall for a moment turn backward for a space of forty years, in order to follow the fortune of the Iriki-in family. Iriki-in Shigetoki rendered distinguished service at the siege of Miyako-no-zhō, near the cradle of the now defunct Shimadzu *shō*, where Izhūin Tadamune (Kō-Gan) rebelled against Shimadzu Yoshihisa and held at bay the large forces sent against him for nearly a year in 1599 and 1600. Shigetoki was appointed *ji-tō* of Taka-saki and Taka-haru, in Hiuga,<sup>1</sup> at the outset, and fought gallantly throughout the campaign, always holding a place of high trust;<sup>2</sup> when Tada-zane finally capitulated in April, 1600, Shigetoki served as the special envoy of the lord to hear the message of his victory to Tokugawa Iéyasu.<sup>3</sup> Then followed the tragic days of Fushimi and Seki-gabara (No. 151). Shigetoki participated in both battles. In the great engagement on 21 October, Shimadzu Toyohisa was killed, Yoshihiro fled for life, and Shigetoki lost all his men but six—Iriki-in Hiko-emon, Tōgō Sei-ta, Murao Zenhei, Ōsako Iya-shirō, Maeda Sahuro-zhirō, and a squire. With these, Shigetoki left the field of battle, and, being overtaken by the enemy, all perished on the 29th. His spirit was held in awe by the people of Yunowo and Iriki, who deified it in a special temple, which was in 1655 officially entitled by Urahe as Shigeki *myō-zhin*.<sup>4</sup>

Shigetoki died without heir. Shimadzu Iéhisa ordered that Hisahide, son of Shimadzu Yoshitora, who had already been adopted into the Ei family, succeed Shigetoki under the name Shigekuni. This was the sixteenth lord of the Iriki-in known in later ages by his changed name Shigetaka<sup>5</sup> (1579-1647). Since his mother was the eldest daughter of Yoshihisa, the new lord was as closely tied to the Shimadzu family as was his predecessor. In 1613 Shigetaka was restored from the small fief of Yunowo, to which Shigetoki was transferred in 1595 (No. 149), to the ancestral domain of his adopted family, Iriki in, and appointed its *ji-tō*.<sup>6</sup> Thus it was that in this historic place he held a double capacity, as the lord (*ryō-shu*) of the private domain (*shi-ryō*) and the Shimadzu baron's deputy (*ji-tō*) of his outer defense (*to-zhō*), at Iriki. These positions need an elucidation.

The various divisions of the great Shimadzu harony during the Tokugawa period were either "private domains" (*shi-ryō*), that is, sub-fiefs, held by their lords (*ryō-shu*) owing allegiance to the haron, or "outer defenses" (*to-zhō*) under the direct control of the haron, but charged in care of his deputies, to whom the historic title *ji-tō* in this greatly changed signification was applied. Some of the *to-zhō* had once been independent domains or sub-fiefs; many had been reorganized for political and strategic reasons; while some, like Takaoka, in Hiuga, were new creations.<sup>7</sup> There were in the harony one hundred *to-zhō*, more or less (No. 153 B and C). Each was at first defended by a castle or fortress, though under Hideyoshi and the first two Tokugawa suzerains all minor castles were demolished by order, here as in the rest of Japan, and pretentious ones were reduced to small dimensions. The seat of the *to-zhō* formed a community called

*gō*, inhabited by a feudal population of seldom more than 1,000 or 1,500 families or less than 200, though, including the peasantry, the average *gō* contained about 3300 souls (No. 153 C). The *samurai* of a *gō* were called at different times *gō-shi* (*samurai* of the *gō*) or *zhū-chū* (group or company) of the *to-zhō*, as distinguished from the *shū-chū* of Kagoshima, below whom they were ranked. The *gō-shi* had their representatives appointed for purely administrative purposes, and over these the baron placed a distinguished vassal of his own as *ji-tō*, who was removable by him at will. The *ji-tō* was an official agent standing in no feudal relation with the *samurai* over whom he presided, for the latter also were direct vassals of either the baron or one of his kinsmen.

The *shi-ryō* (private domain) of a *ryō-shu* (lord) contained his own vassals, called *ka-chū* (household) or *ke-rai* (house-dependents). It also like the *to-zhō* had its fortress, its resident quarters for the *samurai* built in a similar manner as in a *gō* and alike called *jumoto* (p. 31, n. 193), and its dependent peasant population. But the *shi-ryō* occupied a position in the barony similar to that which the latter in turn held in feudal Japan as a whole, being largely autonomous and organized on principles of vassalage; the *to-zhō*, on the contrary, like the *shō-gun's* own domains, was a component part of the baron's special political machinery imposed upon a community of peers. The *shi-ryō* had officials of its self-government: the *yō-nin's* duties were judicial, the *mono bu-gyō's*, financial, while the *yoko-me* were chiefs of police, and the *me-tsuke* formed the censorate; village affairs were supervised by the officials *kōri mi-me* (rural inspectors) and *chiku-boku mi-me* ("inspectors of bamboos and trees").<sup>8</sup> (Further see Nakamura, in our Bibliography.)

When Shigetaka returned to Iriki *in* in 1613, the nearly two hundred *zhū-chū* of Yoshihiro who resided here were entrusted to his administrative care as *ji-tō*. At the same time, Shigetaka as lord had his own *ka-chū*, who mingled with the *shū-chū*, living as neighbors. The greater part of the place was his *shi-ryō*, to which the name of the whole region, Iriki, was arbitrarily applied by the baron's council; but intermixed with it were lands forming parts of the *to-zhō*, which were collectively designated by the smaller historic place-name Kiyoshiki.<sup>9</sup> This confusing state of things lasted till 1659, (see No. 154).

The confusion of landed institutions in Iriki *in* is illustrated in the following document B, by which the baron's councillors granted to a Buddhist priest two peasant estates (*kado*) out of the former's domain in the *in*.

The document A is a record of the military services assessed in 1613-1614 on the various *shi-ryō* and *to-zhō* in the barony, in connection with the first besieging campaign at Ōsaka castle of Toyotomi Hideyori, which was waged by Tokugawa Iéyasu toward the end of the latter year. The *shi-ryō* are mentioned by the names of their lords, and the *to-zhō* by those of their locations followed by the word *shū* (group or company). When a lord was also the *ji-tō* of one or more *to-zhō*, services demanded of men of the latter are sometimes, though not always, stated directly after his own.

About twenty of the more distinguished lords of domains, nearly all kinsmen of the baron, were as a class called *issho mochi* (literally, one-place holders), and nearly twice as many of the lesser lords were *issho mochi kaku* ("ranked as *issho mochi*"). The lords of these two classes, who were generally called *issho shū* (literally, one-place men or group, but rendered by us as "domain-holders"), were required to have their main residences in the city of Kagoshima near the baron's court. The system was doubtless modelled after a similar obligation at Edo which the *shō-gun* had imposed upon all the barons in Japan, and probably in its original conception was nothing but a polite form of the historic custom of exacting hostages, (see No. 148). This system, both at Edo and at Kagoshima, was intended to facilitate supervision of the barons' or lords' conduct, to multiply their expenditures through travel and by the keeping of two establishments, one in the city and the other at the domain, to prevent the independence of the vassals, and generally to insure the submission of all. Prior to his return from Yonowo, Shigetaka was granted, in 1611, a piece of land in Kagoshima for his residence, but he was unable to meet the necessary expenses of building and maintenance till two years later,<sup>10</sup> when he had moved to Iriki and his circumstances had somewhat eased.

## A

(SK, 2nd series, XXXI.)

In the following document, all the items which are written in red in the original are enclosed in single quotation marks; as, for example: '*taka 10,008 koku*'.

"Book of distribution of men,

Kei-chō 18 y. 12 m. 1 d. [10 January 1614].

"The first contingent.

"200 men, 10 banners,<sup>11</sup> 10 war-horses,<sup>12</sup> Ushi-kiku-Maru, '*taka 10,008 koku*';

66 men, the Izhūin *shū*;

272 men, 14 banners, 14 war-horses, Ya-shū, '*taka 13,580.82 koku*';

14 men, the Miya-no-zhō *shū*;

60 men, 3 banners, 3 war-horses, Izhūin Han-emon;

100 men, 2 war-horses, the Ōguchi *shū*;

55 men, 3 banners, 3 war-horses, Kabayama Kyū-tarō, '*taka 2,686.28 koku*';

290 men, 5 war-horses, the Idzumi *shū*;

17 men, the Yamano *shū*;

267 men, 13 banners, 13 war-horses, Hongō Ise no *kami*, '*taka 13,350.46 koku*';

23 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Sagara *Gen-ba no kami*;

65 men, the Kuma-no-zhō *shū*;

13 men, the Yamada *shū*;

41 men, 2 banners, 2 war-horses, Niiro Zhiro-shirō, '*taka 1,058.39 koku*';

31 men, the Magoshi *shū*;

18 men, the Iino *shū*;

10 men, 1 war-horse, Ada Zhin-zaémon, '*taka 455 koku*';

25 men, the Kurino *shū*;

10 men, 1 war-horse, Uéhara Shō-zhurō, '*taka 482 koku*';

14 men, the Yoshimatsu *shū*;

10 men, 1 war-horse, Hirano Rokuro-zaémon *nyū-dō*, '*taka 500 koku*';

4 men, the Yoshida *shū*;

43 men, the Takaono *shū*;

11 men, the Taka-zhō *shū*;

10 men, the Hatsuki *shū*;

9 men, the Shikine *shū*;

5 men, the Kakuto *shū*;

8 men, the Koshiki-zhima *shū*;

16 men, the Akune *shū*;

67 men, 3 banners, 3 war-horses, Nezhime *Ukon dai-bu*, '*taka 3,372.16 koku*';

72 men, the Kagoshima *shū*.

"Censors:<sup>13</sup>

8 men, 1 war-horse, Sada Yechigo no *kami*, '*taka 304.43 koku*';

10 men, 1 war-horse, Takasaki Ōi no *suke*, '*taka 615 koku*';

10 men, 1 war-horse, Godai Katsu-zaémon;

12 men, 1 war-horse, Hondo Iga no *kami*, '*taka 644.45 koku*';

16 men, 1 war-horse, Ei Chō-zaémon, '*taka 796.14 koku*'.

"Messengers:<sup>14</sup>

- 33 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Kawakami *Sa-kyō no suke*, 'taka 1,642.55 koku';  
 13 men, 1 war-horse, Jū-Son *bō*, 'taka 544.783 koku';  
 14 men, 1 war-horse, Miyabara Kichi-zaémon, 'taka 544.78 koku';

"Commissioners of provision<sup>15</sup> (?) and of works:<sup>16</sup>

- 6 men, 1 war-horse, Godai-in Ki-byōé-no-zhō, 'taka 300.2 koku';  
 10 men, 1 war-horse, Mera *Nui-no-suke*, 'taka 500 koku';  
 9 men, 1 war-horse, Sonoda Sei-zaémon, 'taka 355 koku';  
 2 men, 1 war-horse, Kasai Mo-emon, 'taka 136.61 koku';  
 6 men, 1 war-horse, Sagara Go-zaémon, 'taka 284 koku.'

"Total, 2,000 men, 51 banners, 73 knights.

"The second contingent.

- "373 men, 18 banners, 18 war-horses, Mata-shirō *dono*, 'taka 18,689.36 koku';  
 126 men, 6 banners, 6 war-horses, Shibuya Iwami *no kami*,<sup>17</sup> 'taka 6,287.65 koku';  
 39 men, the Kiyoshiki *shū*,<sup>18</sup>  
 726 men, 38 banners, 38 war-horses, Hongō Sanuki *no kami shū*, 'taka 41,350.17 koku';  
 20 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Katsura Yamashiro *no kami*, 'taka 1,021 koku';  
 68 men, the Kōyama *shū*;  
 22 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, *Dai-zen no suke*, 'taka 1,112.96 koku';  
 19 men, the Takabaru *shū*;  
 29 men, 1 war-horse, Yoshitoshi Moku-emon, 'taka 1,309 koku';  
 32 men, the Ichiku *shū*;  
 7 men, 1 war-horse, Sagara *Kageyu no suke*, 'taka 380 koku';  
 2 men, the Nezhime *shū*;  
 28 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Murata *Gyō-bu shō-yū*, 'taka 1,401.1 koku';  
 20 men, the Tafuse *shū*;  
 32 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Niiro Emon-no-suke, 'taka 1,500 koku';  
 20 men, the Kawanabe *shū*;  
 22 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Kamada *Gen-ba no suke*, 'taka 1,110.78 koku';  
 31 men, the Kiyomidzu *shū*;  
 14 men, 1 war-horse, Honda *Oi dai-bu*, 'taka 400 koku';  
 21 men, the So-no-kōri *shū*;  
 6 men, the Yokogawa *shū*;  
 19 men, 1 war-horse, Saruwatari Shin-suke, 'taka 500.31 koku';  
 12 men, the Tsuneyoshi *shū*;  
 10 men, 1 war-horse, Terayama Dewa *no kami*, 'taka 363 koku';  
 211 men, 3 war-horses, the Kokubu *shū*;  
 20 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Kiire Kichi-byōé-no-zhō, 'taka 500 koku';  
 31 men, the Nozhiri *shū*;  
 84 men, 4 banners, 3 war-horses, Kimotsuki Chō-saburō, 'taka 4,191.2 koku';  
 64 men, the Isaku *shū*;  
 22 men, the Kobayashi *shū*;  
 17 men, the Ada *shū*;



32 men, the Ichiku *shū*;  
 49 men, the Takarabe *shū*;  
 8 men, the Momotsugi *shū*;  
 54 men, the Ōsaki *shū*;  
 13 men, the Matsuyama *shū*;  
 69 men, the Suéyoshi *shū*;  
 13 men, the Uchi-no-ura *shū*;  
 4 men, the Era *shū*;  
 20 men, the Kushira *shū*;  
 498 men, including 3 with the Messengers,

the Kajiki *shū*.

"Besides, 175 men, and 3 men with Provision and Works Commissioners:—

"Censors:<sup>13</sup>

26 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Kawakami *Shiki-bu tai-yū*, 'taka 1,300.98 koku';  
 50 men, 2 banners, 1 war-horse, Shikine *Chū-mu shō-yū*, 'taka 2,500 koku';  
 20 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Murata Saburo-zaemon, 'taka 1,401.1 koku';  
 8 men, 1 war-horse, Suwa Shin-shichi, 'taka 400.15 koku';  
 9 men, 1 war-horse, Ijichi Shiro-byōe-no-zhō, 'taka 306 koku';  
 14 men, 1 war-horse, Ise Nai-ki, 'taka 502.49 koku.'

"Messengers:<sup>14</sup>

14 men, 1 war-horse, Izhūin Suke-emon, 'taka 464.14 koku';  
 4 men, 1 war-horse, Kawakami *Ukyō no suke*, 'taka 293 koku';  
 3 men, the Kajiki *shū*.

"Commissioners of provision<sup>15</sup> (?) and of works:<sup>16</sup>

20 men, 1 banner, 1 war-horse, Tsuchimochi *Sama no gon no kami*;  
 7 men, 1 war-horse, Kashiwabara *Suwō nyū-dō*;  
 3 men, the Kajiki *shū*.

"Total, 3,000 men, 77 banners, 85 knights.

"The third contingent, left.

. . . [Hereafter such portions as throw little fresh light on the institutional life of the barony are omitted in the translation. The third contingent "left" and "right," comprised, besides the same official posts as in the first two contingents, the rear-guard(*ato-zonae*)—58 men in the left, and 36 in the right; 39 and 23 men under the gun-commissioners(*teppō bu-gyō*); 10 men each under the bow-commissioners(*yumi bu-gyō*); 8 and 18 men under the banner-commissioner(*nobori bu-gyō*); 16 and 10 men under the spear-commissioners(*yari bu-gyō*); and 15 and 9 men under the gun-powder commissioners(*tama-gusuri watashi bu-gyō*).] . . .

"In all, 677 men, 12 banners, 66 knights.

"The third contingent, right.

".....

"In all, 624 men, 11 banners, 62 knights.

"Total of the left and the right, 3,301 men, 23 banners, 130 knights;  
 besides, 100 lord's banners.

"The Kagoshima foot *ko-shō shū*:<sup>19</sup>

Ei Haya-zaemon, '20.4 *koku*'; Niiro Suke-emon, [with] 1 man;  
Sara Yumi-go; Kawakami Hiko-zhūrō, '69 *koku*,' [with] 1 man;  
Sakaki San-emon, '21.069 *koku*'; . . . Nagaé Kyū-emon, '80 *koku*,' [with] 2 men;  
.....

"Total, 208 men, besides private<sup>20</sup> (*uchi*) man, 96.

"Foot *ko-shō shū*<sup>19</sup> from *to-zhō*:

35 men, besides 35 laborers (*fu*), the Chō-sa *shū*;  
30 men, besides 29 laborers (*fu*), the Fukuyama *shū*;  
43 men, besides 43 laborers (*fu*), the Kaseda *shū*;  
7 men, besides 6 laborers (*fu*), the Mukō-zhima *shū*;  
4 men, besides 3 laborers (*fu*), the Ushine *shū*;  
1 man, besides 1 laborer (*fu*), the Ōmura *shū*;  
8 men, besides 7 laborers (*fu*), the Kushikino *shū*;  
17 men, besides 16 laborers (*fu*), the Ei *shū*;  
43 men, besides 42 laborers (*fu*), the Ibusuki *shū*;  
48 men, besides 47 laborers (*fu*), the Taniyama *shū*;  
3 men, besides 2 laborers (*fu*), the Midzuhiki *shū*.

"Total, 239 men, besides 231 laborers.

"Bearers of weapons (*dō-gu mochi shū*) from *to-zhō*:

18 men, Taniyama;	20 men, Isaku;	9 men, Kawanabe;
9 men, Ada;	15 men, Ichiku;	9 men, Tafuse;
20 men, Kaseda;	19 men, Ibusuki;	10 men, Ei;
1 man, Nagayoshi;	13 men, Izhūin;	18 men, Kiyoshiki;
38 men, Kamo;	28 men, Chōsa;	28 men, Kushikino;
17 men, Kuma-no-zhō;	7 men, Yamada;	5 men, Momotsugi;
12 men, Taki;	8 men, Miya-no-zhō;	2 men, Ōmura;
6 men, Yokogawa;	18 men, Kurino;	16 men, Kiyomidzu;
11 men, So-no-kōri;	21 men, Kokubu;	5 men, Shikine;
22 men, Fukuyama;	19 men, Takarabe;	28 men, Suéyoshi;
10 men, Matsuyama;	6 men, Tsuneyoshi;	6 men, Mukō-zhima;
20 men, Nezhime;	19 men, Kōyama;	13 men, Ōsaki;
8 men, Kushira;	2 men, Ushine;	20 men, Magoshi;
6 men, Yoshida;	9 men, Yoshimatsu;	20 men, Kobayashi;
23 men, Takabaru;	9 men, Uchi-no-ura.	

"Total, 586 men;

one man's man-service<sup>21</sup> for every ten men of the *zhū-chū*.

"Bearers of weapons of Kagoshima:

total, 225 men.

"Bearers of weapons provided privately<sup>20</sup> (*mata-uchi*):

10 men, Niiro *dono*; 2 men, Ijichi Hei-zaemon's *ato*; 2 men, Izhūin Sakon's *ato*;  
1 man, Kuwabata *Gyō-bu shō-yū*, 'taka 103 *koku*'; . . .  
1 man, Ōyama Ina-suke, 'taka 93.096 *koku*';

1 man, Tsuchimochi Wakasa *no kami*, 'taka 32.065 *koku*';  
 1 man, Yamaguchi Ai-zaémon's *ato*, 'taka 120.3 *koku*'; . . .  
 4 men, Izhūin Iya-shichi, 'taka 393.78042 *koku*'; . . .  
 14 men, Machida Katsu-byōé-no-zhō, 'taka 2,664.03 *koku*.'

"Total, 51 men.

"Distribution of banner-bearers in various towns(*machi*):

3 men, Kaseda;	2 men, Kawanabe;	3 men, Tafuse;
2 men, Ada;	2 men, Isaku;	2 men, Ichiku;
5 men, Izhūin;	6 men, Kiyoshiki;	6 men, Miya-no-zhō;
3 men, Kamo;	4 men, Yokogawa;	6 men, Kurino;
1 man, Kushira;	2 men, Ōsaki;	6 men, Suéyoshi;
2 men, Takabaru;	2 men, Takarabe;	3 men, Kōyama.

Total, 61 men.

"Total, the lord's *ko-mono*, 28 men; the lord's middlings,<sup>22</sup> 35 men; attached to the lord's culinary, 25 men.

"Distribution of laborers(*fu*):

11 men, Niuro *dono*, 'taka 1058.39 *koku*':—

1, Ōsako Sei-zaburō; 1, Ōsako Sei-ta-zaémon; 1, Kamimura Suke-shichi; 1, Maruta Shin-saku; 1, Kirino Ha-emon; 1, Nūbaru Shin-zhirō; 1, Sakamoto Iki-no-zhō; 1, Maruo Zen-gorō; 1, Orida Ri-hyōé-no-zhō; 2, *uki*.<sup>23</sup>

2 men, Hyaku-Bai, 'taka 135.012 *koku*, of which 3 are *tono-yaku*':<sup>24</sup>—

.....

4 men, Izhūin Sakon's *ato*, 'taka 300.825 *koku*, of which 6 are *tono-yaku*':—

.....

4 men, Myō-Shun, 'taka 200.887, of which 5 are *tono-yaku*':—

.....

8 men, Ichi-zhō *in*:—<sup>25</sup>

1, Onoé Ni-zaemon; 1, Itatsugi Kuro-zaémon; 1, Irikawa Tō-shichirō; 1, Tanaka Genba-no-zhō; 1, Fujisaki Zen-suke; 1, Miyasato Katsu . . . ; 1, Kajiwara Zen-zaémon; 1, *uki*.

9 men, *Dan-gi sho*,<sup>26</sup> 'taka, 1,608.036, of which, 5 are *tono-yaku*, 300, exempt,<sup>27</sup> 300 for the *goma* rite':—

1, Niuro Suke-emon; 1, Shirahama Bun-emon; 1, Arikawa Ōi-no-suke; 1, Yanase Ni-zaémon; 1, Izhiri Tō-no-suke; 1, Kajiwara Shichi-zaémon; 3, *uki*.

28 men, Fuku-shō *zhi*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 1,737.87, of which 20 are *tono-yaku*, 300, exempt':—

1, Miyanohara Suke-hachiro; 1, Hidaka Chikara-no-suke; . . . 1, Hatsuyama Ri-hyōé-no-zhō; 6, *uki*.

9 men, Zhō-kwō-myō *zhi*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 541.049, of which 14 are *tono-yaku*, 100, exempt':—

12 men, Tai-hei *zhi*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 350.0108, of which 10 are *tono-yaku*, 50, exempt':—

.....

8 men, Nan-rin *zhi*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 521.37, of which 100 are exempt':—

.....

1 man, Hō-zhu *in*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 163.19, of which 100 are exempt, 3, *tono-yaku*':—.....

1 man, Dai-kō *zhi*,<sup>25</sup>.....

1 man, the Taga<sup>28</sup> domain, 'taka 57.977, of which 1 is *tono-yaku*':—.....

8 men, Myō-koku *zhi*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 520.037':—

.....

4 men, Kō-koku *zhi*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 220.037, of which 8 are *tono-yaku*, 100, exempt':—

.....

1 man, Fu-dan-kwō *in*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 50.053, of which 1 is *tono-yaku*, 100, exempt':—.....

2 men, Shō-gaku *zhi*:<sup>25</sup>—.....

1 man, E-tō *in*,<sup>25</sup> 'taka 60.049':—Iwakiri Kan-emon.

1 man, Zhō-zan *zhi*<sup>25</sup>—Kurano Hei-zhirō.

10 men, Myō-en *zhi*:<sup>25</sup>—.....

10 men, Kō-sai *zhi*:<sup>25</sup>—.....

1 man, Kimura Gen-ba's *ato*:—Suématsu Zhin-byōé-no-zhō.

1 man, Matsuda Kame-suke:—.....

1 man, Fuchimura Zhin-byōé-no-zhō's *ato*:—.....

1 man, Kō-Getsu's *ato*:—.....

1 man, Kimura Hei-dayū's *ato*:—.....

.....

8 men, Arima Zhi-emon; 3 men, Beppu Tonomo-no-suke;

2 men, Ada Suwō *nyū-dō*; 2 men, Tsuchimochi Wakasa *no kami*;

2 men, Kamada Uhyōé-no-zhō; 3 men, Arikawa Shichi-zaémon;

1 man, Kuwabata *Gyō-bu shō-yū*; 2 men, Kuroda Sai-no-zhō;

1 man, Nomura Kura-no-suke;.....

.....

"Total, 266 men, of whom

135 assigned; 313 *uki*<sup>23</sup> laborers.

770 laborers from the lord's domains;

20 laborers from the lord's domains assigned<sup>29</sup> for his luggage;

80 laborers from [the lord's domains assigned for] his culinary;

70 laborers from the lord's domains at Kokubu;

50 laborers from Kajiki.

"Total, 990 men, of whom:

293 transferred to the weapon-bearers from *to-zhō*;

75 transferred to the weapon-bearers;

20 transferred to the banner-bearers;

10 transferred to the lord's *ko-mono*;

12 transferred to the lord's middlings;

8 transferred to the weapon-bearers of the lord's luggage;

50 impedimenta-bearers of the culinary;

50 impedimenta-bearers of the treasures;

130 transferred to the culinary;

20 transferred to the stables;

70 bearers of armors; 50 shield-bearers;



30 bearers of bullets and powder;      30 bearers of 100-arrow stands;  
 50 bearers of gun-powder;      92 *uki* laborers.  
 "Total of the third contingent, 4,342 men.

"1,000 boatmen; 46 ships, large and small.

"Men on board these ships:—

7 men, Yamaga Yetsu-zaémon;	6 men, Ren-Chō <i>bō</i> ;
6 men, Mori Ki-emon;	8 men, Narahara Ki-zaémon;
Yamamoto Katsu-zaémon;	1 man, Nomura Genba-no-suke;
1 man, Sakamoto Iki-no-zhō;	2 men, Shiroy Saburo-byōé;
1 man, Kawano Ken-emon;	3 men, Niuro Iga <i>no kami</i> ;

Miyasato Tajima *no kami*, 'the lord's temporary mansion<sup>30</sup> at Ō-Nezhime';  
 Harima-ya Kyū-byōé-no-zhō, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Ko-Nezhime';  
    the lord's temporary mansion at Sada;

Nomaguchi Hiko-zaémon, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Yamakawa';

Yamazaki Tosa *no kami*, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Bō-no-tsu';

Yamashita Shima-no-zhō, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Tomari';

Okamoto Mo-emon, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Kushi';

Hemuki Katsu-byōé-no-zhō, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Akime';

Miyabara Ten-byōé-no-zhō, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Kata-ura';  
    the lord's temporary mansion at Kaminokawa;

Kodama Zhi-zaémon, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Ichiku-minato';  
    the lord's temporary mansion at Kushikino;

Noiri Bingo-no-suke, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Mukōda-machi';

Terada Ichi-emon, 'the lord's temporary mansion at Kyō-domari.'

"Grand total, 10,350 men;

181 banners; 288 war-horses.

"In charge during the lord's absence:

Hō-shū;	Niuro Goro-emon <i>nyū-dō</i> ;	Izhūin <i>Ku-nai shō-yū</i> ;
Sagara Hiuga <i>no kami</i> ;	Kamada Kaga <i>no kami</i> ;	Izhūin Hizen <i>nyū-dō</i> .

"Assignments to the contingents:

The first, 2,000 men; 51 banners, 73 war-horses;

the second, 3,000 men; 77 banners, 85 war-horses;

the third, 3,550 men; 56 banners, 130 war-horses, with weapon-bearers, boatmen, and  
 46 large and small ships.

"Laborers of the lord's domains:

750 men, and 300 men with pack-horses: 1,000 men

"Grand total, 10,300 men; 187 banners, 289 war-horses.

"Arrangement of the lord's personal guard:<sup>31</sup>

1st: 50 loads of gun-powder, 50,000 shots;

2nd: 30 loads of bullets and powder;

3rd: 30 loads 100-arrow stands;

4th: 20 chests of armors;

5th: 50 shields;

6th: 56 banners;  
 8th: 200 bows;  
 10th: 15 horses;  
 12th: 243 *ko-shō* on foot, from *to-zhō*;  
       213 *ko-shō* on foot, Kagoshima;  
       130 knights.  
       “End.”

## B

(Kimotsuki docs., in *SK*, 2nd series, XXXII.)

“Table of holdings (*chi-gyō*).

“*Taka* 30 *roku*,—the *kado* Shimo Ōne-ta, and

*taka* 28.223 *roku*,—the *kado Hira-no*, in Ura-no-myō, Iriki *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

“The aforestated holdings (*chi-gyō*), according to the *taka* of their public<sup>32</sup> service (*kō-yaku*), are hereby vested (*ade okonau*) [in you].

“Kei-chō 19 y. 7 m. 23 d. [28 August 1614].

Ise *Hyō-bu shō-yū*

S a d a m a s a, *seal*.

“Mihara Moro-emon

S h i g e t a n e, *seal*.

“Hishizhima Kii no *kami*

K u n i s a d a, *seal*.

“Machida Katsu-byōé-no-zhō

H i s a y u k i.

“[To] Kimotsuki Ren-Kwō *bō*.”

<sup>1</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xxii, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *San-gaku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xii, 4; the Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>5</sup> *Shimadzu kaku-shi*, xxiii, 22.

<sup>7</sup> *Hinga chi-shi*, XXXV.

<sup>9</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy; *KK*, VI.

<sup>11</sup> *Nobari*.

<sup>12</sup> *Zhō-me*, literally, borse for mounting; really meaning a knight.

<sup>13</sup> *Yaka-me shū*.

<sup>15</sup> *Sanaé bu-gyō*.

<sup>17</sup> Iriki-in Shigetaka.

<sup>18</sup> Men of the *ta-zhō* of Kiyoshiki, of which Shigetaka was the *ji-tō*.

<sup>19</sup> The *samurai* of the rank called *sho-shi*, who had their main residences in Kagoshima, and stood higher than the *gā-shi*, (namely, *samurai* of the *ta-zhō*), were divided into three classes: the *ka-ban*, 700 families, more or less, mounted; the *shin ban*, 20 families, more or less; and the *ka-shō*, nearly 4100 families. (*Miyazaki ken shi*, part V, chapter 6.)

<sup>20</sup> See No. 147, nn. 8 and 18.

<sup>22</sup> *Chū-gen*.

<sup>23</sup> *Uki*, literally, floating, meaning probably “unspecified”; as applied to dues, see *uki-men*, in No. 104, n. 16, and No. 108, n. 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Tono-yaku*, literally, dues for the lord's court. *Tana* was used derivatively in the sense of the lord himself. Here, *tono-yaku* would seem to mean peasants' fixed service for lord and baron: this is inferred from a baronial edict of 1611 (Kei-chō 16 y. 2 m. 11 d.—*SK*, 2nd series, XXX). The edict stated that a *tana-yaku* had been charged against peasant-family holdings (*kada*); it is further

<sup>2</sup> *Shimadzu koku-shi*, xxi, 19, etc.

<sup>6</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>8</sup> *Ketā in shi*; *Miya-na-zhā ki*; etc.

<sup>10</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>14</sup> *O tsukai-ban shū*.

<sup>16</sup> *Fu-shin bu-gyō*.

<sup>21</sup> *Nin-* or *hito-yaku*.

ruled that, "if an official of a place privately employed [peasants] beyond the number of days specified for the enforcement of the *tono-yaku*, [that fact] should be reported to [the baron's council at] Kago-shima."

<sup>25</sup> Buddhist churches and houses.

<sup>26</sup> Literally, place for discussion; apparently a Buddhist institution within the haron's court. It also occurs in No. 145.

<sup>27</sup> *Men-kyo*.

<sup>28</sup> A Shintō temple.

<sup>29</sup> Domains, not laborers, assigned as stated.

<sup>30</sup> *On kari-ya*. These were at seaports.

<sup>31</sup> *On uma-mawari*, literally, "about [the lord's] horse."

<sup>32</sup> For the word *kō*, see No. 142, n. 2.

### 153. RECORDS CONCERNING THE ORGANIZATION OF THE BARONY, 1620-1640

THE document A gives the *taka* held in 1620 by the *issho shū* ("holders of domains"),<sup>1</sup> the Buddhist and Shintō institutions under the direct control of the haron, and the *zhū-chū* (companies of the *samurai*) at Kagoshima.<sup>1</sup> Probably the compilation of this list was occasioned, partly by the slight revisions of assignments of *taka* which seem to have been made in this year, and partly by the need of recording the names of the men and institutions exempted for special reasons from the requisition of the amounts of money<sup>2</sup> and the quantities of *taka*<sup>3</sup> which were made upon vassals, according to certain rates, in order to aid the haron in his effort to ease his financial embarrassment; such extraordinary "aids," as we might call these exactions, were levied several times during the first part of the Tokugawa period. The documents B and C, probably of 1636, are *to-zhō* at or near the frontiers of the barony, B showing the names of their *jū-tō*, C giving statistics of their populations and stores of arms, and both by a peculiar linear device indicating the grouping of the *to-zhō* evidently for purposes of supervision and military coöperation; these lines have here been omitted, for typographical reasons, but are retained in the original text printed in the Japanese section. D forms the remainder of No. 151 D, dated 1640, and gives the feudal population of the *zhū-chū* of Kagoshima and of the *to-zhō*, together with the religious houses dependent upon the latter. All the documents show the relative position held in the organization of the entire harony by the domain and the *to-zhō* of Iriki *in*.

#### A

(SK, supp., VI.)

The latter part of this lengthy document is abridged.

[On the cover]:—"Book of the determined *taka* of the *issho shū*<sup>1</sup> of the three *kuni*, Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga, and of the *shū-chū* of Kagoshima. Genna 6 y. 2 m. 27 d." [30 March 1620.]

" <i>Taka, koku</i> 14,049,	Sagami no kami dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 7,506; besides, official recompense, <sup>4</sup> 1,000,	Mata-gorō dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 8,619	Shimotsuke no kami dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 2,253; besides, 2,267.19, land for arrear of the 2-monme silver	
[due], <sup>2</sup>	Bungo no kami dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 1,613; besides, official recompense, <sup>4</sup> 2000,	Sada Hōki no kami dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 2,044,	Kiire Settsu no kami dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 2,250,	Chū-mu tai-yū dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 1,537,	Nezhime Shichirō dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 4,589,	Iriki-in Iwami no kami dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 5,625,	Tanegashima dono;
" <i>Taka, koku</i> 2,655,	Kimotsuki Chō-shichirō dono;

- "Taka, koku 714, Gen-shichirō dono;  
 "Taka, koku 30,337, Hongō Sanuki no kami dono;  
 "Taka, koku 943, Niiro Ōmi no kami dono,  
     increased to 1,000 at the revision of *taka on kanoé saru*<sup>5</sup>  
     3 m. 21 d. [23 April 1620];  
 "Taka, koku 7,399; besides, 3,707.3057, land for the arrear of the  
     2-monme silver [due],<sup>2</sup> Hongō Mata-zhirō dono;  
 "Taka, koku 2,170 Kabayama Mino no kami dono.
- 1,200 koku, Fuku-shō zhi;  
 200 koku, the *za-su*<sup>7</sup> of Suwa;  
 380 koku, Nan-rin zhi;  
 50 koku, the Inari domain;  
 100 koku, Dai-ryū zhi;  
 500 koku, the Kirishima<sup>8</sup> domain;  
 800 koku, *Dan-gi sho*,<sup>6</sup>  
 30 koku, Dai-kō zhi;  
 400 koku, Zhō-kwō-myō zhi;  
 380 koku, Myō-koku zhi;  
 10 koku, Kasuga dai myō-zhin;<sup>8</sup>  
 10 koku, the domain of Waka-miya  
     Hachiman,<sup>6</sup> of this place.
- "Total, taka 4,000 koku.
- "Taka 2,669, besides, official recompense,<sup>4</sup> 2,000, Hishizhima Kii no kami dono;  
 "Taka 2,703 Kamada Idzumo no kami dono;  
 "Taka 2,022, besides, official recompense, 2,000, Machida *To-sho no kami dono*;  
 "Taka 1,944, besides, official recompense, 2,000, Ise *Hyō-bu shō-yū dono*;  
 "Taka 1,582, besides, official recompense, 2,000, Mihara Emon-no-suke dono;  
 "Taka 1,834, Shikine *Chū-mu shō-yū dono*;  
 "Taka 2,180, Izhūin Uma-no-suke dono;  
 "Taka 1,509 Niiro *gyō-bu tai-yū dono*;  
 "Taka 550, Hongō Kyū-zhirō dono;  
 "Taka 1,854 Yamada *Mīn-bu shō-yū dono*,  
     lord's messenger; no *age-chi*,<sup>3</sup>  
 "Taka 946 Kawakami Sa-kyo-no-suke dono;  
 "Taka 1,046, revised to 1048 on *kanoé saru*<sup>5</sup> 3 m. 20 d., Niuro Goro-u *nyū-dō dono*;  
 "Taka 1,612 Kawakami Shiki-bu *tai-yū dono*,  
     lord's messenger; no *age-chi*;  
 "Taka 1,032, revised to 935 on *kanoé saru* 3 m. 20 d., Honda Iyo no kami dono;  
 "Taka 1,100, Yoshitoshi Moku-emon dono;  
 "Taka 1,021, Katsura Yamashiro no kami dono;  
 "Taka 605, Yoshida Chō-shirō dono;  
 "Taka 463, revised to 416 on *kanoé saru* 3 m. 20 d., Murata *Gyō-bu shō-yū dono*;  
 "Taka 1,003 Shibuya Suwō no suke dono;  
 "Taka 835, Dai-zen no suke dono;  
 "Taka 1,000, Takahashi Chō-kichi dono,  
     no *age-chi*;  
 "Taka 720, Sagara Tango no kami dono;  
 "Taka 790, Kamada Gen-emon dono;  
 "Taka 780, Kawakami Kōtsuke no kami dono;



"Taka 1,048,

"Taka 820,

"Taka 754,

"Taka 685,

"Taka 599,

.....

"Taka 1,017,

"Taka 453,

"Taka 563,

"Taka 514,

"Taka 478,

Suwa Ji-bu shō-yū dono;

Honda Zhin-byōé-no-zhō dono;

Ichiku Suke-emon dono;

Nomura Ichi-emon dono;

Mōri Nai-zen no kami dono;

Kamada Gen-pachi dono,

lord's messenger; no *age-chi*;

Honda Mata-zhirō dono;

Kabaike Bitchū no kami dono;

Tsuchimochi Buzen no kami dono;

Itō Higo no kami dono;

....."

The remainder of the original is here omitted. In the entire list, including the items cited above, are contained:—

74 names without *taka*;

12 names below 1 *koku*;

316 names between 1 and 50 *koku*;

127 names between 51 and 100 *koku*;

124 names between 101 and 200 *koku*;

71 names between 201 and 300 *koku*;

36 names between 301 and 400 *koku*;

18 names between 401 and 500 *koku*;

41 names between 501 and 1,000 *koku*;

25 names between 1,001 and 10,000 *koku*;

2 men more than 10,000.

Total, 846 names.

## B

(Shimadzu docs. in *SK*, supp., XX.)

### "Frontiers.

Aya

Minoyama, half the number of men

Yoshimatsu

*iri-ban shū*<sup>9</sup>

Ōno Shō-emon

Kawada Suke-tarō

Takaoka

Mukasa

Kuraoka

Nire Kurando

Ijichi Shirō-byōé

Ijichi Sado no kami

Taka-zhō

Takarabe

Mihara Zhi-zaémon

Sagara Shin-emon

Yama-no-kuchi

Izhūin Bingo no kami

Katsuoka

Honda Kai no kami

	Matsuyama		Kawakami Gen-zaburō
Shibushi			Mogami Zen-zhirō
	Mobiki		Niiro Chū-zaémon
	Ōsaki		Machida Kage-suke
	Kushira		Niiro Emon-no-suke
	Aira		<i>To-sho no kami</i>
Kōyama	Ō-aira		Kodama Shiro-byōé
	Uchi-no-ura		Samezhima Goro-zaémon
	Ō-nezhime		Kabaike Shin-suke
Ko-nezhime			Nezhime Shichirō <i>dono</i>
	<i>iri-ban shū</i> <sup>9</sup>		Machida Kyū-emon
	Tashiro		Nikaidō Zhō-no-suke
	Sada		
	Kiyoshiki		Iriki-in Iwami <i>no kami</i> <sup>10</sup>
Hirasa			Hongō Sado <i>no kami</i>
	Yamada		Tsuchimochi Hei-zaémon
	Momotsugi		Tōgō Ki-emon
	Chūgō		Hirada Mago-roku
Kuma-no-zhō			with boatmen at Kyō-domari
Takaé			with boatmen at Kumi-zaki
			Tsuchimochi Gon-no-kami
Taki			with boatmen at Nishikata
			Shikine Chikuzen <i>no kami</i>
			Shikine Yetchū <i>no kami</i>
			Machida Go-emon
Akune			Shibuya San-shirō
			Katsura Taro-byōé
Takaono			Uwai Goro-zaémon
Idzumi	Noda		Yamada <i>Min-bu shō-yū</i>
	Magoshi		Niiro Kaga <i>no kami</i>
Ōguchi			
	Sogi		Honda Iyo <i>no kami</i>
	Yunowo		Honda Ya-gorō
Yamano			Saruwatari Shin-suke
Hadzuki			Ijichi Moku-emon

Yoshida		Deshimaru Go-emon
		Kawakami Kôtsuke <i>no kami</i>
Makwanda	<i>iri-ban shū</i> <sup>9</sup>	Sogi Zhin-emon
Kakuto	<i>iri-ban shū</i> <sup>9</sup>	Kawakami Mata-zaémon
Iino		<i>Dai-zen no suke</i>
Suki		Murao Tomeri-no-suke <sup>7</sup>

## C

(Ibid.)

This document has been here tabulated for the sake of convenience.

	(Population)	(Male)	(Guns)	(Bows)	(Spears)	( <i>Nagi-nata</i> )
Aya	2,107	1,091	149	26		
Minoyama	3,834	2,240	126	32		
Yoshimatsu <i>iri-ban</i> <sup>9</sup>	1,346	809	Weapons at Yoshimatsu unknown			
Takaoka	9,665	5,277	379	129	240	10
Mukasa	1,693	995	92	48		
Kuraoka	911	528	18	67		
Taka-zhō	3,040	841	Weapons at Taka-zhō unknown			
Takarabe	2,633	1,517	131	9		
Yama-no-kuchi	1,241	683	51	21		
Katsuoka	743	439	29		9	
Miyako-no-zhō	15,968	9,211	Weapons at Miyako-no-zho unknown			
Shibushi	6,749	4,037	67	93		
Matsuyama	1,078	648	36	5		
Mobiki	1,138	678	41	14		
Ōsaki	3,672	2,192	29	39	3	
Kushira	6,988	4,125	34	59		
Kōyama	6,381	3,735	102	25	77	4
Aira	3,012	1,796	23	9	10	
Ō-aira	3,600	2,083	34	13		
Uchi-no-ura						
Ko-nezhime	4,894	2,792	17	8		
Ō-nezhime	2,884	1,654	Weapons at Tashiro and Ō-nezhime unknown			
<i>iri-ban</i> <sup>9</sup>						
Tashiro	1,085	627				
Sada	3,004	1,742	21	21	3	1

	(Population)	(Male)	(Guns)	(Bows)	(Spears)	( <i>Nagi-nata</i> )
Ibusuki	6,244	3,609	100	23		
Ei	6,271	3,595	93	33	21	
Yamakawa	1,365	730	12	9	12	1
Chiran	2,924	1,731	7	4	5	
Bō no tsu	520	291	5			
Kawanabe <i>shū</i> <i>iri-ban</i>	3,183	1,886	63	9	11	
Tomari	668	331	2	1		
Kushi	Unknown		Weapons at Kushi unknown			
Akime	1,228	705	4	2		
Kaseda	6,787	3,957	214	7	6	2
			121 more guns in <i>gō</i>			
Ada	1,572	908	71	19		
Tafuse	2,706	1,556	82	29	29	
Isaku	3,677	2,176	105	32	25	
Nagayoshi	1,086	641	Weapons at Nagayoshi, Yoshi-			
Yoshitoshi	1,115	638	toshi, and Hioki, unknown			
Hioki	1,236	736				
Ichiki	5,050	2,910	93	20		
Minato						
Kushikino	3,415	1,990	54	7	7	
Hirasa	1,434	835	Weapons at Hirasa unknown			
Kiyoshiki	4,874	2,998	78	12		
Yamada	570	340	35	4	14	
Momotsugi	418	238	28	7	6	
Chūgō	477	294	9	10	8	
Kuma-no-zhō	2,693	1,589	122	40	29	
Takaé	800	469	25	18	8	
Taki	2,537	1,510	Weapons at Taki unknown			
Akune	4,401	2,533	87	4	20	
<i>iri-ban</i>						
Takaono	2,562	1,493	142	40	21	
Idzumi	13,981	8,183	628	186	218	4
Noda			93	41	3	
Ōguchi	4,185	2,533	180	32	91	
Magoshi	978	602	55	25		

## THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI

	(Population)	(Male)	(Guns)	(Bows)	(Spears)	( <i>Nagi-nata</i> )
Sogi	899	526	30	6		
Yunowo	665	399	25	9		
Yamano	718	425	53	5	29	
Hadzuki	1,535	890	54	4	9	
Yoshida	938	543	42	17	9	
Makwanda	702	432	18	11	29	
<i>iri-ban</i> <sup>7</sup>						
Kakuto	2,325	1,397	73	43	34	
<i>iri-ban</i> <sup>7</sup>						
Iino	3,122	1,853	93	68	40	
Suki	1,047					

(The foregoing document has no date.<sup>11</sup>)

Izhūin	5,755	3,399	78	9	4	
<i>iri-ban</i>						
Kōriyama	1,777	1,029	27	2	14	1
Miya-no-zhō	4,483	2,748	Weapons at Miya-no-zhō unknown			
<i>iri-ban</i> <sup>9</sup>						
Yamazaki	1,210	711	17	3		
Tsuruda	1,850	1,152	44	35		
Ōmura	2,127	1,309	67	14	24	
Yamada <i>shū</i>	1,557	941	30	5		
Yokogawa	1,778	1,096	60	21	3	
<i>iri-ban</i> <sup>9</sup>						
Kajiki	11,038	6,330	Weapons at Kajiki unknown			
Yoshida	938	543	42	17	9	
Odori	1,933	1,121	38	6	8	
Hinatayama	1,070	637	12	8	4	
Kurino	2,151	1,309	73	53		
Honzhō <i>shū</i>	1,330	810	56	25		
Nozhiri	1,828	1,094	109	10	18	
Takabaru <i>shū</i>	3,060	1,852	152	57		
<i>iri-ban shū</i>						
Minoyama <i>iri-ban shū</i> <sup>9</sup>						



	(Population)	(Male)	(Guns)	(Bows)	(Spears)	( <i>Nagi-nata</i> )
Tsuneyoshi	1,293	759	70	9		
Ushine <i>shū</i>	1,700	1,012	32	4		
<i>iri-ban shū</i> <sup>9</sup>						
Suéyoshi	5,243	3,046	111	112		
Chōsa <i>shū</i>	3,011	1,748	13	3		
Shikine the lord's <i>iri-ban</i> <sup>9</sup>	1,105	632	Weapons at Shikine unknown			
Fukuyama	1,733	1,007	71	24		
Kagoshima	33,432	18,624				
Taniyama	5,417	3,238	92	49	4	
Kamo	3,486	2,042	121	6	31	4 armors
Yoshida	1,994	1,176	37	14	18	2 armors
Kokubu	9,186	5,232	66	36	74	{ 7 armors 4 <i>nagi-nata</i>
Kiyomidzu	1,878	1,082	69	19	32	
So-no-kōri	2,514	1,474	66	18	6	

"Kwan-ei 13 y. 1 m. lucky day [February 1636].

"(The above is one document.<sup>11</sup>)"

## D

(SK, supp., XXVII.)

The following has also been tabulated. The abridgments that have been made of minor figures are indicated by dots.

"Kagoshima.

	( <i>Taka</i> in <i>koku</i> )	(Number of holders)	(Knights)
The <i>issho mochi</i> <sup>1</sup> and the ladies,—132,313.25382		28	256, of whom 16 are of the ladies
Churches and temples,—	5,482.524		
Men between 4,000 and 1,000 <i>koku</i> ,—	46,559.67116	22	87
Men over 900 <i>koku</i> ,—	2,802.03541	3	3
Men over 800 <i>koku</i> ,—	7,473.70862	9	9
Men over 700 <i>koku</i> ,—	4,407.654	6	6
Men over 600 <i>koku</i> ,—	5,722.30581	9	9
Men over 500 <i>koku</i> ,—	12,007.85499	22	22
Men over 400 <i>koku</i> ,—	10,245.97058	24	24

	( <i>Taka</i> in <i>koku</i> )	(Number of holders)	(Knights)
Men over 300 <i>koku</i> ,—	21,453.37222	65	65
Men over 200 <i>koku</i> ,—	17,529.47224	75	
Men over 100 <i>koku</i> ,—	20,650.92588	157	
Men over 90 <i>koku</i> ,—	2,519.31254	27	
Men over 80 <i>koku</i> ,—	2,605.6967	31	
Men over 70 <i>koku</i> ,—	3,119.29657	42	
Men over 60 <i>koku</i> ,—	3,121...	49	
Men over 50 <i>koku</i> ,—	2,494...	46	
Men over 40 <i>koku</i> ,—	1,768...	40	
Men over 30 <i>koku</i> ,—	3,045...	91	
Men over 20 <i>koku</i> ,—	2,489...	105	
Men over 10 <i>koku</i> ,—	1,963...	105	
Men over 9 <i>koku</i> ,—168...	18 holders; men over	8 <i>koku</i> ,—132...	16 holders
Men over 7 <i>koku</i> ,—74...	10 holders; men over	6 <i>koku</i> ,—64...	10 holders
Men over 5 <i>koku</i> ,—87...	16 holders; men over	4 <i>koku</i> ,—51...	12 holders
Men over 3 <i>koku</i> ,—35...	10 holders; men over	2 <i>koku</i> ,—39...	17 holders
Men over 1 <i>koku</i> ,—9...	7 holders; men below	1 <i>koku</i> ,—7...	16 holders
"Total of Kagoshima, according to the assessment of Kwan-ei 16 y. [1639];—			
310,440.67787 <i>koku</i> ; 1,150 holders, of whom 27 are churches and temples.			
The lord's <i>ko-mono</i> , middlings ( <i>chū-gen</i> ),			
weapon-men, and the <i>shō-ya</i> of the			
<i>mura</i> ,— 83.51833 <i>koku</i> ; 22 holders.			
Receivers of rice allowances, <sup>12</sup> — 90 men.			
One-place takers, <sup>13</sup> Kagoshima,— 112 men.			
Total,— 202 men.			
Governors of Ryū-kyū,—90,883.9127 <i>koku</i> .			

"The *to-zhō* of Satsuma:

	( <i>Taka</i> in <i>koku</i> )	( <i>Zhū</i> - including <i>chū</i> ,	fief- <sup>14</sup> holders, and one-place <sup>13</sup> takers)	( <i>Taka</i> of churches in <i>koku</i> )	(Churches)
Taniyama	2733...	222	182 2 over 100k. 26 over 30k.	37	116 3
Ibusuki	2512	200	181 1 over 100k. 7 over 30k.	17	18.9.. 2
Yamakawa	733...	25	13 1 over 200k. 2 over 100k. 1 over 30k.	10	38 2
Ei	1123...	124	87 5 over 30k.	34	211.3 3
Chiran	125...	17	5 1 over 30k.	10	4.2 2

	( <i>Taka</i> in <i>koku</i> )	( <i>Zhū-</i> <i>chū</i> , including	fief- <sup>14</sup> holders, and	one-place <sup>13</sup> takers)	( <i>Taka</i> of churches in <i>koku</i> )	(Churches)
Kawanabe	681...	127	91 all below 20k.	32	56	3
Bō no tsu	340...	7	5 1 over 30k.	5	204	2
Tomari	39...	4	1 over 30k.		7.3	3
Kushi	6	3	3			
Akime	4.2	1	1			
Kaseda	2549...	252	191 2 over 100k. 14 over 30k.	57	168.8	4
Ada	636.8	111	78 5 over 30k.	31	22.5	2
Tafuse	673.7	109	79 1 over 100k. 10 over 30k.	28	136	2
Isaku	1963.2	207	194 2 over 100k. 10 over 30k.	9	167.3	4
Izhūin	1662...	141	107 8 over 30k.	23	701...	11
Kōriyama	365.55	61	31 1 over 100k. 1 over 30k.	27	2	2
Ichiku	1,109...	185	123 3 over 30k.	59	80	3
Kushikino	549...	99	68 1 over 30k.	29	31	2
Yamada	397...	71	56 5 over 30k.	13	5.3	2
Momotsugi	220.2	53	41 all over 30k.	10	3.6	2
Kuma-no-zhō	1,007.8	189	180	6	44	3
Chūgō	139.9	45	18	25	2	2
Takaé	83.2	53	16	35	2	2
Madzuhiki	1,391...	113	44 1 over 100k. 4 over 30k.	65	899.9	4
Taki	725...	163	111 1 over 100k. 3 over 30k.	50	6	2
Koshiki-zhima	499	132	94 3 over 30k.	36	2.6	2
Akune	484...	133	79 5 over 30k.	52	2	2
Takaono	1,717...	240	194	44	3.2	2

## THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI

	( <i>Taka</i> in <i>koku</i> ) 563 for the <i>ji-tō</i> Nire <i>Ukon shō-gen</i> <i>dono</i> , with 1 knight	( <i>Zhū</i> - including <i>chū</i> ,	fief- <sup>14</sup> including holders, 1 <i>ji-tō</i> 4 over 3ok.	one-place <sup>13</sup> and takers)	( <i>Taka</i> of churches in <i>koku</i> )	(Churches)
Idzumi	7,822...	1116	845 2 over 20ok. 7 over 10ok. 37 over 3ok.	267	100	4
Ōguchi	3,636...	322	292 6 over 10ok. 20 over 3ok.	28	33	2
Yamano	286...	70	62	5	2	2
Hatsuki	475...	128	101 3 over 3ok.	25	3.5	2
Tsuruda	392...	68	61 1 over 3ok.	5	2	2
Ōmura	345...	82	50 1 over 3ok.	30	9	2
Yamazaki	19	[?]	19		20	
Kiyoshiki	1,122.7...	190	171 4 over 3ok.	17	7.3	3
Yoshida, Kagoshima	838...	77	56 1 over 20ok. 3 over 3ok.	19	11.4	2
"Total of the Satsuma <i>to-zhō</i> :—						
	39,416.81471	5,159	3,913	1,154	3,103.875	92
"The <i>to-zhō</i> of Ōsumi:						
Kamo	2,605...	315	230 1 over 10ok. 25 over 3ok.	81	82...	4
Chōsa	1,383...	183	83 1 over 20ok. 1 over 10ok. 7 over 3ok.	97	89	3
Yamada, Chōsa	147...	50	26	22	2.6	2
Sogi	133...	53	29	22	2	2
Honzhō	274...	125	75	48	2	2
Magoshi	177...	91	43	46	2	2
Yunowo	73.8	37	16	19	2	2
Yoshimatsu	339...	89	43	44	2	2
Kurino	514...	151	103 2 over 3ok.	45	25...	3
Yokogawa	990...	93	45 8 over 3ok.	46	2	2

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	( <i>Taka</i> in <i>koku</i> )	( <i>Zhū-</i> <i>chū</i> , including	fief- <sup>14</sup> holders,	one-place <sup>13</sup> and takers)	( <i>Taka</i> of churches in <i>koku</i> )	(Churches)
Odori	138...	58	18 2 over 30k.	38		2
Mizobe	69	1				
Hinata-yama	108...	37	21	15	2	1
So-no-kōri	332...	107	34 2 over 30k.	70	41	3
Kiyomidzu	780...	119	116 2 over 30k.	1	19	2
Kokubu	5,794...	204	165 1 over 200k. 9 over 100k. 48 over 30k.	35	827	4
Shikine	225...	52	26 1 over 30k.	24	2	2
Fukuyama	888...	108	98 1 over 100k. 3 over 30k.	8	3.2	2
Takarabe	864...	171	106 6 over 30k.	63	15.2	2
Suéyoshi	1,827...	210	143 9 over 30k.	15	36	2
Tsuneyoshi	358...	75	49 1 over 30k.	24	2	2
Mobiki	124...	56	30	23	2	3
Kushira	680...	117	71 4 over 30k.	44	2	2
Kōyama	2,672...	181	146 1 over 280k. 4 over 100k. 18 over 30k.	33	18	2
Aira	143...	45	28	15	29	2
Ō-aira	180...	56	26	28	2	2
Sada	81...	41	6	33	2	2
Tashiro	21	67	1	64		2
Ō-nezhime	315...	149	36 1 over 30k.	111	7	2
Ushine	15	44	2	40	2	2
Mukō no shima	631...	89	89 1 over 30k.			
"Total of the Ōsumi <i>to-zhō</i> :—						
	22,491.29928	3,238	2,019	1,154	1,222.527	65
"The <i>to-zhō</i> of Murakata:						
Yoshida, Massaki	144.5	78	38	38	2	2
Makwanda	42.4	59	10	47	1.6	2



## THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI

	( <i>Taka</i> in <i>koku</i> )	( <i>Zhū-</i> including <i>chū</i> ,	fief- <sup>14</sup> and holders,	one-place <sup>13</sup> takers)	( <i>Taka</i> of churches in <i>koku</i> )	(Churches)
Kakuto	1,153... 460... for the <i>ji-tō</i> Ijichi Moku-emon <i>dono</i> ; 1 knight	162	109 1 <i>ji-tō</i> 1 over 30k.	50	46.6	3
Iino	2085... 866... for the <i>ji-tō</i> <i>Daizen no suke dono</i> ; 1 knight	173	118 1 <i>ji-tō</i> 7 over 30k.	48	121.2	7
Suki	657.5	205	172	30	2.6	3
Kobayashi	783...	214	124 5 over 30k.	88	4.3	2
Takabaru	659...	232	132 5 over 30k.	98	28	2
Nozhiri	583...	153	115 2 over 30k.	36	3.8	2
Aya	1,402 411 for the <i>ji-tō</i> Ōno Shō-emon <i>dono</i>	175	160 1 <i>ji-tō</i> 1 over 30k.	13	6	2
Kuraoka	1,003 491... for the <i>ji-tō</i> Ijichi Sado <i>no kami dono</i>	104	92 1 <i>ji-tō</i> 1 over 30k.	10	2	2
Mukasa	1,551	222	191 11 over 30k.	29	9.4	2
Takaoka	10,367...	487	461 1 man 426k. 1 man 351k. 4 over 200k. 21 over 100k. 51 over 30k.	21	109.2 2 knights	5
Taka-zhō, Shōnai	1,206...	165	108 1 man 300k. 7 over 30k.	53	26...	4
Yama-no-kuchi	231...	68	51	16	2.5	1
Katsuoka	175...	38	27	9	2	2
Matsuyama	452...	83	67	14	2	2
Shibushi	3,375...	248	203 1 over 100k. 23 over 30k.	39	543...	6
Ōsaki	817	130	92 5 over 30k.	36	5	2
"Total of the Murakata <i>to-zhō</i> :—						
	26,692.9297 2,229... for 4 <i>ji-tō</i>	2,996	2,270 7 knights	675	918.027	51

( <i>Taka</i> in <i>koku</i> )	( <i>Zhū-</i> including <i>chū</i> ,	fief- <sup>14</sup> holders,	one-place <sup>13</sup> and takers)	( <i>Taka</i> of churches in <i>koku</i> )	(Churches)
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"Total of the *to-zhō* of Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga:—

88,601...	11,393	8,202	2,983	5,247...	208
2794... for 5 <i>ji-tō</i>		5 <i>ji-tō</i>			
		3 between 300 and 400k.			
		10 over 200k.			
		64 over 100k.			
		445 over 30k.			
		8 knights			

"Grand total, 692,246.32578 *koku*; *zhū-chū* 12,745 men,<sup>15</sup>—9,125 fief-holders,<sup>14</sup>  
3,185 one-place takers<sup>13</sup> (including 90 receivers of rice allowances);  
235 churches; 489 knights;  
of these:—

*taka* owing military service (*gun-yaku kata*),—490,009.13243 *koku*, inclusive of the  
*taka* of the governor (*koku-shi*) of Ryū-kyū [islands];  
church and temple domains,—10,729.953, for 235 [institutions];  
the lord's domains, inclusive of the islands,—195,671.94283;  
the castles and residences,—6,565.2505;  
deficient, probably because the places not yet placed under the  
lord's control<sup>16</sup> and the *uki* places have not been examined,—

7,609.51449.

"Kwan-ei 16 y., *tsuchinoto u*, 12 m. [January-February 1640]. The *Taka* Office."

<sup>1</sup> See the introduction to No. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *De-gin*, silver to render.

<sup>3</sup> *Age-chi*, land [*i.e.*, *taka*] to present.

<sup>4</sup> *Yaku-bun*, emolument given during the tenure of an official position.

<sup>5</sup> The 57th in a cycle.

<sup>6</sup> See No. 152, n. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Buddhist priest attached to the Shintō temple.

<sup>8</sup> Shintō.

<sup>9</sup> *Iri-ban shū*, literally, group or company (*shū*) entered into (*iri*) rotation (*ban*). *Ban* probably means the organization of men stationed at Kagoshima, who were divided into groups called *ban* (*Iriki-in* genealogy, n. 57). *Iri-ban shū*, then, may be those *shū-chū* of *to-zhō* who were called away to service at Kagoshima.

<sup>10</sup> *Iriki-in* Shigeyori, the eighteenth lord.

<sup>11</sup> The original copyist's note.

<sup>12</sup> *Kiri-mai tori*. The appearance of these men is of special institutional importance, (see No. 151).

<sup>13</sup> *Ikka sho tori*; see the next note.

<sup>14</sup> *Chi-gyō mochi* and *ikka sho tori*. The distinction between the two classes may be that the *chi-gyō mochi* (fief-holders) had land-holdings assigned to them, but the taxes from them were collected into the central granary of Kagoshima or of the *to-zhō* and thence distributed to the men; and that the *ikka sho tori* (one-place takers), on the other hand, each held a single place and took his income directly from it. An example of a small *chi-gyō mochi* was given in No. 152 B. At any event, it is clear that the latter class should never be confused with the *issho mochi*, lords of domains in the harony. An *ikka sho tori* was a small *samurai*; an *issho mochi*, a great lord.

<sup>15</sup> In a letter from the government of the harony addressed to the haron's councillors at Edo, dated Kwan-ei 6 y. 11 m. 21 d. (4 January 1630), occur the following numbers:—

"The Kagoshima *shū*, 962 men;  
the *to-zhō shū*, 8,760 men;  
total, 9,712 [*sic*] men." SK, supp., XI.

<sup>16</sup> *On shi hai*.

154. RECORDS OF THE *TO-ZHŌ* AND *SHI-RYŌ*, 1756-c. 1800

THROUGHOUT the Tokugawa period, the family of the Iriki-in continued to adopt men of the Shimadzu as heirs, when its lords had no male issue. Thus were the twentieth lord Shigekata (d. 1675), the twenty-first, Norishige (1682-1699), the twenty-second, Shigenori (1671-1735), the twenty-fourth, Sadakatsu (1736-1781), and the twenty-seventh Sadatsune (1793-1851), all kin of the baron. In the following document B, dating some time after 1805, Sadatsune will be found enumerated among the lords related to the ruling stock.<sup>1</sup> This intimate relation by blood was probably the reason why the house of the Iriki-in, with its memories of the past, remained subservient to the Shimadzu and meekly submitted to the reductions of its fortune which were, as will be seen below, inflicted upon it by the latter. It may, of course, be pointed out that the Iriki-in, like all other *ryō-shu* under the puissant baron at Kagoshima, had no choice but to acquiesce in all arrangements be chose to impose upon them. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was probably considered likely that restraining measures would stir less animosity in the baron's own kin than in a vassal totally unrelated to him by blood. And we should surmise that, for that very reason, the vassals of the Iriki-in lord may have expected a favorable treatment of their master at the hands of the baron, and accordingly were inclined to resent all the more the policy of repression the latter seemed deliberately to pursue against the lord's family. Cordial outward relations doubtlessly subsisted between the two through the succeeding generations, but we should imagine that no love was lost between the baron's councillors at Kagoshima and Edo and the lord's vassals at Kiyosbiki.

It will be remembered that after 1613 Shigetaka was at once *ji-tō* of the Kiyosbiki *to-zhō* and lord of the Iriki domain, and that his charges and his own vassals lived promiscuously in the same community; his successive heirs Shigemichi (1608-1632) and Shigeyori (1629-1667) seem also to have served as *ji-tō* in the same manner, while likewise inheriting the lordship. The annoying confusion which the arrangement must have entailed was remedied by the baron, in April 1659, when the *to-zhō* and the *shi-ryō* of Iriki were totally separated, geographically as well as institutionally: the six *mura*, Tō-no-bara, Icbiino, Naka-mura, Ku-jū, Kusu-moto, and Kura-no, were organized into the *to-zhō* of Kiyoshiki, and the *zhū-chū*, 179 *samurai* in all, according to the number given in the *Ketō in shi*, were transferred to Tō-no-hara, the new *gō* of the *to-zhō*. The remaining two *mura*, Ura-no-myō and Soēda, to which was retained the name Iriki *in*, were defined as the hereditary domain of the lord.<sup>2</sup> This established the exclusive spheres of the *to-zhō* and the *shi-ryō*, but the nomenclature adopted in 1659 was unfortunate, since "Kiyosbiki" was the historic name of the site of the family in Iriki *in*, coinciding in part with Ura-no-myō *mura*, and should in no way apply to Tō-no-bara. On the petition of Iriki-in Shigeharu (1651-1682), therefore, the two *mura* of his domain regained the name Kiyoshiki, in June 1681, and to the *to-zhō* was extended the appellation Hiwaki, the name of the fortress at Tō-no-hara.<sup>2</sup> In the document A, of 1756, the *to-zhō* appears under that name.

The separation in 1639 of the *to-zhō* and the *shi-ryō* was probably an occasion for the loss by the Iriki-in lord of the *ji-tō*-ship of the former; at any rate Shigenori (1671-1735) was *ji-tō* of Chōsa, and Sadakatsu (1736-1781), that of Kurino. The *to-zhō* over which their predecessors had been *ji-tō* now, in one part, had another *ji-tō* and, in another, had been incorporated into the new domain of a strange lord.<sup>3</sup> The contracted domain of Kiyoshiki was a mere fraction of the territory controlled by the Iriki-in at the height of their power, under Shigetoshi and Shigetomo, in the early sixteenth century, and a moiety of even the moderate domain granted at the rehabilitation of the house in the *in*. Measured in *koku*, the domain could have once been little short of 15,000; in 1614, it still was 6,287, (see No. 152 A); in the *taka*-register of 1632, it had been reduced to 4,489.<sup>4</sup> In 1724, although the nominal *taka* was 5,117 *koku*, the domain had contained permanently damaged tracts; in order to remedy this defect, the baron granted lands in Kamo assessed at 113 *koku*, in Chōsa at 102, and in Tō-no-hara at 1,000.<sup>2</sup> It is not known whether with the new grants the total real *taka* was brought up to the nominal, or how long the outside domains were held. About that time Iriki measured nearly thirty miles in circuit<sup>5</sup> along its tortuously undulating boundaries, and contained a mountainous area over which were sparsely dotted bits of arable land; even today the *hata* still exceeds the *ta* in extent (910 to 602 *chō*). When the baron Yoshitaka retired into the new mansion built at Iso, on the coast directly north of Kagoshima, Iriki-in Tadakatsu was persuaded

in 1739 to contribute nearly a half of his domain at Iriki, to the *taka* of 2,100 *koku*, toward the maintenance of Yoshitaka's villa; twenty years later, on 16 June 1758, 1,000 *koku* of the surrendered land was restored to Sadakatsu.<sup>2</sup> Thus we find that the domain had, about 1800, dwindled to but 3,262 *koku* (B below). It is true that the actual, as distinguished from the official, productive capacity of the domain was probably nearer 5,000 *koku* than 3,200; but, historic as the family was, its vassalage remained undiminished in number. About seven hundred of the nearly one thousand families<sup>6</sup> inhabiting the sphere were those of the dependent *samurai*. There probably were few other instances in the entire Shimadzu *han* of so many unproductive persons living upon so few peasants, or of so small a domain supporting so great a number of vassals. Few *samurai* at Kiyosbiki received a holding larger than thirty *koku*, and the highest office-holder was satisfied with a *kado* of twenty-five *koku*. The finances were on so diminutive a scale that, at the annual distribution of rice allowances, there was little need of a central granary or of an accounting by means of credit checks, such as were in use in other domains, but actual quantities of rice were directly carried from the fields into the dwellings of the vassals. Despite this state of perpetual stringency, the lord of Kiyosbiki was obliged to maintain at Kagoshima, like the more opulent lords in the barony, his rather extensive residence which saw fifty or more persons in one capacity or another in daily attendance.<sup>7</sup>

The administrative organization was simple, although it could well have been simpler, had it not been for the need of maintaining an appearance of respectability as a domain, in spite of its meager resources. In 1699, there were three *yaku-nin* as general administrators, one *tori-harai yaku*, treasurer, two assistants (*gyō-zhi*) and two clerks (*hissha*); village affairs were under the supervision of two *kōri mi-me* (inspectors of rural districts) and two assistants, supplemented by an inspector of woods and bamboo-groves (*chiku-boku mi-me*). The peasants of the two *mura*, Ura-no-myō and Soēda, had each their head known in common with village-chiefs in other places as *shō-ya*.<sup>8</sup>

## A

(*Sasshū bun-gen chō*, 1756, copied in 1845.)

The first part, in which the lords and the Kagoshima *shū-chū*, all classed according to rank or office, and the *taka* of their domains or rice allowances, are given, is here omitted. This part is concluded with the following lines:—

“From the lord's personal guard<sup>9</sup> down to the middle *ko-shō*:<sup>10</sup>

167 *samurai*, between 500 and 100 *koku*,—24,110 *koku*;

13 *samurai*, between 195 and 100 bales<sup>12</sup> [of rice allowances<sup>11</sup>],—1515 bales of treasury rice;

1,543 *samurai*, between 99 and 10 *koku*,—29,369 *koku*;

1,479 *samurai*, between 50 and 20 bales,—43,615 bales of treasury rice

“The companies (*kumi*) of Kagoshima:

284 *samurai*, 27 bales [each],—7,668 bales of treasury rice.

“Total *taka*, 304,125<sup>13</sup> *koku*;

total treasury rice [used as allowances], 66,134<sup>13</sup> bales.”

“The *gō-shi*.<sup>14</sup>

“Satsuma *kuni*:—

Kagoshima <i>kōri</i> ,	618 <i>koku</i> [for]	152 <i>samurai</i> at Yoshida <i>gō</i> ;
Taniyama <i>kōri</i> ,	1,407 <i>koku</i> [for]	339 <i>samurai</i> at Taniyama <i>gō</i> ;
Ibusuki <i>kōri</i> ,	1,686 <i>koku</i> [for]	318 <i>samurai</i> at Ibusuki <i>gō</i> ,
	680 <i>koku</i> [for]	73 <i>samurai</i> at Yamakawa <i>gō</i> ;
Ei <i>kōri</i> ,	1,035 <i>koku</i> [for]	364 <i>samurai</i> at Ei <i>gō</i> ;
Kawanabe <i>kōri</i> ,	1,069 <i>koku</i> [for]	220 <i>samurai</i> at Kawanabe <i>gō</i> ,
	2,552 <i>koku</i> [for]	553 <i>samurai</i> at Kaseda <i>gō</i> ,
	258 <i>koku</i> [for]	90 <i>samurai</i> at Yamada <i>gō</i> ,

	1,710 <i>koku</i> [for]	46 <i>samurai</i> at Bō-Tomari <i>gō</i> ,
	111 <i>koku</i> [for]	69 <i>samurai</i> at Kushi-Akime <i>gō</i> ;
Ada <i>kōri</i> ,	730 <i>koku</i> [for]	225 <i>samurai</i> at Ada <i>gō</i> ,
	479 <i>koku</i> [for]	218 <i>samurai</i> at Tafuse <i>gō</i> ,
	1,405 <i>koku</i> [for]	394 <i>samurai</i> at Isaku <i>gō</i> ;
Hioki <i>kōri</i> ,	1,729 <i>koku</i> [for]	246 <i>samurai</i> at Izhūin <i>gō</i> ,
	362 <i>koku</i> [for]	124 <i>samurai</i> at Kōriyama <i>gō</i> ,
	1,123 <i>koku</i> [for]	272 <i>samurai</i> at Ichiku <i>gō</i> ,
	804 <i>koku</i> [for]	227 <i>samurai</i> at Kushikino <i>gō</i> ;
Satsuma <i>kōri</i> ,	251 <i>koku</i> [for]	64 <i>samurai</i> at Momotsugi <i>gō</i> ,
	297 <i>koku</i> [for]	80 <i>samurai</i> at Yamada <i>gō</i> ,
	870 <i>koku</i> [for]	267 <i>samurai</i> at Kuma-no-zhō <i>gō</i> ,
	155 <i>koku</i> [for]	98 <i>samurai</i> at Takaé <i>gō</i> ,
	89 <i>koku</i> [for]	70 <i>samurai</i> at Nakaé <i>gō</i> ,
	523 <i>koku</i> [for]	243 <i>samurai</i> at Higashié <i>gō</i> ,
	801 <i>koku</i> [for]	189 <i>samurai</i> at Hiwaki <i>gō</i> ;
Isaku <i>kōri</i> ,	189 <i>koku</i> [for]	84 <i>samurai</i> at Yamazaki <i>gō</i> ,
	352 <i>koku</i> [for]	93 <i>samurai</i> at Tsuruda <i>gō</i> ,
	428 <i>koku</i> [for]	138 <i>samurai</i> at Ōmura <i>gō</i> ,
	2,439 <i>koku</i> [for]	382 <i>samurai</i> at Ōguchi <i>gō</i> ,
	345 <i>koku</i> [for]	148 <i>samurai</i> at Hatzuki <i>gō</i> ,
	319 <i>koku</i> [for]	104 <i>samurai</i> at Yamano <i>gō</i> ;
Idzumi <i>kōri</i> ,	5,513 <i>koku</i> [for]	1,004 <i>samurai</i> at Idzumi <i>gō</i> ,
	828 <i>koku</i> [for]	306 <i>samurai</i> at Takaono <i>gō</i> ,
	352 <i>koku</i> [for]	178 <i>samurai</i> at Noda <i>gō</i> ,
	700 <i>koku</i> [for]	321 <i>samurai</i> at Nagashima <i>gō</i> ,
	914 <i>koku</i> [for]	215 <i>samurai</i> at Akune <i>gō</i> ;
Taki <i>kōri</i> ,	464 <i>koku</i> [for]	242 <i>samurai</i> at Taki <i>gō</i> ,
	1,206 <i>koku</i> [for]	159 <i>samurai</i> at Midzuhiki <i>gō</i> ;
Koshiki-zhima <i>kōri</i> ,	708 <i>koku</i> [for]	424 <i>samurai</i> at Koshiki-zhima <i>gō</i> .

“Ōsumi *kuni*:—

Ōsumi <i>kōri</i> ,	524 <i>koku</i> [for]	512 <i>samurai</i> at Sakura-zhima <i>gō</i> ,
	241 <i>koku</i> [for]	162 <i>samurai</i> at Ushine <i>gō</i> ,
	106 <i>koku</i> [for]	188 <i>samurai</i> at Ō-nezhime <i>gō</i> ,
	317 <i>koku</i> [for]	278 <i>samurai</i> at Ko-nezhime <i>gō</i> ,
	60 <i>koku</i> [for]	179 <i>samurai</i> at Sada <i>gō</i> ,
	191 <i>koku</i> [for]	142 <i>samurai</i> at Tashiro <i>gō</i> ;
Kimotsuki <i>kōri</i> ,	227 <i>koku</i> [for]	60 <i>samurai</i> at Uchi-no-ura <i>gō</i> ,
	1,770 <i>koku</i> [for]	226 <i>samurai</i> at Kōyama <i>gō</i> ,
	492 <i>koku</i> [for]	78 <i>samurai</i> at Era <i>gō</i> ,
	324 <i>koku</i> [for]	115 <i>samurai</i> at Ō-aira <i>gō</i> ,
	912 <i>koku</i> [for]	127 <i>samurai</i> at Kanoya <i>gō</i> ,
	615 <i>koku</i> [for]	156 <i>samurai</i> at Kushira <i>gō</i> ,



	403 <i>oku</i> [for]	49 <i>samurai</i> at Takakuma <i>gō</i> ,
	734 <i>oku</i> [for]	185 <i>samurai</i> at Mobiki <i>gō</i> ;
So no <i>kōri</i> ,	610 <i>oku</i> [for]	118 <i>samurai</i> at Tsuneyoshi <i>gō</i> ,
	2,535 <i>oku</i> [for]	416 <i>samurai</i> at Suēyoshi <i>gō</i> ,
	1,344 <i>oku</i> [for]	420 <i>samurai</i> at Takarabe <i>gō</i> ,
	746 <i>oku</i> [for]	206 <i>samurai</i> at Fukuyama <i>gō</i> ,
	299 <i>oku</i> [for]	117 <i>samurai</i> at Shikine <i>gō</i> ,
	4,913 <i>oku</i> [for]	385 <i>samurai</i> at Kokubu <i>gō</i> ,
	641 <i>oku</i> [for]	266 <i>samurai</i> at Kiyomidzu <i>gō</i> ,
	592 <i>oku</i> [for]	269 <i>samurai</i> at So-no- <i>kōri</i> <i>gō</i> ;
Kuwabara <i>kōri</i> ,	364 <i>oku</i> [for]	127 <i>samurai</i> at Odori <i>gō</i> ,
	327 <i>oku</i> [for]	90 <i>samurai</i> at Hinata-yama <i>gō</i> ,
	462 <i>oku</i> [for]	148 <i>samurai</i> at Yokogawa <i>gō</i> ,
	777 <i>oku</i> [for]	234 <i>samurai</i> at Kurino <i>gō</i> ,
	504 <i>oku</i> [for]	223 <i>samurai</i> at Yoshimatsu <i>gō</i> ;
Hishigari <i>kōri</i>	258 <i>oku</i> [for]	135 <i>samurai</i> at Yunowo <i>gō</i> ,
	287 <i>oku</i> [for]	124 <i>samurai</i> at Magoshi <i>gō</i> ,
	283 <i>oku</i> [for]	98 <i>samurai</i> at Sogi <i>gō</i> ,
	401 <i>oku</i> [for]	175 <i>samurai</i> at Hon-zhō <i>gō</i> ;
Aira <i>kōri</i> ,	257 <i>oku</i> [for]	93 <i>samurai</i> at Mizobe <i>gō</i> ,
	981 <i>oku</i> [for]	361 <i>samurai</i> at Chōsa <i>gō</i> ,
	376 <i>oku</i> [for]	167 <i>samurai</i> at Yamada <i>gō</i> ,
	2,106 <i>oku</i> [for]	479 <i>samurai</i> at Kamo <i>gō</i> .

“In Murakata *kōri*, Hiuga *kuni*:—

757 <i>oku</i> [for]	308 <i>samurai</i> at Ōsaki <i>gō</i> ;
2,666 <i>oku</i> [for]	403 <i>samurai</i> at Shibushi <i>gō</i> ;
510 <i>oku</i> [for]	97 <i>samurai</i> at Matsuyama <i>gō</i> ;
581 <i>oku</i> [for]	52 <i>samurai</i> at Katsuoka <i>gō</i> ;
693 <i>oku</i> [for]	115 <i>samurai</i> at Yamanokuchi <i>gō</i> ;
1,244 <i>oku</i> [for]	206 <i>samurai</i> at Taka-zhō <i>gō</i> ;
1,175 <i>oku</i> [for]	224 <i>samurai</i> at Mukasa <i>gō</i> ;
411 <i>oku</i> [for]	102 <i>samurai</i> at Kuraoka <i>gō</i> ;
7,967 <i>oku</i> [for]	690 <i>samurai</i> at Takaoka <i>gō</i> ;
979 <i>oku</i> [for]	282 <i>samurai</i> at Aya <i>gō</i> ;
1,015 <i>oku</i> [for]	271 <i>samurai</i> at Nozhiri <i>gō</i> ;
738 <i>oku</i> [for]	163 <i>samurai</i> at Takabaru <i>gō</i> ;
328 <i>oku</i> [for]	137 <i>samurai</i> at Takasaki <i>gō</i> ;
1,181 <i>oku</i> [for]	342 <i>samurai</i> at Kobayashi <i>gō</i> ;
449 <i>oku</i> [for]	210 <i>samurai</i> at Suki <i>gō</i> ;
2,020 <i>oku</i> [for]	338 <i>samurai</i> at Iino <i>gō</i> ;
773 <i>oku</i> [for]	268 <i>samurai</i> at Kakuto <i>gō</i> ;
238 <i>oku</i> [for]	94 <i>samurai</i> at Makwanda <i>gō</i> ;
250 <i>oku</i> [for]	145 <i>samurai</i> at Yoshida <i>gō</i> .



4,922 *koku*  
190 bales of treasury rice

[for] 253 *zhi* and *in*.  
5 *zhi* and *in*.

"46,150 bales of treasury rice [for] 1,846 *ashi-garu*,<sup>22</sup>  
23,400 bales of treasury rice [for] 1,300 men without family-names.<sup>23</sup>  
"98,000 *koku* [for] the Chū-san *wō*,<sup>24</sup> Ryū-kyū.

"Total *taka*, 105,920 *koku*;  
total rice allowances, 69,965 bales;  
support for the *he-ya zumai*<sup>25</sup> is never granted.

"Grand total *taka*, 495,500 *koku*;  
grand total rice allowances, 149,099 bales, containing 2 *to* each,  
being 29,819.8 *koku*;  
reduced in *taka* in *koku*, 85,199.428, at 35 per cent.

"Total of the two items, *taka*, 580,699.428 *koku*.

"The statement is made thus.

"Revised Hō-reki 6 y., *Hinoé ne*,<sup>26</sup> 10 m. [November 1756].

"Copied in the middle of the 9 m., Kō-kwa 2 y. *kinoto mi*,<sup>27</sup>  
[November 1845] Matsui Noriharu, (seal)."

## B

(*Satsuma jū-do ki*, I.)

This is an unofficial record, whose accuracy the editor does not vouch for. The document is undated, but was apparently written some time after 1805.

"The lord's relatives:<sup>28</sup>

Kajiki,	<i>taka</i> 10,554.99043 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu <i>Hyō-go dono</i> ;
Miyako-no-zhō,	25,305 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Tetsu-kuma <i>dono</i> ,
		.....; <sup>29</sup>
Tarumidzu,	17,455.005 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Bitchū <i>dono</i> ;
Ima-idzumi,	10,593 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Inaba <i>dono</i> ;
Shigeta,	13,962 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Hizen <i>dono</i> ;
Miya-no-zhō,	15,310 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu <i>To-sho dono</i> ;
Tane-ga-shima,	13,705 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Ryū-no-suke <i>dono</i> ;
Hioki,	7,659 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Yamashiro <i>dono</i> .

"These are the lord's kinsmen, being *dai-myō*<sup>30</sup> without services.<sup>31</sup>

"[The holders of domains to be] held exclusively by the lord's relatives:<sup>32</sup>

Kiire,	<i>taka</i> 5,762 <i>koku</i> ,—	Kimotsuki <i>Dan-zhō dono</i> ;
Chirami,	5,400 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Moku <i>dono</i> ;
Kago,	3,745 <i>koku</i> ,—	Kiire Shume <i>dono</i> ;
Nagayoshi,	4,282 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Tonomo <i>dono</i> ;
Yoshitoshi,	4,432 <i>koku</i> ,—	Kohashi Tatewaki <i>dono</i> ;
Hiranuma,	2,480 <i>koku</i> ,—	Hongo Shō-zen <i>dono</i> ;

Iriki,	3,262 <i>koku</i> ,—	Iriki-in Iwami <i>dono</i> ;
Suzumeda,	1,650 <i>koku</i> ,—	Yokoyama Sa-kyō <i>dono</i> ;
Kuroki,	1,228 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Nai-zen <i>dono</i> ;
Sashi,	2,632 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Sa-chū <i>dono</i> ;
Shin-zhō,	4,214 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Kura <i>dono</i> ;
Hanazono,	5,125 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu Dai-gaku <i>dono</i> ;
Ichiku,	1,692 <i>koku</i> ,—	Shimadzu U-zen <i>dono</i> .

"These owe no services;<sup>31</sup> the lord's relatives.<sup>33</sup>

"Chiefs of the *zhū-chū* of the elders of the Shimadzu house:<sup>34</sup>

Kawakami <i>dono</i> ,	Yoshioka <i>dono</i> ,	Kabayama <i>dono</i> ,	Niuro <i>dono</i> ,
Nikaidō <i>dono</i> ,	Akamatsu <i>dono</i> ,	Yoshida <i>dono</i> ,	Ichida <i>dono</i> ,
Kawada [?] <i>dono</i> ,	Izhūin <i>dono</i> ,	Miyabara <i>dono</i> ,	Kamada <i>dono</i> ,
Shimadzu Noboru [?] <i>dono</i> .			

"These are called the lord's *dai-myō*.<sup>30</sup>

"Besides [these], *go ke-nin*<sup>35</sup> and *samurai* receiving *taka*, more than 19,000 men, *gō-shi* in *mura* of the various *kuni*.

"Total number of *samurai*, more than 57,000 men;  
total *taka*, 333,247.276 *koku*.

"Men of the *to-zhō*,  
*taka*, 111,455.113 *koku*.

"Total *taka* of Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga, and Ryū-kyū, 871,845.1034 *koku*.

"Taka of Shintō temples and Buddhist churches, 15,210 *koku*.

"Added to mountains, seas, rivers, and islands, the total is about three million [*koku*].<sup>36</sup> However, the best part of the islands is excepted, whose [*taka*] is unknown. Also, profits of the trading vessels<sup>37</sup> are excluded; the value of foreign goods<sup>38</sup> is unknown."

<sup>1</sup> In an order of 1638 relative to the military service of the Amakusa campaign, the Iriki-in lord is one of the six ministers of the baron signing the decree: SK, supp., XXIX.

<sup>2</sup> The Iriki-in genealogy.

<sup>3</sup> *Ketō in shi*.

<sup>4</sup> SK, supp., XVI.

<sup>5</sup> *Iriki sō-mawari narabi ni fumoto shō-jī made no nawa-biki chō*, ms., dated 1699. The register of the present Iriki *mura* gives its area as 4,045 *chō*.

<sup>6</sup> Today Iriki *mura*, consisting of the same territory as in 1659, is inhabited by 1285 families, of which some 630 are of the *samurai*'s descendants; the population at the end of 1921 was 3967 males and 4019 females, total 7986.

<sup>7</sup> These data were gathered personally by the editor in 1919 at Iriki from surviving ex-*samurai* and old residents.

<sup>8</sup> *Iriki sō-mawari*, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Uma-mawari*, literally, around [the lord's] horse.

<sup>10</sup> *Ko-shō*, see No. 152, n. 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Kura-mai*, literally, rice of the warehouses, meaning rice allowances distributed from the baron's storehouses. The process was usually simplified by means of tickets and checks.

<sup>12</sup> *Hyō* or *tawara*, bales made of straw. The size of a bale varied in different parts of Japan, the commonest size containing 3 or 3½ *to* of hulled rice. In the Shimadzu barony, the official bail at this period held 2 *to*.

<sup>13</sup> These are the totals of all the amounts recorded up to this point in the document.

<sup>14</sup> The same as the *shū-chū* of the *to-zhō*; see No. 152.

<sup>15</sup> *Ji-kata*, relating to land-holdings.

<sup>16</sup> *Roku*, emolument.

<sup>17</sup> *Zhîn-zha* or *sha* and *gū* were different customary grades of Shintō temples, *gū* being considered the more distinguished.

<sup>18</sup> *Bettō*, priest in charge of the Buddhist house connected with the Shintō temple. It will be remembered that many a Shintō temple had a Buddhist church attached to it, whose priests administered the worldly affairs of the former and performed Buddhist rites for its deity.

<sup>19</sup> *Tō-shō gū* (so called after 1645; previously called *Tō-shō dai gon-gen*) was the Shintō temple dedicated to the spirit of Tokugawa Iéyasu. The central temple was built at Nikkō in 1617. Subsequently, all baronies built *Tō-shō gū*.

<sup>20</sup> *Dai-zhō in* was established at Kagoshima in 1571, and was constituted a church of prayer (*ki-gwan sho*) for the Shimadzu.

<sup>21</sup> *Bo-dai sho*, churches in which the *bodhi* (Japanese, *bo-dai*), enlightenment and salvation, of ancestral spirits of the family was prayed for.

<sup>22</sup> *Ashi-garu*, literally, "foot-light" or "light foot," warriors on foot of the lower rank.

<sup>23</sup> *Myō-zhi* or *sei*, family-names, could be borne usually only by persons above the *samurai* rank.

<sup>24</sup> *Wō*, Chinese *wang*, king.

<sup>25</sup> *He-ya zumai*, literally, "dwellers in rooms," were minors receiving no stipends.

<sup>26</sup> The thirteenth of the cycle.

<sup>27</sup> The forty-second.

<sup>28</sup> *Go ka-mon kata*.

<sup>29</sup> A note is omitted.

<sup>30</sup> *Dai-myō*, literally, "great names," probably meant at first great (*dai*) holders of *myō-den*, (see No. 7). In the Tokugawa period, the word technically meant barons whose fiefs had *taka* more than 10,000 *koku*. It is used here, however, in the sense of great lords under the Shimadzu baron.

<sup>31</sup> What service (*yaku*) is meant cannot be determined.

<sup>32</sup> The whole phrase is: *Go ka-mon mochi-kiri kata*.

<sup>33</sup> *Go ka-mon shū*.

<sup>34</sup> *Ke*, "household"; this means following by ties of vassalage, not members of the baron's family.

<sup>35</sup> *Go ke-nin*, the term used in the earlier periods for the *shō-gun's* immediate vassals, as distinguished from his rear-vassals. Here the word seems to mean some of the baron's direct vassals of a lower rank. For the *go-kenin* of the Tokugawa *shō-gun*, see *Introduction to the history of Japan*, by Prof. K. Hara, p. 294.

<sup>36</sup> This is extravagant. It is certain that the real wealth of the Shimadzu barony, inclusive of the islands, exceeded the official figures, despite the fact that its finances were not always affluent and its inhabitants habitually practised strict economy in their private life. A note in a manuscript sketch-book called *An-sei Bun-kyū zassho*, the *taka* of the entire barony is estimated roughly as 9,800,000 *koku*, including probably all the items whose *taka* is not estimated in the present document.

<sup>37</sup> Satsuma continued trade relations with *Ryū-kyū* and China; its profits must have been considerable.

<sup>38</sup> *Tō-motsu*, literally, Chinese things, but really meaning all foreign wares.

## 155. DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE PASSING OF THE OLD RÉGIME, 1869-1870

AFTER 1800 till the downfall of the feudal régime in 1867-1868, there is little of interest to record of Iriki. The twenty-seventh lord Sadatsune was succeeded by Sadayoshi(?), 1822-1889, and Kimihiro, 1836-1871. During their lifetime supervened the great revolution of the empire.

This is not a place to recount the stirring events which followed the forcible opening of Japan to the outer world in 1854, and which culminated fourteen years later in the surrender to the emperor by the Tokugawa *shō-gun* of all his political power. Nor shall we tarry to describe the prominent part which was taken in this great national upheaval by the Shimadzu lords and their followers: they were among the chief destroyers of the Tokugawa rule and makers of the new régime. These things belong to the history of the Japanese nation as a whole.



However, the sudden and sweeping changes that came over the institutions at Iriki occurred at the same moment in all parts of the country. With a view, therefore, to revealing a little of the broad background of these changes, we have selected a few documents of large bearing which are of the utmost significance in this brief period of national revolution. The document A, undated but probably written in the middle of 1867, is a memorandum prepared by the *shō-gun's* council in order to acquaint the diplomatic agents of foreign Powers, with whom it had been thrown into active contact, with the peculiar semi-feudal polity of Japan, its origin, its justification, and the general outline of its organization. This singular document was probably penned by some one who, being somewhat more familiar than his colleagues with the European way of understanding, tried, to the best of his ability, to adapt his language to the main purpose of his composition. The terms *mikado*,<sup>1</sup> for the emperor, and *tai-kun*,<sup>2</sup> for the *shō-gun*, were deliberately used throughout, for, informal and improper as these words were, they had already gained currency among the foreigners. Despite the shortcomings of the document, which were largely due to its peculiar aims and its unwonted manner of presentation, it would be difficult to find another piece of writing in existence which reveals more intimately and more accurately the point of view of the shogunate at the moment when it was struggling desperately for existence. It will be most instructive to compare the ideas of this memorandum with those of C.

By the document B, dated later in 1867, the last of the Tokugawa *shō-gun*, Yoshinohu,<sup>3</sup> yielded his government of Japan to the emperor two hundred and sixty-seven years after its assumption by his ancestor Iéyasu (No. 151). Behind the cramped language of this memorial, an observant eye should detect a psychological cause which, furthered by a series of unfortunate events which the writer could hardly control, resulted in the next year in his forced retirement and complete effacement from the subsequent political life of the nation. To these events we have no space to refer. (It should be added here that, on 13 July of this year, the government granted to Iésato, the heir of Yoshinohu, 700,000 *koku* of land, consisting of the whole of Suruga and parts of Tōtōmi and Mutsu.)

When the new government came into existence in 1867, it was embarrassed by its extremely meager financial resources, while the colossal task of national reconstruction which confronted it was as costly as it was difficult. The government had a direct control over lands whose annual productivity was registered as only seven and a half million *koku*, out of the total *taka* of more than thirty million of feudal Japan, and could derive only two million *koku* of yearly revenue;<sup>4</sup> for the greater part of the economic land of the realm was in the hands of the local harons. (At the same time, the income from the customs duties was inconsiderable: the Western Powers had imposed upon Japan a customs tariff which had been dictated by the interest of the foreign trader.) It was at this juncture, early in 1869, that the harons of Satsuma, Nagato (Chō-shū), Hizen, and Tosa, proposed voluntarily to yield their hereditary domains to the imperial government. The document C is the joint memorial which these high-spirited lords presented to the throne; therein is recorded their devotion to the enlightened policy of national unity and centralized government,<sup>38</sup> with which, in their clear vision, the feudal territorial rule in the form in which it still existed under the new government seemed incompatible. By the document D, the imperial council accepted the offer of the Shimadzu haron, at the same time granting him a *taka* of 100,000 *koku* (F), and appointing his uncle<sup>46</sup> governor of the old baronial territory (E). The worthy example set by these four was soon followed by other harons, and the rest were ordered to do the same, between 1869 and 1870.

All the harons (*dai-myō*) of the country, as well as the civil nobles (*ku-gyō*) of the imperial court, were now classed together as the *kwa-zoku* (literally, flower families), and the harons' vassals of all grades were called *shi-zoku* and *sotsu-zoku* (families of *samurai* and of lower warriors; later the term *sotsu-zoku* was discontinued). The barons, like the Shimadzu, were appointed governor (*chihan-zhi* or *han chi-zhi*) of their recent fiefs (*han*), receiving annuities equivalent for the most part to about a tenth of their former incomes from the *taka*. The haron-governors exercised discretion in providing for the *shi-zoku* in their respective spheres out of their own annuities and of those specially appropriated by the government for that purpose. The document G regarding Iriki-in Kimihiro is an illustration.

This anomalous condition was quickly changed, for the maintenance of the 263 *han* and their hereditary chiefs, even in their altered status, was incongruous with the spirit of the new age that

bad dawned. The *han* were abolished in 1871, and, in their place, 3 *fu* (great cities) and 301 *ken* (prefectures) were organized, the latter being reduced later in the year to 72; and the baron-governors were relieved of their official duties, and required to have their residences in Tokyo, the former seat of the shogunate but now the imperial Capital.<sup>47</sup>

Since all the old barons and *samurai* had given up their domains and emoluments by 1876, it had become incumbent upon the government to recompense them in some manner. This was at first done by means of annuities and public bonds. Although the various baronies characteristically reported that their old annual revenues had been only 22.6 million *yen* in value, while their actual incomes could hardly have been less than 34.5 million, the burden assumed by the new government of supporting the old feudal classes was onerous even at the former rate, amounting in 1876, for example, to nearly 30 per cent of the total revenue from all sources. In that year, all the annuities were definitively converted to public bonds, which aggregated the face-value of some 175 million *yen*, and yielded an annual income of 17.5 million for 323,445 persons, including about 5.2 million *yen* for 552 *kwa-zoku* and 12.2 million for 310,071 *shi-zoku*.<sup>5</sup> The bonds were redeemable in thirty years, and bore interests ranging from five to seven per cent for five to fourteen years according to the income of the holder, the smaller holders receiving the more favorable considerations. Supplementary pension bonds bearing a five per cent interest, redeemable between 1910 and 1959, to the total amount of 286,300 *yen*, were issued in 1905 for those former feudal persons who had received grossly inadequate or no bonds.<sup>6</sup> The new government also assumed the debts of the old *han* contracted between 1844 and 1872, which were about 23.4 million *yen*; for these, too, bonds of different terms were issued.<sup>7</sup> The old annuities, the values of the pension bonds, and the loan bonds just referred to, together amounted to 233.9 million *yen*; and that was the pecuniary price which the new régime paid to the old for its legacy of domanial land and population.

The old commoners have been designated *hei-min*; and were recognized as the legal owners of the lands which they had been cultivating under their titles as *hyaku-shō*. The class divisions of the *kwaō-zoku* (members of the imperial families), *kwa-zoku*, *shi-zoku*, and *hei-min*, are, however, only social, for before law all are equal. Iriki-in Kimihiro and his children, therefore, took their places as citizens of the empire on an equal footing with his recent vassals and peasants, though naturally enjoying their deep respect in all social relations. His second successor, Mr. Iriki-in Sbigemitsu, just deceased (1925), was the thirty-first head of the illustrious family whose residence in this spot dates back to the beginning of Japan's feudal ages.

#### A\*

(Tokugawa Yoshinobu *kō den*, VII, 116-122, from the diary of Hirayama Yoshitada.)

"As regards the ancient history of Japan, although its materials are incomplete and it is not possible to learn its detail, [it is known that], after the first [sovereign] Iware-hiko no Mikoto<sup>8</sup> ruled over this land twenty-five centuries ago,<sup>9</sup> the [successive] emperors<sup>1</sup> [continued] for more than a thousand years to govern the country in person.

"Thereafter, as the family of ministers<sup>10</sup> grasped all power, there was a continual turmoil in the various regions, and the people were unable to support themselves. Therefore,<sup>11</sup> the house of Minamoto<sup>12</sup> for the first time rose up. Thenceforward, all powers of land, wealth, arms, and law were wholly entrusted<sup>13</sup> to it, and the emperors have never concerned themselves<sup>14</sup> with them. This is true unto this day, after more than six hundred and eighty years.<sup>15</sup> It is a natural result that, by the will of Heaven and the wishes of men,<sup>11</sup> a totally different world has thus been evolved.<sup>16</sup>

"Since [the rise of] the Minamoto to the present generation, several houses<sup>17</sup> have succeeded one another. During this interval, for about four hundred years,<sup>18</sup> men were scarce who had sufficient virtue<sup>19</sup> to govern the country and save the people, but [chieftains] merely quarreled for ascendancy. Therefore, toward the end of the Ashi-

kaga age, the land was plunged in complete darkness, there being no peaceful day and all people being sunk in utmost suffering.

"That was why Heaven awaited the coming of the Divine Prince Tō-shō,<sup>20</sup> who saved the world and led the people to joy.<sup>21</sup> From his unification till this day, for two hundred and sixty years, all people have sung praises of peace. It is needless to eulogize his high virtue<sup>19</sup> and great deed, which surpassed everything in the past ages.

"The Divine Prince won [the rule of] the country solely and naturally by his high virtue;<sup>19</sup> he did not [simply] inherit the work of the Minamoto and their successors. His statesmanship was broad, and his prowess was great, beyond all things since the beginning of the country; all people obeyed him, as the rivers flow to a lower level, and all classes rejoiced, as if clouds had parted and the sun had been revealed. It was but natural justice that the emperor rewarded his merit with the work of the *tai-kun*<sup>2</sup> which had come down from the house of Minamoto.<sup>21</sup>

"Therefore, the possession of all powers by the Divine Prince was to be compared neither with the arbitrary authority of the ancient family of ministers,<sup>10</sup> who in reality did not command a single warrior or a single foot of territory; nor with the compulsion of the people which the Minamoto and their successors exercised by means of the forces of the chieftains. He truly unified all people, who upheld him as their ruler by common accord.<sup>21</sup>

"After his demise, the *tai-kun* of the day, leading all the *dai-myō* of the land, deified and established his spirit on Mt. Nikkō; the whole nation followed them and gave tributes; the emperor, also, praising his virtue, sent envoys bearing offerings, and conferred the religious title Tō-shō gū.<sup>20</sup> Even now, the emperor does not forget the great service rendered [by the Divine Prince] to the country, but on every anniversary sends envoys and presents offerings, as if to his own ancestral deities; this ceremony is observed to this day. The *dai-myō* also have each in his domain erected temples dedicated to the spirit. All within the realm who are grateful for his grace and virtue<sup>19</sup> have for hundreds of years revered and remembered him, as bereaved children do their loving mother.

"The emperors have not concerned themselves<sup>14</sup> in government already for more than six hundred and eighty years. However, as they have been, since the foundation of the state, the supreme sovereigns following in a single line of divine succession and for ever unalterable, and as they are revered by the nation like heavenly deities, likewise the successive *tai-kun* on occasions lead *dai-myō* and pay them court. The emperor entrusts<sup>13</sup> to the *tai-kun* all political powers, and awaits his decisions in silence; the *tai-kun*, holding all the political powers of the country, maintains the virtue of humility, and upholds the emperor with the utmost respect. This is the foundation of the profound peace of the country.

"More than six hundred years ago, the emperor of the day, being displeased with the control of political power by the military, raised an army and sought to defeat them, but failed.<sup>22</sup> A hundred years thereafter, the same thing occurred, and the military were for a time defeated; but as the imperial rewards and punishments were not just, and as the minds of men had for long been loyal to the military, the emperor again lost power in a few years,<sup>23</sup> and the house of Ashikaga appeared, and controlled politi-

cal power, as the house of Minamoto had done. Thereafter, some chieftains of evil design, knowing that the emperor was the supreme sovereign, tried to uphold him and thereby to realize their ambitions; but, since their acts issued from selfishness, they merely succeeded in disturbing the peace.

"As regards the *dai-myō* of the present day. When formerly the family of ministers<sup>10</sup> abused power and political order was relaxed, great local chiefs rose up in mutual rivalry and attached themselves to the Minamoto; the name *dai-myō* began at that time. But their position was not like that of the present territorial lords.<sup>24</sup> As the house of Ashikaga won the country by means of the forces of the chieftains of the time, it rewarded their services by giving them [rule over] several *kuni*; thus began a territorial rule<sup>24</sup> in a certain measure. After that, the country was split into contending sections, and was plunged into a great turmoil. When the Divine Prince unified them all, he exterminated all the refractory chieftains and retained the obedient, established anew his faithful subjects and relatives, and controlled them all, both great and small, strong and weak. Furthermore, he added a rule of centralized local administration.<sup>25</sup> Founding thus a system of a strong trunk and weak branches, all the nooks and corners of the realm, without the exception of a single foot of land and a single person, were comprised within the control of the *tai-kun*. For this reason, the rule excels in perfection any institution ancient or modern.

"The *dai-myō*, although endued with the power to administer their domains and to guard their territory, are obliged to follow the *tai-kun's* command in all things great and small. Moreover, there are regulations of military service, so that, in case of need, they must raise warriors in response to his summons. In time of peace, [the *dai-myō*] must guard their domains, and must not privately mobilize their forces. They have their houses in Edo, where they maintain their families; they themselves come to Edo and wait upon the *tai-kun* for one year, and for the next year are granted leave and return to their domains to see their government. Neither marriage, majority,<sup>26</sup> succession, nor any other act at a good or ill fortune, can be performed privately in the domains, but all must await the *tai-kun's* sanction by personal attendance at Edo. When the father dies, the son begs to succeed to his estate, and the *tai-kun* orders its confirmation. If [a *dai-myō*] is guilty, he is transferred or dispossessed, according to the *tai-kun's* will. As for the office and rank [of a *dai-myō*], the *tai-kun* recommends him to the emperor according to his merit or his length of service; the emperor only accepts the *tai-kun's* word, and never gives and takes by his own will.

"Since [the rise of] the Divine Prince down to the present *tai-kun*<sup>3</sup> there have been fifteen successive [*tai-kun*]. At each succession, the emperor has sent to Edo court nobles of high rank, who announced that political affairs were entrusted<sup>13</sup> [to the new *tai-kun*] as they had been to his predecessor, and gave formal felicitations. All the *dai-myō* also have tendered congratulations. Then the new *tai-kun* has given to them and all the Shintō temples and Buddhist churches in the country which held land within his domains [charters bearing his] seal in vermilion<sup>27</sup> confirming their possessions as heretofore. The *dai-myō* also have presented letters of oath vowing their single-hearted fealty. Beginning with [the lords of] Kaga<sup>28</sup> and other large *han*, all [the



barons] have had audience with the *tai-kun* as his liege subjects. There has been no departure from these customs.

"The support of the emperor and the family-allowances of the court nobility are all provided by the *tai-kun*, who appoints officials specially charged with this matter, and makes them reside near the emperor and manage this affair.

"The emperors not having concerned themselves<sup>14</sup> with the government of the country for many ages, and many a disturbance having intervened, the palace had fallen in decay, nobles of the court had fled and wandered, and the historic Capital had been laid desolate for hundreds of years. Distressed by this state of things, the Divine Prince promptly rebuilt the palace and restored its former splendor, and increased the family-allowances of the nobles, so that the people for the first time learned the dignity of the emperor. The last *tai-kun*,<sup>29</sup> resuscitating a long-forgotten custom, paid court to the emperor with *dai myō* in the fulness of the ceremony. As for the present *tai-kun*,<sup>3</sup> as he has succeeded to the office after having lived in Kyōto for a long time, the emperor reposes in him special confidence; so that, though some seek to alienate them the one from the other, they hardly know how to apply their evil designs.

"As regards the intercourse of the Japanese government with foreign Powers. Formerly [people of] Portugal, England, and other lands, came; but, since the disturbance of Amakusa,<sup>30</sup> the *tai-kun* of the time issued edicts of exclusion, and permitted trade only to the Chinese and the Hollanders. Korea<sup>31</sup> and Ryū-kyū<sup>31</sup> send envoys and tributes, the business concerning which is entrusted to the *dai-myō* nearest to them. In recent years, countries of the Occident have for the first time concluded treaties with us, and their trade with us is increasing year by year. The present *tai-kun*, with his native ability, promotes the wealth and strength of the nation; therefore, he seeks to deepen our friendship with the Western Powers, and to sweep away obsolete customs and to lead [the nation] to enlightenment. Progress has fairly begun. The Western nations are naturally unfamiliar with conditions in the Oriental countries; especially difficult it must be to understand Japan, different as is her form of government [from that of the Occidental Powers]. For this reason, we have endeavored hereby to give a brief outline of the history since the beginning of our state, to describe how the polity and the peace [of this land] have naturally resulted from its career of the past six hundred years, and to explain the authority of our great work, the principles of our government, and the exact condition of our administration, as obtain under the present *tai-kun* after two hundred and sixty years of the successive rule [of his predecessors]. It is sincerely hoped that the governments and peoples of the world will understand the true state of things in Japan, and, without being misled by momentary and unfounded rumors, will [coöperate with us to] increase our mutual friendship and to promote security and happiness on both sides."

## B

(*Tokugawa Yoshinobu kō den*, VII, 183, from Premier Nijō's memorandum.)

"As Yoshinobu,<sup>3</sup> the subject<sup>32</sup> [of His Imperial Majesty], respectfully examines the history of this country, [he finds that] since of old the Imperial authority was relaxed, the family of ministers<sup>10</sup> assumed power, and, after the wars of Hōgen and Heiji,<sup>33</sup>



political authority was transferred to the military, his ancestor<sup>34</sup> received special Imperial favor, and his children have succeeded one another for more than two hundred years. Although the undersigned has accepted the office [of *shō-gun*], his government and his administration of justice have not a little been at fault. The [difficult] situation of the present day is ultimately due to his deficiency in virtue;<sup>19</sup> for which he is filled with humiliation. Since the increasing intercourse with the foreign Powers renders it all the more obvious that, unless all the authority of government were unified, it would be impossible to secure control, he deems it his utmost service to the state to revise the historic custom and to return<sup>13</sup> his political power to the Imperial Government, to seek exhaustively the public opinion<sup>35</sup> of the country, and, invoking Imperial judgment, to protect the land in common accord with all,<sup>36</sup> so that [the Empire] will assuredly be able to stand side by side with the Powers of the world. He has, however, advised the barons to express themselves if they have any opinion [about his action]. Therefore, he respectfully memorializes thus to the Throne.

"Tenth month fourteenth day [9 November 1867].

Yoshinobu."

### C

(*Dai-zhō kwan nisshi*, for Mei-ji 2y., No. 9; *Shimadzu Hisamitsu kō zhikki*, VII, 1-3; etc.)

"The undersigned subjects<sup>32</sup> [of His Imperial Majesty petition] with reverent obeisance. We respectfully opine that what the Imperial Government should not lose for a single day is its great Polity, and what it should not loan<sup>37</sup> for a single day is its great Authority. The great Polity is: that, since the Heavenly Ancestors for the first time founded the state, the throne has been and shall forever be occupied in a single line of succession; and that, within the realm, there is no territory which is not owned by the Sovereign and no person who is not subject to him. The great Authority is: that [the Imperial Government] has the sole power to give and to take; that it maintains its servants by means of ranks and emoluments; and that no one shall presume privately to own a single foot of land or privately to possess a single person.<sup>38</sup> The ancient Imperial Government controlled the realm exclusively upon these principles; the Sovereign ruled in his sacred person. Therefore, name agreed with reality, and the country was at peace. After the middle ages, when the cord of sovereign rule was once relaxed, those who usurped authority in mutual rivalry infested the Imperial Government, and those who possessed people and seized land filled a half of the country. There resulted a habitual state of struggle and strife, which the Imperial Government, scarcely keeping its Polity and holding its Authority, was unable to control. Forceful men of evil design took advantage of this condition, and the stronger among them devoured the weaker; great [seigneurs] annexed a dozen of *kuni*, while even small [lords] maintained thousands of warriors. As for the *baku-fu*<sup>39</sup> so-called, it apportioned at will land and people among its followers, thereby cultivating its own influence and power. Upon its pleasure was the Imperial Government constrained to depend, merely upholding the insignia of sovereignty. The progress of this evil movement has swept everything before it for more than six hundred years.<sup>15</sup> However, during this interval, men sometimes borrowed<sup>37</sup> rank and office from the Sovereign, in order to disguise their private seizure of land and people; this was because the distinction

between prince and subject had been unalterably established for all time. Now, the rule of the state has been restored anew, and the Sovereign again holds all powers in his hands. This is indeed the rarest of opportunities. It is needful that name should be accompanied by reality. In order to obtain the reality, naught is more important than to make clear the great principles [of state] and to establish the legality [of political conduct]. When the house of Tokugawa rose to power,<sup>40</sup> there were old families [of lords ruling over] a half of the country, and others were raised [to rule over the remainder]; and, no matter whether or not these families had originally received from the Imperial Government the people and land [over which they ruled], they have kept them to this day by the force of long standing custom. Some would say that these had been conquered by the forefathers at the point of the sword; how does such a statement differ from declaring that what one had stolen from an official storehouse by an armed invasion had been won at the risk of death? Every one knows that an intruder into a storehouse is a ruffian, but no one challenges a robber of territory and people; to this pass has come the destruction of legality and principle. Now that [the establishment of] a new régime is being sought, [it is essential that] what the great Polity consists in and the great Authority depends upon should not in the least degree be loaned.<sup>37</sup> The abode where we the undersigned dwell is the Sovereign's land; the people over whom we rule are his people. Why should we privately own them? Now, therefore, we respectfully restore our domains to the Sovereign. We pray that the Imperial Government, according to its judgment, give [of them] what should be given<sup>41</sup> and take [from them] what should be taken away; that then an Imperial command be issued that the domains of all the *han* be reorganized; and also that all the regulations, from the ordering of laws, institutions, and military affairs, even unto the fashioning of uniforms and instruments, issue from the Imperial Government, and the conduct of all the affairs of the realm, whether great or small, be placed under unified control. Then only, name and reality complementing each other, [the Empire] might stand beside the foreign Powers. Such [a consummation] is the urgent task of the Imperial Government at the present moment, and is likewise the responsibility of the subjects. Wherefore, we, the undersigned, disregarding our humble capacity, have ventured to give expression to our opinion. We pray that it be illumined by the brilliancy of the Sovereign's [mind]. We, the undersigned, in reverent obeisance do thus supplicate.

"The first month [March 1869].

Mōri *Sai-shō Chū-zhō*.<sup>42</sup>

Shimadzu *Shō-shō*.<sup>43</sup>

Nabeshima *Shō-shō*.<sup>44</sup>

Yamanouchi *Shō-shō*.<sup>45</sup>

## D

(*Shimadzu Hisamitsu kō zhikki*, VII, 14.)

"Shimadzu *Sai-shō*.<sup>46</sup>

"As regards your offer of domain, we, after a deep consideration of the condition of the times and an extensive adoption of public opinion,<sup>35</sup> and with a view to unifying government, accept [the offer] as has been proposed.

"The sixth month [July 1869]. *Gyō-sei Kwan*."<sup>47</sup>

## E

(Ibid., VII, 14.)

"Shimadzu Sai-shō.<sup>46</sup>"You are hereby appointed *Chi-zhi*<sup>48</sup> of Kagoshima *han*."Mei-ji *tsuchinoto-mi*, 6 m. [July 1869]."

## F

(Ibid., VII, 13.)

"Shimadzu Shō-shō.<sup>43</sup>"Taka, one hundred thousand *koku*."By reason of your meritorious services, [the above] is granted for all time (*ei-sei*).Mei-ji 2 y. *tsuchinoto-mi* 6 m. [July 1869]."

## G

(The Iriki-in genealogy.)

"Iriki-in Dan-zhō.<sup>49</sup>

"In accordance with the

Imperial<sup>50</sup> command, the family ranks of former times have been abolished, the appellation *shi-zoku* has been fixed [for your family], and a hereditary emolument (*se-roku*) of three hundred *koku* has been assigned [for your support]. However, in consideration of the services of your forefathers, two hundred *koku* will be annually granted to you from the treasury rice (*kura-mai*).

"8th month [September 1870].

"The *Chi-sei Zho*."<sup>51</sup>

\* The editor regrets that he decided to include A and B in the present No. too late to enable him to add their original texts to the Japanese section of this volume.

<sup>1</sup> The word *mikado*, literally meaning (probably) gate or house-door, was used in early history, not only for the emperor, but also for the imperial residence and the imperial court, (like the word *palatium* in the Roman and Frankish periods), and even the whole state, and was rarely used in later ages, and almost never in official language, in the sense of emperor. The English word "emperor" is hardly apt when applied to the Japanese sovereign of the early ages, but—if we would employ a single word to designate the same institution throughout its history—seems preferable to *mikado*. It is unnecessary to yield to the desire to use an outlandish term merely because it seems odd enough to be applied to a strange thing. It would also seem ungracious to persist in the use of a name which probably would not please its subject.

<sup>2</sup> *Tai-kun*, meaning great prince, is the term which the foreigners habitually applied to the *shō-gun*, the English writers often spelling it "tycoon." The word was never used in the technical sense by the *shō-gun*'s own government; the late *shō-gun*, referring to the habit of the foreigners to call him by this word, remarked: "I do not know where they got it," (*Tokugawa Yoshinobu kō-den*, VII, 268). Fortunately it has fallen into disuse.

<sup>3</sup> Tokugawa Yoshinobu, known often as Keiki from the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of the two characters in which his personal name was written, was born in 1837, and became the fifteenth and last *shō-gun* of his house early in 1867. Retiring the following year, he died in 1913.

<sup>4</sup> Yoshida Tōgo, *I-shin shi hakkō*, pp. 251-252.

<sup>5</sup> *Mei-ji zai-sei shi*, VIII, 120-121.

<sup>6</sup> The tenth *Financial and economic annual*, edited by the Treasury department of the Japanese government, pp. 30-31, 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Mei-ji zai-sei shi*, VIII, 10, 41-42, 45.

<sup>8</sup> The first emperor, known by his posthumous name Zhimmu.

<sup>9</sup> This follows the arbitrary chronology of the first official annal of Japan, *Ni-hon sho-ki* (*Nihongi*), compiled in 720; see the editor's *Early institutional life*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>10</sup> This refers to the Fujiwara family, which after the eighth century gradually succeeded in monopolizing the more important offices of the imperial government.

<sup>11</sup> Such is the self-justification of the shogunate for its usurpation of the political power of Japan.

<sup>12</sup> The first line of *shō-gun* was of the Minamoto family, which had descended from an imperial prince, but had long since been classed out of the imperial family.

<sup>13</sup> This is the well-known theory of the power of the *shō-gun* as a trust (*i-nin*) from the sovereign. There is little legal ground for this theory, but the Tokugawa shogunate consistently asserted it, and even the imperial government acknowledged it in careless moments (*Shimadzu Hisamitsu kō zhikki*, IV, 38, in 1864), and also in the letter by which, in reply to B, the latter accepted the surrender of the *shō-gun's* hereditary rule of Japan, (*Tokugawa Yoshinobu kō den*, VII, 191; cf. II, 251-252; V, 235, 467, 468, 491; VI, 315, 404, 408, 417, 441, 489; etc.).

<sup>14</sup> *Adzukurū*.

<sup>15</sup> Minamoto Yoritomo established his government at Kamakura in 1184, and was appointed the first *shō-gun* in 1192.

<sup>16</sup> This alludes to the feudal régime, as distinct from the earlier imperial government.

<sup>17</sup> The Minamoto and the Hōjō, ruling at Kamakura, 1192-1333; the Ashikaga, at Muromachi, Kyōto, 1336-1573; Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 1573-1598; and the Tokugawa, at Edo, 1600-1868.

<sup>18</sup> C. 1200-c. 1600.

<sup>19</sup> In the political philosophy of ancient China, moral virtue was considered the only reason for political power: appointment of Heaven would descend upon the most virtuous man in the country to become the ruler of the people; he should raise other virtuous persons to the various offices of government; when a ruler failed in virtue, he thereby lost his power, for his government would be disordered and the people he distressed and disloyal, and Heaven's affection he alienated; and it was justifiable for the most virtuous subject to rise in revolt and replace the vicious sovereign. (See the editor's *Early institutional life*, index, "virtue.") Even in China, these ideas could hardly be more than theories; and in Japan they were obviously incompatible with her imperial sovereignty, and were, therefore, never accepted in entirety even as theories. Nevertheless, the fundamental theory that the ruler should excel in virtue was unexceptionable; like the theory of *justitia* (righteousness rather than justice) and mercy inculcated upon the ruling classes by the churchmen of the Middle Ages in Europe, (see, for example, Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, 882, c. 5, 6, 9, and 25, where sentences occur which almost parallel the greater passages in the *Shu king*; cf. Imhart de la Tour, *Questions d'histoire*, 1907, pp. 155-162), the Oriental theory of virtue continued in China and Japan to be an ideal and a principle which wise rulers strove to realize in life, and which men invoked at critical moments.

<sup>20</sup> Tokugawa Iéyasu is referred to, who unified all feudal Japan in 1600. As will be seen in this document (A), his successors deified his spirit as Tō-shō gū; see No. 154, n. 19.

<sup>21</sup> The self-justification of the Tokugawa shogunate.

<sup>22</sup> In 1221, the imperial court made an abortive attempt to make war upon the feudal government.

<sup>23</sup> Emperor Go Dai-go succeeded in overthrowing the Hōjō regency in 1333, but the real government of the country reverted to feudalism only three years later; see Nos. 74 and 82.

<sup>24</sup> The original word which we have translated as territorial rule is *hō-ken* (Chinese *fōng-kién*). The word had been adopted from the Chinese history of the Chou period, 1122-255 B.C., when the outer regions were assigned to the hereditary rule of men according to an elaborate system of division and control. It is not the early Chou system which the Tokugawa régime resembled, but its later quasi-feudal development, before it ultimately degenerated into a state of anarchy among independent, warring states, (see the editor's *Early institutional life*, pp. 190-195). The original *fōng-kién* of Chou was hardly feudal in structure, but, probably from its subsequent disintegration, the word is often taken by writers to mean feudalism generally. In fact, there is no adequate word in Chinese or Japanese which reproduces the exact idea of feudalism, such as developed in Europe after the tenth century and in Japan after the thirteenth.

In our text, it is apparently implied that the Minamoto régime was not a *hō-ken*, because the local chiefs of that period were warriors who had been established in the soil, and not the *shō-gun's*



own vassals whom he enfeoffed and distributed over the country as territorial lords; and that a *hō-ken* partially appeared under the Ashikaga, and was completely organized under the Tokugawa. There is a degree of historical insight in this interpretation, so far as *hō-ken* is concerned. At least this view is more accurate than the careless use of the term for all the feudal ages of Japan, as is customary among writers in that country.

<sup>25</sup> *Gun-ken* (Chinese *kūn-hiēn*), literally two units of local division, the first being inclusive of the second, but really meaning centralized local administration: in fact, the Tokugawa never used the unit *ken*. The term *gun-ken* was used in contrast with *hō-ken* (n. 24). The Tokugawa régime was a combination of feudalization and centralization, the former obtaining in the baronies and other fiefs and the latter in the *shō-gun's* own domains. The *shō-gun's* domains (*go ryō* or *kō ryō*), amounting in *taka* to about a fifth of the land of Japan, had been reserved for his own support. Unlike the hereditary fiefs with which he invested the barons and other vassals, these domains were administered by his agents who were responsible for their official conduct directly to his council and were removable at will. The institutional position which the domains occupied in feudal Japan as a whole corresponded, therefore, to that of the domains (*kura-iri*) of the Shimadzu baron in his barony. In this and other respects, the various baronies were as many miniatures of the whole of Japan under the rule of the *shō-gun*.

<sup>26</sup> For the ceremony by which the chevalier attained majority, see No. 58, n. 7, and No. 134.

<sup>27</sup> For the vermilion seal (*shu-in*), see No. 151, n. 11.

<sup>28</sup> This baron of Kaga, of the Maeda family, held the largest barony, aggregating 1,022,700 *koku* in *taka*. In the magnitude of the fiefs measured in *taka*, the Shimadzu barony, 770,800 *koku*, stood second only to that of the Maeda, in 1865; next in order, in that year, came the baronies of:—the Date, at Sendai, Mutsu, (625,600); the Tokugawa, at Nagoya, Owari, (610,500); another branch of the Tokugawa, at Wakayama, Kii (Kishū, 555,000); the Hosokawa, at Kumamoto, Higo, in Kyū-shū (540,000); the Kuroda, at Fukuoka, Chikuzen, in Kyū-shū (520,000); and the Asano, at Hiroshima, Aki (426,000); then followed 257 lesser baronies. Technically, only the barons whose fiefs amounted to 10,000 *koku* or more were entitled *dai-myō*. Smaller lords holding fiefs directly of the *shō-gun* were called *hata-moto*. (For the volume of *koku*, see Nos. 18 and 49.)

<sup>29</sup> Iémochi, the fourteenth Tokugawa *shō-gun*, 1866.

<sup>30</sup> This alludes to the so-called Christian revolt at Amakusa and Shimabara, Hizen, in north-western Kyū-shū. Goaded by persecution, the more ambitious of the Catholics at these places began in 1637 to resist local attempts at suppression. Finally, gathering an army of more than 30,000 men, the rebels took the castle of Hara, and there defended themselves against the 124,000 men of the besieging army led by barons of northern Kyū-shū and the two special commissioners sent by the *shō-gun*. It was only after three months of investment that the rebellion was completely crushed, in April 1638. Further see Iriki-in genealogy, under Shigetaka. This event led the Tokugawa shogunate to redouble its effort to exterminate Catholicism in all parts of the country. The story of the revolt and of the persecution in general has been well told by the late Captain Brinkley and Murdoch in their histories of Japan. Latterly Professor M. Anesaki has published an interesting study of the persecution after 1638 under the title *Kirishitan shū-mon no haku-gai to sen-puku*, Tokyo, 1925.

<sup>31</sup> The relation between Korea and Japan had had a long and checkered career, now amicable and then hostile. The Koreans took part in the unsuccessful invasions of the Mongols into Japan in the latter half of the thirteenth century; and twice, in 1380 and 1410, attacked Tsushima and were repulsed. Japan, on her part, invaded Korea at least twice: once before the beginning of the authentic history of the former country, (as is proven by the inscription on the monument for King Hau-t'ai wang), and again in the late sixteenth century, (see No. 150). During the Tokugawa shogunate, peace between the two countries was restored, and Korea sent envoys and presents both to China and Japan. The feudal government at Edo gave the Sō barons of Tsushima a right of immediate intercourse and trade with Korea.

The eighteen islands of Ryū-kyū had been tributary to China since the latter part of the fourteenth century, but also held diplomatic and trade relations with Satsuma after 1441, and occasionally sent envoys to the *shō-gun*. This amicable relation with Japan was severed by Ryū-kyū from the end of the sixteenth century. The Shimadzu baron, with the *shō-gun's* permission, sent an army to the main island of the little kingdom and annexed it as part of his dominion, bringing five of its other islands under his direct rule. Henceforth, Ryū-kyū continued to bear tributes to



both China and Satsuma (and also to Edo); and Satsuma enjoyed a trade monopoly with the islands throughout the Tokugawa period. In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry forced a treaty upon Ryū-kyū, and France and Holland followed his example and likewise concluded treaties, thus treating Ryū-kyū as an independent state. In 1871, the Japanese imperial government placed the islands under its direct control, and assumed their treaty obligations to the Powers; and seven years later organized the archipelago as a *ken* (prefecture) under the name Okinawa. China had, in a thoughtless moment, renounced her protectorate over the islands.

<sup>32</sup> *Shin*, subject. This word implied a public, non-feudal subjection to a sovereign, but the feudal harons as territorial lords had often applied the term to their own vassals. The compilers of the official history of the Shimadzu harony, *Shimadzu koku-shi*, used the word throughout its record of the history from its beginning, when the lord was but a private chieftain with extremely limited powers in the territory over which he was to assume practical autonomy only centuries later.

<sup>33</sup> The wars of the year-periods Hō-gen (1156) and Hei-ji (1159) decided a temporary ascendancy of the Taira over the Minamoto. The latter, in turn, prevailed over the former in 1180-1185.

<sup>34</sup> Tokugawa Iéyasu.

<sup>35</sup> *Kō-gi*, literally, public discussion. *Kō-ron*, the phrase that occurs in the five-article oath of the emperor pronounced in 1868, in which he gave a clear enunciation of the enlightened principles of his new government, has an identical meaning. The history of the use of this comprehensive word *kō* has often been explained in this volume (No. 13, n. 7 a and n. 12; No. 26, n. 2; No. 49, n. 13; No. 89 A; No. 107, n. 4 and 5; No. 152, n. 2; No. 146, n. 10). Now, in the new age, that side of the double significance of this word (No. 142, n. 2) which had long been overshadowed by the other,—that is to say, “public,”—emerged in full force. This very fact indicates the awakened consciousness in the new era that, below the “authorities” (which is the other half of the meaning of *kō*), there was a growing “public” which, though not sovereign, and though still very restricted in size and in political intelligence, none the less had its own opinion and was articulate. It is instructive to reflect that this new phase in the history of the little word is symptomatic of the suddenly altered life of the nation.

<sup>36</sup> The last part of this sentence reveals the state of mind in which the *shō-gun* yielded his powers: he was unwilling altogether to obliterate himself from the political life of Japan, but desired to serve as the lord of a great harony under imperial control, and to take part in the government of the country in a new capacity. This is further shown in his words and conduct after his resignation, (*Tokugawa Yoshinobu kō den*, VII, 188, 211-212, 243-244, 253, 271).

<sup>37</sup> *Kasu*, to loan, would in German be accurately rendered as *leihen* and *verleihen*, or *lehen*. To borrow is *karu*.

<sup>38</sup> What are here called polity and authority are nothing other than the principles, respectively, of the sovereignty of the ruler and of the centralization of his government: the sovereign rights were vested in the emperor, not the people, and could only be delegated by him to his agents; his government should be centralized, controlling all public functions and all local officials. These were the principles which, having been adopted from China, formed the basis of the reorganization of the Japanese state-system undertaken in the seventh century. The same principles now inspired the signers of this document to make this memorable petition; they would restore these principles, which had been inoperative for centuries; furthermore, they deduced therefrom the clear and bold assertion that the feudal rule was essentially a usurpation. As a matter of fact, the new government itself, to which the petition was addressed, had been conceived in the same spirit. It was for this reason that the establishment of the new régime was and is generally called the “restoration” of the imperial government; in reality, this fiction, although it still crops out in occasional official documents, was soon modified by the adoption from the Occident of a new principle: popular representation.

Expositions of the old principles will be found in the present editor's *Early institutional life of Japan*, and in his work on the feudal régime of southern Kyū-shū, which is in preparation.

<sup>39</sup> This is the term used for the government of the *shō-gun*, suzerain of feudal Japan. *Baku-fu* literally meant tent-government, a modest term chosen by the first line of *shō-gun* to designate its simple, half-private and almost provisional government established at Kamakura.

<sup>40</sup> In 1600; see No. 151.

<sup>41</sup> It is apparent that what the patriotic petitioners desired was, not to abolish fiefs and to do

away altogether with the quasi-feudal régime to which they had been accustomed, but to receive a species of fiefs directly from the emperor; not a constitutional government, but a sort of a centralized imperial feudalism. Only a handful of men at this early date foresaw the untenability of such an arrangement. Even as the *shō-gun*, when he resigned his office in 1867, secretly entertained the hope to receive a high place in the new government (n. 36), so the signers of this petition were still fettered by the unexpressed desire to be granted parts of their proffered domains as fiefs under the central government or else to maintain in some measure their wonted authority as local chiefs. It will be seen in the documents C and D that this natural desire was gratified by the imperial government. Things, however, moved swiftly, and no such half-measure could long be tolerated: in 1871, as has been said in our preface to this No., the *han* was abolished, the semi-feudal lord-governor was dismissed, and the local government of the empire was reorganized on the basis of a centralized bureaucracy; public servants were raised from among recent vassals of all grades, and appointed governors of the newly created districts, often away from their places of origin.

<sup>42</sup> Mōri Takachika, baron of Yamaguchi, Suwō; popularly called lord of Chō-shū, *i.e.*, Nagato, for this *kuni* also he ruled over.

<sup>43</sup> Shimadzu Tadayoshi, baron of Satsuma (Sasshū), Ōsumi, and part of Hiuga.

<sup>44</sup> Nabeshima Naohiro, baron of Saga, Hizen.

<sup>45</sup> Yamanouchi Toyoshige, baron of Kōchi, Tosa.

<sup>46</sup> Shimadzu Hisamitsu, uncle of Tadayoshi. Hisamitsu, although he was not the lineal baron of Shimadzu, was older than Tadayoshi, and was a commanding figure in the whole movement which brought about the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the installation of the new government.

<sup>47</sup> The executive bureau of the new imperial government at Tōkyō. To Tōkyō, the old Edo, the seat of the late shogunate, the imperial Capital had been transferred from Kyōto in the preceding year, the 1073d year after its establishment in the latter city.

<sup>48</sup> Governor.

<sup>49</sup> Kimihiro, the twenty-ninth lord of Iriki.

<sup>50</sup> Pursuing the historic custom originally adopted from China, the word is written at the head of a new line out of respect for the imperial house, the custom which was discarded soon after.

<sup>51</sup> The executive office of the Satsuma *han*. It may be presumed that the 300 *koku* were the emolument granted by the imperial government through the instrumentality of the Shimadzu governor, and the 200 *koku* were given by the latter out of his own annuity, perhaps for life. Thus, like the former lord himself, the former vassal also was given an anomalous status though in a different way, as a retainer at once of the central government and of the local governor, his hereditary lord.

# APPENDICES

## THE IRIKI-IN GENEALOGY

WE give below a full translation of the family genealogy of the Iriki-in, only with the following exceptions: first, the name of the year in the sexagenary cycle (which accompanies every year mentioned in the original) is consistently omitted in the translation; and, secondly, the record after 1600 is, wherever no important fresh light is thrown upon the institutions, abridged, especially of details of ceremonial formalities, of which the account of that period mainly consists. Otherwise the translation is complete. It is with regret that the editor has been obliged, for typographical reasons, to eschew the interesting linear device whereby the relations of descent are shown in the original text, as in all the extended genealogies in Japanese; the concession is to the convenience of the printer rather than to the cause of clarity.

The original is written in Chinese down to the end of the twenty-seventh generation, terminating in 1851, and the remainder in Sinico-Japanese.

Japanese personal names (*na*) were singularly multiple. (1) Boyhood or girlhood names (*yō-mei*) were changed at majority. Then men took two names: (2) popular names (*tsū-shō*), like Tarō, Rokuro-shirō, Mata-roku, and the like; and (3) formal names (*na-nori* or *zhitsu-myō*), like Akishige, Tadakuni, and Mitsuhsa, which usually comprised a part retained through generations in the same family, such as *shige* of the Shibuya families and *tada* or *hisa* of the Shimadzu. In addition, (4) official or honorary titles, such as Satsuma *no kami*, Harima *no suke*, and Sa-hyōé *no zhō*, were used either before or after the popular names and always before the formal. Since a man might bear different titles during his lifetime, and his popular and formal names be changed either arbitrarily or for sufficient reasons (as when he was adopted into another family), he would be likely to appear under different names at different periods of his life: Kame-zhu (1), coming of age, became Shimadzu Mata-shirō (2) Tadanori (3), and, on being adopted into the Iriki-in family, changed to Iriki-in Mata-byōé (2) Norishige (3). In the later popular name just given, *hyō-é* (*b* being used for euphony in lieu of *h* after *Mata*) was originally a title (4), but had become, like many another title, a part of popular names. Women's names were simpler, as there was little differentiation between popular and formal names; noble ladies were, however, like their male relatives, often designated by their titles or by the names of their residences or chambers, for there was a tendency to avoid a direct mention of the personal names of distinguished personages.

When a person took the tonsure,<sup>1</sup> (5) a Buddhist name (*hō-myō*) was assumed, which usually was written in two Chinese characters. If this was mentioned together with the other names, the Buddhist name was preceded, in case of men, with the word *nyū-dō*, literally, [one who has] entered the Way [of the Buddha]; as: Iriki-in Hei-zhi (2) Kimishige (3) *nyū-dō* Zhō-Yen. When the Buddhist name alone was given, it might be preceded by the word *shami*, meaning novice, derived from the Sanskrit *S'ra-manera*. Women generally wrote the word *ama* (nun) before their Buddhist names. These Buddhist names were taken during life, and should be distinguished from the posthumous ones (*hō-î*, *hō-gō*, or *kai-myō*) chosen at the funeral by the officiating Buddhist priest.

As for family-names (indifferently designated *sei*, *uji*, or *myō-zhi*), it should be remembered that an original family was apt, in the course of time, to branch out into several, and the latter further to ramify. In such cases, the names of domains or residences with which they had become identified were taken as their family-names. Thus, of the Taira stock, the Shibuya assumed this last name from their domain in Sagami, and when some of their members migrated to Satsuma, the latter adopted as their family-names the names of their respective domains there. One branch, the Iriki-in, was split likewise into the Terao, the Okamoto, the Nakamura, the Murao, and others, all deriving their appellations from their chief holdings. The later and smaller branches naturally bore family-names taken from place-names of the more restricted areas: this fact would often enable us to infer the relative age and importance of the offshoots of a great family. In No. 144, we see family-names originating in petty holdings in Iriki; many of their bearers had descended from the

dividing branches of the main Iriki-in stock. Yet, it is noteworthy that for a long time, down to the close (1600) of the period of the Civil War, and even later, though less frequently, the original names Taira and Shibuya were employed on formal occasions, as if it were considered that the later branch-names had not been as strongly established, and as if peculiar pride attached to names of ancient lineage. After 1600, however, the general tendency toward the fixation of social usage that characterized the conscious policy of the period seems to have influenced the use of names also, each branch or sub-branch being mentioned on nearly all occasions by its own name, but rarely by the old name of the main stock. (Cf. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 1894, pp. 368, 369.)

The following abbreviations have been used in this and the following genealogies:—

b. = born;	d. = died;
mr. = married;	mt. = mother;
n. B. = Buddhist name( <i>hō-myō</i> );	n. b. = boyhood name;
n. p. = popular name;	n. p. B. = posthumous Buddhist name;
w. = wife.	
"called" usually refers to a family-name;	
"styled" sometimes precedes a posthumous Buddhist name.	

IN the beginning, Prince Takamochi, grandson of Imperial Prince Kuzuwara, the fifth son of the Emperor Kwan-mu [reg. 781-806], was for the first time granted the family-name Taira. A descendant in the seventh generation of Prince Takamochi, Shigekuni, the official (*shō-zhi*) of the *shō* of Shibuya, was [the chief of] a great family settled in Sagami *kuni*, and was renowned for his military service. Shigekuni had several sons,—Tarō<sup>2</sup> Mitsushige, Zhirō<sup>2</sup> Takashige, Shirō<sup>2</sup> Tokikuni, Gorō<sup>2</sup> Shigesuke, and Shichrō<sup>2</sup> Shigechika, each noted for bravery. Mitsushige begot six sons: Shibuya Tarō<sup>2</sup> Shigenao, Hayakawa<sup>3</sup> Zhirō<sup>2</sup> Saneshige, later changed to Tōgō,<sup>4</sup> Yoshioka<sup>3</sup> Saburō<sup>2</sup> Shigeyasu, later changed to Ketō-in,<sup>4</sup> Ōya<sup>3</sup> Shirō Shigemoro, later changed to Tsuruda,<sup>4</sup> Zōshi<sup>3</sup> Gorō<sup>2</sup> Jō-Shin, and Ochiai<sup>3</sup> Rokurō<sup>2</sup> Shigesada, later changed to Taki.<sup>4</sup> Mitsushige, with the sanction of the *shō-gun*, divided his hereditary domains among his sons. He let only Tarō remain in the original *kuni* and the five [other] brothers from Zhirō down go down to the domains in Satsuma *kuni*, with a view to perpetuating the prosperity of his descendants.

#### 1st, JO-SHIN,

5th son of Shibuya Tarō Mitsushige.

First called Zōsbi, later Iriki-in<sup>4</sup> or Kiyoshiki Gorō *zen-shi*.<sup>5</sup>

In the spring of Hō-ji 2 y. [1248] Jō-Shin, following his father Mitsushige's command, came down to Iriki *in*, and lived at Kiyoshiki; henceforth be changed [his family-name] to Iriki-in or Kiyoshiki.

Jō-Shin's domains were Yoshida upper *shō* (known as Shibuya), of Sagami; Dai-ku-den, Mida, of Ise *kuni*; Ōrui, [of Kōtsuke *kuni*]; Kawaē *gō*, of Mimasaka *kuni*; Uchi-mojiri;<sup>6</sup> and Iriki *in*, of Satsuma *kuni*.

He made the mistletoe his family crest<sup>7</sup> upon banners and tents.

D. 3 m. 4 d. [year unknown], and was styled Zbu-sbō *zhi* Jō-Shin *dai zen-jō mon*.<sup>8</sup> His w., Ran-shitsu Myō-Kō *ni-shi*;<sup>8</sup> (the date of her death is unknown).

#### [CHILDREN OF JO-SHIN, 1ST]

Shigezumi,

Zhiro-saburō. Son by another consort(*ta-fuku*).<sup>9</sup>

daughter

2d, AKISHIGE,



Sahurō.

Became the chief heir (*ka-doku*) upon receiving his father Jō-Shin's devise on Ken-chō 5 y. 11 m. 29 d. [21 Dec. 1253].<sup>10</sup>

Was granted a decree [of sanction] from the [*shō-gun's*] *man-dokoro* on the same 7 y. 6 m. 5 d. [10 July 1255].<sup>10</sup>

D. 4 m. 2 d. [year unknown], and was styled Bu-on *zhi* Zen-Shin *dai zen-jō mon*. His w., *ama* Zhu-A *dai-shi*.

Shigetsune,

Goro-shirō; n. B., Jō-Butsu. Called Terao.

Shigekata, Gorō

Norimoto,—[Norimoto's son] Mototsuna,—[Mototsuna's son] Munemoto,  
known as Kurano Ara-roku Hei-shirō Hei-roku

daughter

daughter

daughter

[CHILDREN OF SHIGEKATA, GORŌ]

Shigetsugu, called Shimomura

Shigeyo, called Nakamura

Shigemura, Goro-shirō,

adopted as son by the elder brother Shigetsugu

[CHILD OF SHIGETSUGU, CALLED SHIMOMURA]

Shigemura, Goro-shirō

[CHILD OF SHIGEMURA, GORO-SHIRO]

Shigeuji, Hei-roku; n. B., E-Chō

[CHILDREN OF SHIGEUJI, HEI-ROKU]

daughter Tora-san, w. of Okamoto Shigeoki;

mt. was Muneshige's daughter

daughter

[CHILDREN OF AKISHIGE, 2D]

3d, KIMISHIGE,

Hei-zhi; n. B., Zhō-Yen.

Appointed to the *sō-ryō shiki* upon receiving the father Zen-Shin's devise in autumn of Bun-ei 2 y. [1265].<sup>11</sup>

D. 7 m. 5 d. [year unknown]; was styled Kan-kyū Zhō-Yen *ko-zhi*.<sup>8</sup>

W. was a Tamura, styled Rai-shitsu Myō-Gen *dai-shi*.<sup>8</sup>

Shigetaka,—[Shigetaka's sons] Shigehide [and] Shigetoshi

Hei-zahurō; n. B., Shō-Kwan.

Atsushige or Shigetsura,

Hei-ta; n. B., Nen-Shin. Ancestor of the Yama-no-kuchi.

Some say he was eldest by another consort.<sup>9</sup>

Arishige,

Hei-shirō; n. B., Shō-Zen.



Fought bravely with the Mongols on the sea of Chikuzen, and d. from an arrow wound. Styled  
Zhi-kwō *zhi* Shō-Zen *dai zen-paku*.<sup>8</sup> Later deified as Wakamiya *dai myō-zhin*.  
W. was a Shimadzu, styled Sessan Gen-Chū *dai-shi*.<sup>8</sup>

Muneshige,

Hei-gorō; n. B., Dō-Zen.

D. in war at the same time as the elder brother Arishige; deified as Wakamiya *dai myō-zhin*.

Shidzushige,

Shaku-dō-Maru; Rokuro *bō*; n. B., Kō-Zen.

D. of illness 6 m. 29 d. [year unknown], styled Kō-Zen *ko-zhi*.

Shigenao,

Shiro-tarō.

D. in war at the same time as the elder brother Arishige.

#### [CHILDREN OF KIMISHIGE, 3D]

Chō-toku-Maru,

d. prematurely.

4th, SHIGEMOTO,

Hatsu-dō-Maru; Shin-hei-zhi; n. B., Jō-Yen.

Inherited domains of the father Zhō-Yen and uncle Shō-Zen; also Shigemoto's w. being daughter of the uncle Dō-Zen, the former inherited a half of Dō-Zen's estate.

Gen-kō 3 y. 11 m. 9 d. [16 Dec. 1333],<sup>12</sup> received an imperial decree confirming his original domains (*hon-ryō*), as reward for loyal service in war.

Sukeshige,

Zōshi Zhiro-saburō, later called Okamoto; n. B., Jō-Jū.

#### [CHILDREN OF MUNESHIGE]

daughter Tatsu-dō *me*,

w. of Shigeuji.

daughter Mida-dō *me*,

w. of Shigemoto. Later, nun Gen-Shin.

D. 8 m. 15 d. [year unknown]; styled Myō-shitsu Myō-Kwō *dai-shi*.

#### [CHILDREN OF SHIDZUSHIGE]

Shigetomo,

Mago-gorō

Shigebumi,

Kawachi Zhūrō

daughter Oto-dō *me*

#### [CHILDREN OF SHIGETOMO]

Shigekatsu,

Hei-zhi-gorō.

Mt. was daughter, n. B., Sō-Nyo, of Taki Kawachi *no gon no kami* Shigemune *nyū-dō* Sō-Shin.

Adopted by Shigemoto *nyū-dō* Jō-Yen.

Shigeoki,

called Okamoto; Kurō, *Saemon no zhō*; n. B., Jō-Ga.

Shigeoki did frequent service at arms in the wars of Gen-kō [1331-1333] and Ken-mu [1334-1336].

Tora-ichi-Marū

daughter Wō-zhu,

w. of Taki Kawachi *no kami* Takashige; n. B., So-Hō.

[CHILDREN OF SHIGEMOTO, 4TH]

5th, SHIGEKATSU,

Hei-zhi Gorō; Mino *no kami*; n. B., Myō-Yū.

Since Jō-Yen had no heir, he adopted Shigekatsu and made him succeed to the house; really he was eldest son of Mago-gorō Shigetomo.

Followed the imperial side in the war of Gen-kō [1333] and did distinguished service; received an imperial decree confirming the old domains.

Kwan-ō 2 y. 7 m. 30 d. [22 Aug. 1351]<sup>13</sup> the *shō-gun* Lord Yoshiakira gave an order confirming the original domains.

Shō-hei 6 y. 8 m. 3 d. [25 Aug. 1351]<sup>14</sup> the Court of Yoshino granted an imperial decree, whereupon [Shigekatsu] followed Prince *Sei-sei shō-gun* [Kanenaga] and did frequent loyal service at arms.

Shigekatsu received devises of the adopted father and mother, Jō-Yen and Gen-Shin, and of the father and mother by birth, Shigetomo and Sō-Nyo; also had newly granted lands for his warlike services; hence his domains were doubled.

D. 11 m. 27 d. [year unknown]; was styled Myō-Yū *ko-zhi*.

His w. was styled Kun-ō Myō-Hō *dai-shi*, her death occurring on 1 m. 15 d.

[CHILDREN OF SHIGEKATSU, 5TH]

Shigemune,

called Murao. Formerly Shigenari; Shō-zhu-Marū; *Gyō-bu shō-yū*; n. B., Yen-Yū. Issue of another consort.<sup>9</sup>

6th, SHIGEKADO,

Tora-matsu-Marū; Iwami *no gon no kami*, *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu*; n. p. B., Shin-mon Jō-Chin.

Jō-wa 5 y. intercalary 6 m. 23 d. [7 Aug. 1349],<sup>15</sup> received the father Shigekatsu's devise and became heir (*ka-doku*).

Bun-wa 2 y. 10 m. 9 d. [5 Nov. 1353], was granted [the *shō-gun*'s] order.

Shō-hei 22 y. 2 m. 10 d. [11 Mar. 1367],<sup>16</sup> received an imperial order commending his warlike loyal service.

Bun-chū 1 y. 6 m. 23 d. [24 July 1372],<sup>17</sup> d. in war at the Mine fortress at Takaé, Satsuma; was styled Shin-mon Jō-Chin *ko-zhi*.

His w. was a Shimadzu, styled Rī-myō Myō-Shin *dai-shi*.

Shigetsugu,

Tora-ichi-Marū, Goro-saburō, Mino-gorō; *Saemon no zhō*.

Followed Lord Shimadzu *han-gwan* Morohisa and rendered warlike service.

Rō-Zan,

Tenth chief priest of Zhu-shō *zhi*.

Followed the elder brother and died in war at the Mine fortress.

Yō-An

Sakamoto *bō*

Shigetsugi,

called Egawa.

[CHILD OF SHIGETSUGU]

Masashige, Gorō

## [CHILDREN OF SHIGEKADO, 6TH]

## 7th, SHIGEYORI,

Tora-gorō-Maru; *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu*; n. p. B., Shō-zan Gi-Shū.

Ken-toku 2 y. 10 m. 15 d. [22 Nov. 1371],<sup>18</sup> receiving the father Shigekado's devise, succeeded to the house.

Bun-chū 1 y. 12 m. 21 d. [11 Jan. 1373],<sup>17</sup> was granted an order of Prince *Sei-sei shō-gun*, commending the loyal death of the father Shigekado.

Ō-ei 7 y. 12 m. 13 d. [28 Dec. 1400],<sup>19</sup> was given in trust as places of support (*ryō-sho*) a half of Taniyama *kōri* and Kūre *in*, Satsuma *kuni*, by Lord Shimadzu Katsusa *no suke* Korehisa *nyū-dō* Kyū-Tetsu.

The same 10 y. 11 m. 20 d. [11 Jan. 1404],<sup>20</sup> was granted by the *tai-shu* Lord Mutsu *no kami* Motohisa Take *mura*, in Kagoshima *kōri*, and Narukawa *mura*, the same *kuni*.

The same y. 12 m. 7 d. [19 Jan. 1404],<sup>20</sup> was granted by Lord Shimadzu Harima *no kami* Morihisa Nishikata, Arakawa, and Ha-shima, all in Satsuma *kuni*.

The same y. 12 m. 13 d. [25 Jan. 1404],<sup>21</sup> Lord Motohisa granted a letter of pledge.

D. Ei-kyō 1 y. 10 m. 9 d. [5 Nov. 1429]; was styled Ten-puku *zhi* Shō-zan Gi-Shū *an-su*.

Shigeyoshi, Awaji *no kami*,

succeeded the Shimomura house, as is stated fully in another roll.

daughter Naga-wō

daughter Tora-wō

daughter Kuri-inu

## [CHILDREN OF SHIGEYORI, 7TH]

## 8th, SHIGENAGA,

Kiku-gorō; *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu*.

Ō-ei 13 y. 11 m. 15 d. [25 Dec. 1406],<sup>22</sup> receiving the father Shigeyori's devise, succeeded to the house.

The same 18 y. 9 m. 15 d. [2 Oct. 1411],<sup>23</sup> Lord Shimadzu Sa *hyōe no zhō* Hisayo granted him Akune *in*, Satsuma *kuni*.

The same 30 y. 8 m. 30 d. [4 Oct. 1423],<sup>24</sup> the *tai-shu* Lord Mutsu *no kami* Hisatoyo *nyū-dō* Son-Chū granted a letter of oath.

D. Kō-shō 2 y. 8 m. 26 d. [23 Nov. 1456]; was styled Tō-ku Jō-Jū *an-su*.

His w. was a Shimadzu, styled Shō-gwatsu Ei-Shuku *dai-shi*; the date of her death is unknown.

Iyo *no kami*,

called Soéda

[CHILDREN OF IYO *no kami*]

Yechigo *no kami*,

n. B., Jō-Shō

*Ku-nai shō-yū*—[his son] Shin-gorō

Ko-zhirō

## [CHILDREN OF SHIGENAGA, 8TH]

daughter,

w. of Shimomura Shigeaki

## 9th, SHIGEMOCHI,

Hatsu-gorō; Dewa *no kami*

Receiving the father Shigenaga's devise, succeeded to the house Ō-ei 30 y. 8 m. 16 d. [20 Sept. 1423].<sup>25</sup>

Was granted by the *tai-shu* Lord Mutsu *no kami* Takahisa (later changed to Tadakuni) an order to hold 6 *chō* in Ha-shima according to precedents Ei-kyō 8 y. 9 m. 14 d. [23 Oct. 1436].

D. 9 m. 20 d. [year unknown]; was styled Ichi-ō Jō-Shō *ko-zhi*.

His w. was a Tōgō; d. En-toku 3 y. 7 m. 21 d. [26 Aug. 1491]; was styled Kyō-en Shin-Kō *dai-shi*.

Yamashiro *no kami*

*Sama no suke*

daughter,

w. of Ōmura Moroshige

daughter,

w. of Imuta Kawachi *no kami*.

daughter,

w. of Kamo Mino *no kami*.

*Kunai shō-yū*

#### [CHILD OF SHIGEMOCHI, 9TH]

10th, SHIGETOYO,

Kiku-gorō; Shimotsuke *no kami*, Dan-zhō shō-hitsu; *nyū-dō* I-Shin.

Receiving the grandfather Shigenaga's devise Ka-kitsu 1 y. 2 m. 27 d. [19 March 1441],<sup>26</sup> succeeded to the house.

The *tai-shu* Lord Mutsu *no kami* Haruhisa granted a letter of oath Kwan-shō 3 y. 3 m. 24 d. [23 April 1462],<sup>27</sup> [Shigetoyo] also received Kwan-dō, Naga-toshi, and the Yamada fortress.

The lord *tai-shu* again granted a letter of pledge the same 7 y. 4 m. 16 d. [30 May 1466].<sup>27</sup>

D. Bun-ki 1 y. intercalary 6 m. 2 d. [16 July 1501]; was styled Ko-shun Jō-Yei *zen-paku*.

His w. was a Kitawara, styled Shin-gwan Kwa-Kei *dai-shi*; the date of her demise is unknown.

#### [CHILDREN OF SHIGETOYO, 10TH]

11th, SHIGETOSHI,

Chiyo-gorō, Mata-gorō; Kaga *no kami*, Dan-zhō shō-hitsu.

His mt. a daughter of Kitawara Mata-gorō Takakane *nyū-dō* Shō-Taku. Attained majority at Kagoshima, the *tai-shu* Lord Haruhisa graciously acting as cap-father, on Bun-meï 5 y. 2 m. 29 d. [27 March 1473]; was named Mata-gorō Shigetoshi.

Receiving the father Shigetoyo's devise En-toku 2 y. 8 m. 21 d. [12 Sept. 1490],<sup>28</sup> succeeded to the house.

The *tai-shu* Lord Takehisa (later changed to Tadamasa) granted a letter of pledge the same [Bun-meï] 13 y. 8 m. 22 d. [19 July 1481], and Shigetoshi also presented a letter of acknowledgment.<sup>29</sup>

The former *shō-gun* Lord Yoshitane reached Yamaguchi, Suwō *kuni*, and depended upon Ōuchi *no suke* Yoshioki. Yoshioki, obeying his command, called to warriors of the neighboring *kuni* [for support]. Shigetoshi frequently received Yoshioki's messages, but, as this *kuni* was in great turmoil and men contended for ascendancy, he did not respond to the urging calls.

Shigetoshi did distinguished service in the Ei-shō period [1504-1521] during the rule of the *tai-shu* Lord Tadaharu.

In these years the three *kuni*, Satsuma, Ōsumi, and Hiuga, were in great commotion, which grew worse after the flight of the former *tai-shu* Lord Katsuhisa from Kagoshima in the winter of Ten-mon 4 y. [1535], and [warriors] became independent lords. At that time, Shigetoshi reduced fortresses, annexed territories, and extended his military influence far and wide.

When on Ten-mon 6 y. 1 m. 7 d. [16 Feb. 1537] Lord Takahisa reduced the Takeyama fortress and killed Higo *nyū-dō* . . . [?]-Sai, Shigetoshi aided the lord, his follower Hagi Uneme killing the strong foe, Nagase Hei-zaemon, and did distinguished service. Previously Shigetoshi married his young daughter to Lord Takahisa, and therefore rendered unexcelled loyal service.

When on the same 8 y. intercalary 6 m. 17 d. [1 Aug. 1539] Lord Takahisa went toward Ichiku and on the same day reduced the Taira fortress, Shigetoshi hastened thither and congratulated the lord. Since he was too old to serve in war, he left at the camp his son Mata-gorō Shigetomo with many warriors, and returned to the fortress [of Kiyoshiki].

D. during the Ten-mon period [1532-1555]; was styled Yō-chū Jō-Yū *ko-zhi*. Previously, on Ei-shō 9 y. 3 m. 7 d. [26 March 1512], Yō-chū erected a stone post in anticipation of his end, and now that date is regarded as the day of his demise, [since the real date is not precisely known].

His w. was a Shirahama, styled Shō-rin Shin-Kō *dai-shi*.

daughter,

w. of Tōgō Bizen *no kami* Shigetaka *nyū-dō* Hon-Gō.

Styled Gwassō Myō-Shin *dai-shi*.

#### [CHILDREN OF SHIGETOSHI, 11TH]

daughter,

w. of Ketō-in Hitaji *no suke* Shigetaka.

daughter,

w. of Tōgō Oki *no kami* Shige-akira.

12th, SHIGETOMO,

Mata-gorō; Iwami *no kami*.

His mt. a daughter of Shirahama Kaga *no kami* Shigeka.

When on Ten-mon 8 y. intercalary 6 m. 17 d. [1 Aug. 1539] Lord Takahisa led a campaign at Ichiku, Shigetomo followed his father Shigetoshi and hastened to the lord's camp; thereafter, according to his father's command, [Shigetomo] remained there. When on the 27 d. of the month, [the lord's forces] attacked the main fortress, Shigetomo led many warriors up the Dai-nichi *zhi* way, and rendered service, [his followers] Hagī Uneme and Midzuike Zhurō specially distinguishing themselves. Because of his warlike service in this campaign, [Shigetomo] received a strict order that he should conquer and take the region of Sendai.

On the night of 8 m. 28 d. of the same year [9 Oct. 1539, Shigetomo] assaulted and took the fortress of Momo-tsugi. This fortress he had, in pursuance of the permission of the former *tai-shu* Katsuhisa, attacked every year and now at last took in possession. On 9 m. 10 d. [21 Oct.], attacked and took Kuma-no-zhō and Tazaki.<sup>30</sup>

Of late years Shigetomo had conquered several fortresses and towns, and become boastful of his military exploits. Lord Takahisa repeatedly admonished him of this. At this time, men of the Tōgō and the Ketō-in of the [Shibuya] family and several other *kuniudo* were rebellious, and it was rumored that Shigetomo also was of the same mind. Thereupon, he repeatedly explained his innocence, but was not pardoned. In the summer of Ten-mon 13 y. [1544, the lord] forhade his attendance, and, moreover, on 8 m. 8 d. of the next year [13 Sept. 1545] attacked [and took] the Kōriyama fortress, which Lord Katsuhisa had, on Ten-mon 6 y. 3 m. 14 d. [23 April 1537], granted to Shigetomo.<sup>31</sup>

D. [Ten-mon 14 y. ?] 7 m. 16 d. [23 Aug. 1545 ?]; was styled Jō-an *zhi*; n. p. B., Shin-ō Jō-An *dai zen mon*.

His w.'s n. p. B., Kwō-ō Ten-Sō *dai-shi*.

daughter,

m. Tōgō Bizen *no kami* Shigesuke. Issue of another consort.<sup>9</sup>

daughter,

w. of the *tai-shu* Lord Takahisa;

mt. of Lord Yoshihisa and Lord Yoshihiro; (*Kin-go* Toshihisa was also horn of her); her mt. the same as Shigetomo's.

D. Ten-mon 13 y. 8 m. 15 d. [2 Sept. 1544]; n. p. B., Sessō Myō-An *dai-shi*; her *bodhi* place is Sessō *in*, (situated at Izhū *in*).

Hei-ta-zhirō



## [CHILDREN OF SHIGETOMO, 12TH]

## 13th, SHIGETSUGU,

Mata-gorō; Kaga no kami.

On Ten-mon 15 y. 8 m. 24 d. [18 Sept. 1546] Shigetsugu for the first time saw service on the field<sup>32</sup> at Kareki-no-wo, Kushikino; thereafter repeatedly served in war.

Though the *tai-shu* Lord Takahisa, chastizing Shigetomo's arrogance over his warlike exploits, forbade his attendance, Shigetsugu was graciously pardoned, and often waited upon him at Kagoshima, never neglecting his duties of court. Lord Takahisa, appreciating his loyalty, gave him a *kan-zhō* with his monogram, and granted him I-zako *myō* [in Kagoshima], on Ei-roku 2 y. 12 m. 23 d. [9 Jan. 1560].

In the winter of Ei-roku 12 y. [1569-1570], Shigetsugu induced Tōgō Yamato no kami Shigenao *nyū-dō* Ki-Shun to surrender himself to the *tai-shu* Lord Yoshihisa and, offering him Taki, Midzuhiki, Chūgō, Yuta, and Nishikata, to apologize for his guilt of many years. At the same time, Shigetsugu also offered the five fortresses, Kuma-no-zhō, Momo-tsugi, Hirasa, Ikariyama, and Takaé. This was done for the sake of the permanent security of his family.

D. on 12 m. 2 d. [year unknown]; styled Jō-gwan *zhi*; n. p. B., Ō-zan Jō-Gwan *dai zen-mon*.

His w. was a Kimotsuki; n. p. B., Kwa-jō Yei-Kō *dai-shi*.

Shigesato,—[Shigesato's son] Shigeharu,

Mata-hachiro; *Chu-mu sho-yu*.

Hei-emon; Ōi no suke.

Shigehiro,

U-hyōé; adopted son of Okamoto Iyo Shigekata.

daughter

*Uma no zhō*

## [CHILDREN OF SHIGETSUGU, 13TH]

daughter,

w. of Ōi no suke, of the same family.

## 14th, SHIGETOYO,

Chiyo-gorō, Mata-gorō, *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu*.

His mt. was daughter of Kimotsuki *Hyō-bu shō-yū* Kaneoki.

In autumn of Ten-shō 2 y. [1574], there was a rumor that Shigetoyo was conceiving a rebellious intention. Thereupon Shigetoyo was greatly alarmed, and, presenting an oath with a religious seal of the divine temple, explained that he had no evil thought; at that time, he offered the four places, Yamada, Amatatsu, Tazaki, and Yoshida. Lord *tai-shu* not only pardoned him, hut also, returning him Yoshida, confirmed [his possession thereof] together with his original domain.

When on the same 8 y. 10 m. 15 d. [21 Nov. 1580] lord *tai-shu* despatched several chieftains to the fortress of Yasaki, Higo, Shigetoyo was ill, and ordered the elders (*ka-rō*) Yamaguchi Chikuzen Shigeaki and Taneda Shin-emon Hidetsugu with several hundred warriors to join in the campaign; Shigeaki, Hidetsugu, and more than fifty warriors died in war.

D. the same 11 y. 8 m. 5 d. [20 Sept. 1583]; was styled Jō-yei *zhi*, Sennō Jō-Yei *dai zen-jō-mon*; subsequently was deified as Hirose *dai myō-zhin*.

His w. was a Shimadzu, styled Ei-chū *zhi*; n. p. B., Setsu<sup>33</sup> Shin-Ei *dai-shi*; (d. Ten-shō 19 y. 11 m. 8 d. [23 Dec. 1591]).

daughter

Mata-roku,

n. p. B., Kō-gan Jō-Nō.

Shigetoshi,

Mata-shichirō; adopted son of Okamoto U-hyōé Shigehiro.

daughter,

w. of Taki *Sa-kyō no suke* Shigetoki.

## [SUCCESSOR AND CHILDREN OF SHIGETOYO, 14TH]

daughter,

the first w. of Shigetoki.

B. Gen-ki 1 y. [1570]; her mt. was daughter of Shimadzu *U-ma no kami* Tadamasa.<sup>34</sup>

After divorce from Shigetoki, she m. a Shikine; again divorced, she retired in the house of her uncle [Shimadzu] *U-ma no kami* Yukihiisa. The tea-jar called Narashiha which Yukihiisa presented to the *dai-zhu* [i.e., the *shō-gun* Iéyasu] during the Kei-chō period [1596-1615] was a hereditary treasure of the house [of Iriki-in]; it is regrettable that this lady carried this away and it has come in possession of another house.

D. 4 m. 24 d. [year unknown]; n. p. B., Hō-zan Ei-Chin *dai-shi*.

## 15th, SHIGETOKI,

Kama-sahurō, Mata-roku.

Gen-ki 2 y. [1571].<sup>35</sup>

[B] Ten-shō 1 y. [1573]; his mt. was daughter of Hongō *Saemon no zhō* Tokihisa. Since Shigetoyo had no son, Shigetoki was m. to his daughter and succeeded to his house; really he was the second son of Shimadzu *U-ma no kami* Yukihiisa, his mt. being daughter of Hongō *Saemon no zhō* Tokihisa *nyū-dō* Ichi-Un. As his adopted mt. was Tadamasa's eldest daughter, she was sister of Shigetoki's father.<sup>34</sup>

When His Excellency Lord Hideyoshi came on his punitive expedition [1587], he bade Konishi Settsu *no kami* Yukinaga, Wakizaka *Chū-mu shō-yū* Yasuharu, Kuki Ōsumi *no kami* Yoshitaka, and other generals, besiege the Hirasa fortress; when, on the same 15 y. 4 m. 28 d. [3 June 1587], they attacked it fiercely, and Katsura *Zhin-gi* Tada-akira, the custodian of the fortress, strongly defended it, [Shigetoki] sent as support [his vassals] Takagi Idzumi, Seze Zen-zaemon, and scores of other warriors; Takagi and Seze fought strenuously.

Shigetoki and his w. were inharmonious, and finally separated. Thereupon, his adopted mt. consulted the family and vassals, and Lord *tai-shu* made the eldest daughter of *Sa-kingo* Toshihisa marry Shigetoki. As Toshihisa was Yō-chū's [i.e., Shigetoshi's] grandchild on the mother's side, the ancient tie was thus cemented.

In the summer of Bun-roku 1 y. [1502], the *tai-kō* Lord Hideyoshi ordered generals to make war upon Chō-sen (Korea). When [Shimadzu] *Hyō-go no kami* Lord Yoshihiro, obeying the order, embarked upon his expedition, Shigetoki was indisposed and unable to serve in person; thereupon he had his kinsman Iriki-in Sa-kyō Shigeoku and his elder (*ka-rō*) Tōgō Zhin-zaemon Shigekage go to Kō-rai (Korea). One hundred and fifty warriors were organized into two contingents. At that time, one Umekita *Ku-nai Saemon* Kunikane, starting after Lord Yoshihiro for Chō-sen, moored ships at Hirado, Hizen; and, perhaps fearing punishment for his tardiness, suddenly changed his mind, and began a rebellion, falsely claiming that he pursued the *tai-shu's* order. There were Tazhiri Ara-byōé and many others who joined in the plot. Unexpectedly Shigekage [also] followed Umekita's forces and invaded Higo. The *tai-shu* Lord Ryū-Haku [i.e., Yoshihisa], who was at Nagoya, hearing this event, at once reported it; and, receiving a strict command, went down to the *kuni* with Hosokawa Yū-Sai, and punished the Umekita party. Kunikane was defeated and died at Sashiki, Higo, and Shigekage and his seventy-five men were killed at several places. Shigetoki, obeying a strict order, killed Shigekage's father, Bizen Shigesada, and relatives of the former's followers. At that time, Shigeoku led seventy-five warriors, and, crossing the sea, met Lord Yoshihiro at Yōng-p'ung *chōng* (in Kyun-geui *do* on the border of Kang-wun *do*). Thereafter they served in war for a year, during which [Shigetoki] several times sent over men of his family and vassals, and was never negligent in warlike service.

In the autumn of the same 4 y. [1505], pursuant of [Hideyoshi's] order to transfer the domains of various houses of the *kuni*, Shigetoki left his ancient domain Iriki *in* and moved to Yū-no-wo, in Ōsumi. This was not the will of the lord *tai-shu*, but a result of the machinations of Izhūin *Uémon-daibu* Tadamune *nyū-dō* Kō-Gan, the elder of the *kuni*. Accordingly, on 1 m. 20 d. of the following year [18 Feb. 1506], the heir Lord Tadatsune granted [Shigetomo] a pledge that his original domain would be confirmed at a proper opportunity.

In the Spring of Kei-chō 1 y. [1596], Shigetoki, having recovered from his illness, crossed to

- Kō-rai, and met Lord Mata-hachi Tadatsune at the camp of Ka-tuk Island. At that time Mōri Iki *no kami* Yoshinari, Itō *Min-bu dai-bu* Suketake, Akitsuki Saburō Tanenaga, Takahashi Kurō Mototane, and Shimadzu Mata-shichiro Tadatoyo, were encamped at An-kol *po* about a *ri* from Ka-tuk. When in the Spring of Kei-chō 2 y. [1597], Shigetoki, obeying Lord Tadatsune's command, went as envoy to the five lords at An-kol *po*, and, receiving their answers, hoisted sail on his return voyage, several guard-ships of the enemy intercepted him. Shigetoki commanded and defended with guns, but was sorely pressed, when, seeing succoring ships issue from Ka-tuk and An-kol, the enemy boats retreated. As Shigetoki defied the enemy of superior force and returned to Ka-tuk Lord Tadatsune greatly admired his conduct; the five lords at An-kol *pu* also sent messages of appreciation; and Shigetoki's fame spread on all sides. On the night of Kei-chō 2 y. 7 m. 15 d. [27 Aug. 1597], Lord Yoshihiro and Lord Tadatsune, consulting with other lords, attacked and cut down the enemy's guard ships at Kara Island, (Kara island being the vulgar name of Ko-je [Island]).
- When Nam-wun *chōng* (in Chul-la *do* vulgarly known as Seki-koku) was reduced, on the night of 8 m. 15 d. [26 Sept.], Shigetoki rendered military service.
- On the same 3 y. 10 m. 1 d. [30 Oct. 1598], an immense army of the Great Ming [China] and Chō-sen [Korea] besieged the new fortress at Sō-chōn and attacked it fiercely.<sup>36</sup> Lord Yoshihiro and Lord Tadatsune fought at the head of Nam-hai Island, and killed several hundred of the enemy, capturing his vessels; in this battle Shigetoki did distinguished service, and many of his vassals, including Murao Ko-gorō and others, died in war. Thereafter [Shigetoki] returned to Japan in Lord Yoshihiro's retinue, and, being granted leave at Nagoya, reached the residence at Yu-no-wo on 12 m. 24 d. [20 Jan. 1599].
- In the Spring of the same 4 y. [1599] the *tai-shu* Lord *u-rin*<sup>37</sup> Tadatsune punished with death the traitorous vassal Izhūin *Uémon dai-bu* Tadamune *nyū-dō* Kō-Gan at the lord's residence at Fushimi.<sup>38</sup> Kō-Gan's eldest son Gen-zhirō Tadazane, who was at the fortress of Shō-nai, Hiuga, hearing that his father had been killed, erected twelve forts, and, revealing his rebellious intentions, divided his warriors to defend them, wielding wicked power. When the lord *tai-shu*, therefore, hastened back to the *kuni* to chastize him, he granted to Shigetoki, greatly to his honor, the office of *ji-tō* of Takezaki and Takabaru. When [the lord] attacked the Yamada fortress, on 6 m. 23 d. [13 Aug. 1599], Shigetoki was stationed at Kusu-mure; at the signalled hour, he vied with other generals to lead the van, and came to the fortress at dawn. The enemy strongly defended the fortress, sending down arrows and stone missiles like showers and booming guns like peals of thunder. But [Shigetoki and his men] defied it all, and, scaling up to the fortress, cut down all the defenders, till it was captured. Of Shigetoki's forces, Tōgō Zhūrō-zaémon was wounded; Iriki-in Moku-suke, Eihara Kichi-emon, Nagaé Ku-nai, Takagi Ya-zaémon, Kizaki Shin-zahurō, Nakatsuno Ichi-byōé, Saisho Kamon, Takada Sō-kichi, and Tō-suke, the *Chū-gen*, took enemy's heads,<sup>39</sup> Tōgō Ko-zhirō, Ketō-in Tō-hyōé, Taneda Kyū-zaémon, Ikeda Ji-emon, Nakazhima Tsu-no-suke, Mondo of the same family, Hirase Tarō-zaémon, Ikeda Ji-emon, Imatō Ko-emon, Nishimata Gen-zhirō, Harada Ichi-no-zhō, and Ma-roku and Ichi-byōé, these two being *chū-gen*, fell fighting, Iriki-in Katsusa, Hiko-emon and Chū-hyōé of the same family, Terao Zen-émon, Tōgō Minhu-saémon, Murao Gen-zaémon, Taneda Shin-emon, Taguchi Han-hyōé, Miyasato Mondo, Hashiguchi Zhū-zaémon, Nomaguchi Rokuro-zaémon, Saisho Gō-emon, Katsuda Ya-zaémon, Shiro-emon of the same family, Harada Gon-hyōé, Koba Hei-zaémon, Matsumoto Hachi-hyōé, Kohata U-kyō, Mukai Kamon, Mishima Kurō-hyōé, Ikeda Tonomo, Nanjō Ri-emon, and Kin-suke, the *chū-gen*, were wounded. At the Taka-zhō way, Mizoguchi Sō-emon, Saitō Gen-hyōé, and Hagiwara Hiko-hachirō, distinguished themselves with valor.
- Yamaguchi Kan-byōé-no-zhō Naotomo, bearing Lord *Nai-fu*<sup>40</sup> Iéyasu's instructions, came down to the *kuni* last winter, and repeatedly advised Tadazane to surrender, but the latter would not yield. But in the Spring of *kanoé-ne* [1600], Tadazane, being exhausted, sought Naotomo's mediation to surrender. Lord *U-rin* [Tadatsune] also having regard for the command [of Iéyasu] pardoned Tadazane's guilt of treason. Thereupon Naotomo returned to Kyōto. The lord *U-rin* had Shigetoki accompany Naotomo to the Capital and thank the lord *Nai-fu* for his great favor. At this time, Shigetoki had audience [of Iéyasu], and thereafter stayed at Fushimi and waited upon Lord Yoshihiro.

When Lord Yoshihiro together with other generals attacked the fortress of Fushimi<sup>41</sup> on Kei-chō 5 y. 8 m. 1 d. [8 Sept. 1600], Shigetoki also wielded a spear and rendered distinguished service, bis vassals Murao Zen-hyōe, Katsuda Ya-zhi-emon, Onobuchi Gen-gorō, and Ōsako Ya-sbichirō, taking heads.<sup>39</sup> At the battle of Seki-ga-hara, on 9 m. 15 d. [21 Oct.], Shigetoki was in Lord Yoshihiro's first division. At the height of the battle, [Kohayakawa] Chikuzen *Chū-nagon* Hideaki suddenly turned about, and [deserting our side] defeated the army of Ōtani *Gyō-bu shō-yū* Yoshitaka; whereupon the armies of Ishida *Ji-bu shō-yū* Mitsunari and others were routed. At that time, large forces of the enemy separated Lord Yoshihiro's personal following and his advance guard. After the defeat, Shigetoki and the more than thirty of his warriors who had survived, several times fought their way out of the pressing enemy and narrowly escaped death, until all but his followers Iriki-in Hiko-emon, Tōgō Sei-ta, Murao Zen-hyōe, Ōsako Ya-shiro, Maeda Saburo-zhirō, and Ya-shirō, the *chū-gen*, perished. Then, on the way for the *kuni*, they met the enemy, and the seven men, Shigetoki and the vassals, all died, on the 23 d. of the same month [29 Oct.]. He was styled Zhu-shō *zhi* Un-an Jō-Gyō *ko-zhi* and deified as Hiyoshi *dai-myō-zhin*, which title was later changed to Shigeki *myō-zhin*. His w. was a Shimadzu; n. p. B., Ren-shū Myō-Shin *an-su*; (d. Kwan-ei 18 y. 5 m. 23 d. [1 July 1641]).

[SUCCESSOR AND CHILDREN OF SHIGETOKI, 15TH]

daughter,

w. of Shigetaka.

B. Bun-roku 3 y. [1504].

Her mt. was daughter of Shimadzu *Sa-kingo* Toshihisa *nyū-dā* Sei-Sa.

D. Kwan-ei 12 y. 10 m. 15 d. [24 Nov. 1635], at 42 years;<sup>42</sup> n. p. B., Shō-ryō *zhi* Zen-pō Shō-Ryō *dai-shi*.

16th, SHIGETAKA,

first name Tadatomi, also Shigekuni, also Hisahide; Ya-ichirō; Iwami *no kami*, Hōki *na kami*.

B. Ten-shō 7 y. 8 m. 20 d. [10 Sept. 1579].

As Shigetoki had a daughter but no son, [Tadatomi] was adopted, according to the lord *tai-shu*'s order, as son-in-law; he really was the fifth son of Shimadzu Satsuma *na kami* Yoshitora, and his mt. was the eldest daughter of the former *tai-shu* Lord Yoshihisa. The lord's mt. Sessō Myō-An *dai-shi* was Yō-chū's [*i.e.*, Iriki-in Shigetoshi's] daughter. Therefore, Tadatomi was Yō-chū's great-great-grandchild.<sup>43</sup> [Tadatomi's] career during the years of his succession to this house is given in detail below.

In the summer of Bun-roku 2 y. [1503], when [Tadatomi's] eldest brother Idzumi Mata-tarō Tadatoki disobeyed Lord *Tai-kā* Hideyoshi's order, Tadatomi, together with his elder brother Mata-suke Tadakiyo and younger brother Ko-shichirō Tadatoyo, was given in custody to Konishi Settsu *na kami* Yukinaga, and so stayed at Udo, Higo.

In the summer of the same 3 y. [1504] Tadatomi followed Yukinaga in his expedition in Kō-rai and did warlike service; returning to Udo in the 12 m., he spent years there.

On Kei-chō 2 y. 5 m. 11 d. [25 Jan. 1507] Tadatomi stealthily left Udo and went across to Chō-sen, and on 6 m. 24 d. [7 Aug.] saw Lord Yoshihiro at Ka-tuk Island. Thereafter he always waited upon him in person, and, particularly when the [enemy's] guard-ships at Kara Island were defeated and when the castle of Nam-wun was assaulted, rendered warlike service.

At the battle of the new fortress of Sō-chōn, on the same 3 y. 10 m. 1 d. [30 Oct. 1508], Tadatomi took several heads<sup>39</sup> of the enemy. He served also at the naval battle at Nam-hai on 11 m. 18 d. [16 Dec.]. Thereafter he escorted Lord Yoshihiro to Japan, and, being granted leave at Nagoya, returned to the capital of Satsuma [Kagoshima]. Thereafter he changed his name to Hisahide.

In the summer of the same 4 y. [1509], when Lord *U-rin*<sup>37</sup> Tadatsume was on his campaign at Shō-nai, Hisahide rendered service.

At the battle of Seki-ga-hara, Mino, on the same 5 y. 9 m. 15 d. [21 Oct. 1600], Lord Yoshihiro, fighting his way out of the enemy's large forces, issued to Minakuchi, Ōmi, where was a new harrier defended by many warriors. Hisahide was sent by the lord as messenger to the chief



of the harrier; though the *chū-gen* Sen-hei accompanied him, he could not keep pace with [Hisahide's] flying steed. The latter went alone to the harrier, and, transmitting the lord's pleasure to its commander, made him withdraw the defending warriors. Lord Yoshihiro praised [Hisahide's] conduct and gave him a *waki-zashi*<sup>44</sup> [made by] Seki. As they took the Iga road, and, by way of Sumiyoshi, Settsu, returned to the *kuni*, Hisahide served the lord loyally, never for a day leaving his side. For this, the lord gave him a *kan-zhō*, and granted him a new fief of two hundred *koku* [in *taka*]. At this time, [Hisahide] succeeded to the Ei family.

.....  
In the spring of the same 10 y. [1605], when the lord *U-rin*<sup>37</sup> went up to Kyōto, Hisahide escorted him. At the capital, he received the command to succeed to this house, and changed his name to Iriki-in Iwami *no kami* Shigekuni. In the spring of the next year, the marriage [with Iriki-in Shigetoki's daughter] was celebrated.

.....  
On the same 12 y. 1 m. 25 d. [20 Feb. 1607] Shigekuni attended court at Kagoshima, as the lord hunted at Taniyama. During his absence, a fire destroyed his private residence, and many of the hereditary treasures of the family were burnt.

.....  
In the same 17 y. [1612], there was the lord's order that the *issho shū*—hereditary lords of domains were in late years called *issho shū* [domain holders]—should leave their private domains and remove to Kagoshima.<sup>45</sup> Accordingly a land for residence was granted on the seashore to the *tatsu-mi* [southeast] of the lord's castle. But as [Shigekuni] was unable to build houses all at once, he left Yu-no-wo, and temporarily moved to a villa at Yoshida. When in the winter of this year, the lord *U-rin*<sup>37</sup> hunted at Raku-zan [?], he visited the villa and spent the night.

In the same 18 y. [1613], [Shigekuni] was transferred from Yu-no-wo, and was granted the original domain Iriki *in*. He was also appointed its *ji-tō*; and the *samurai shū*<sup>46</sup> under him numbered two hundred. (More than a half of Iriki *in* was the private domain, and the remainder was the *to-zhō*. At that time, the *shū-chū* and the *ke-rai* had mixed residence.) This year [Shigekuni] moved to the residence at Kagoshima. Shigekuni changed his name to Shigetaka.

On Genna 2 y. 6 m. 2 d. [15 July 1616] the lord *U-rin*'s heir was born, and, according to the lord's command, [Shigetaka] performed the duty of the how.<sup>47</sup> This [child] was [subsequently] the *tai-shu* Lord Mitsuhsa. His mt. was daughter of [Shigetaka's] elder brother Tadakiyo, or, Shigetaka's niece.

.....  
On the same [Kwan-ei] 7 y. 7 m. 19 d. [27 Aug. 1630] there was a violent wind and rain. On 8 m. 6 d. [12 Sept.] there again was a great wind and flood, and also a tidal wave, popularly known as a *shi-kai nami* ("waves of the four seas") and in other places as *tsu-nami*, and many of the documents of the family perished in this calamity, a regrettable accident.

On the same 10 y. 6 m. 4 d. [9 July 1633], according to a previous order, [Shigetaka] left Kagoshima, and reached the lord's residence at Sakurada, Edo, on 8 m. 2 d. [5 Sept.]. Diligently serving there, he left Edo on 11 m. 20 d. of the next year [8 Jan. 1635], and returned to the residence in Kagoshima on 12 m. 29 d. [17 Feb.].

In the winter of the same 14 y. [1637-1638], a party of *hyaku-shō* in the harony of Matsukura Nagato *no kami* Katsuié, head of the Shimahara castle, Hizen, rose in arms and shut themselves up in the castle of Hara. These were adherents of [the religion of] Yaso<sup>48</sup> of the *nan-ban*<sup>49</sup> countries, vulgarly called Kirishitan.<sup>50</sup> Insurgents of Amakusa, Higo, in the harony of Terazawa Hyōgo *no kami* Katahisa, head of the Karatsu castle, of the same *kuni* [Higo], also rose up, and, going across the sea, joined [the rebels at] the Hara castle. When the great lord *dai-zhu* [i.e., the *shō-gun*] despatched harons of various *kuni* in punitive warfare, the lord *tai-shu* Kwō-mon<sup>51</sup> was ill, and sent an army of support to Shimahara and Amakusa. Shigetaka, obeying the lord's order, left Kagoshima on 1 m. 8 d. of the next year [21 Feb. 1638], and arrived at Kutama of Amakusa, on the 14 d., and together with Shimadzu Bungo *no kami*



Hisayoshi, Kiire Settsu *no kami* Tadamasa, Hongō Sado *no kami* Hisamasu, and Yamada Min-bu *shō-yū* Arihide, guarded it in strong force. On the 22 d. [Shigetaka] left Kutama and encamped at Kane [?] and diligently guarded it. On 2 m. 28 d. [11 April 1638], the various harons captured the Hara castle and cut down the rebels. The [*shō-gun's*] commissioners, Lord Matsudaira Idzu *no kami* Nobutsuna and Lord Toda Sa-mon Uji-kane, on their victorious return, moored their ships at Amakusa, and, inspecting the region, ordered the guardsmen from Satsuma to hunt for the surviving rebels in the mountains. Thereafter Shigetaka was granted leave, and, emharking at the harbor of Misumi on 3 m. 15 d. [28 April], reached the Kagoshima castle on the 17 d.

Shigetaka escorted the *tai-shu* Lord Mitsuhsa when, on the same 17 y. 1 m. 29 d. [21 March 1640], he started from Kagoshima on his annual visit [to the *shō-gun's* castle at Edo]. On 2 m. 25 d. [16 April] they met at Tomo, Bingo, the [*shō-gun's*] envoy, Sassa Gon-hyōe-no-zhō, who brought a stork caught by the [*shō-gun's* own] falcon, in congratulation of the lord *tai-shu's* first entry into his *kuni* after his succession to the house [of Shimadzu]. Thereupon, Shigetaka, receiving an order to serve as the lord's messenger to tender his thanks, made haste and arrived at the lord's mansion at Shiha, Edo, on 3 m. 10 d. [30 April]; on the 11 d. [Shigetaka] repaired to the residence of the envoy; on the 14 d., saw the *bu-gyō*; and on the 15 d., going to the second tower (*ni no maru*) of the Castle, had audience of the Great Lord *dai-zhu* Iemitsu [the *shō-gun*]. Hearing His Lordship's personal word of answer, [Shigetaka] retired. The next day, he received a *hō-sho*.<sup>52</sup> On the 17 d., he again went to the west tower of the Castle, and was graciously granted two suits of dresses. Leaving Edo on the 19 d., he met the lord *tai-shu* at dusk on the 21 d. at Odawara, and delivered the [*shō-gun's*] answer. Thereafter, following the lord's retinue, he reached Edo on the 23 d. Escorting him in early 4 m. the next year, he returned to the *kuni*.

The same 18 y. 6 m. 27 d. [3 Aug. 1641], acting upon a previous command, [Shigetaka] went as envoy to Higo, in order to congratulate the entry into the *kuni* of Lord Higo *no kami* Mitsutoshi, the lord of the *kuni*. Arrived at Kawazhira, Higo, on 7 m. 1 d. [7 Aug.]. [Shigetaka] reached Kumamoto on the 2 d.; on the 3 d. he saw Lord Mitsutoshi and was granted a treasure sword [made by] Kuniyoshi. . . .

.....  
D. Shō-ho 4 y. 8 m. 18 d. [16 Sept. 1647], at 69 years;<sup>42</sup> was styled Ren-shō *zhi* Dai-yen Gekkan *an-su*. The vassals (*ka-shin*) Harada Shu-zen Tsunehide, Fujita Ban-zaemon Hidemitsu, Kawazoe Tajima Shigetsugu, and Kawasaki Sa-zaemon Sukenohu, followed him in death.<sup>53</sup>

#### [CHILDREN OF SHIGETAKA, 16TH]

daughter,

w. of Ei Sa-ma *no kami* Hisamsa; girlhood name, Yasu-chiyo.

B. in Kei-chō 11 y. [1606]; her mt. was daughter of Shigetoki.

D. Kei-an 2 y. 10 m. 26 d. [30 Nov. 1649]; n. p. B., Kei-shitsu Jō-Hō *an-su*.

17th, SHIGEMICHI,

Mata-roku.

B. in Kei-chō 13 y. [1608]; his mt. was the same.

.....  
D. Kwan-ei 9 y. 6 m. 28 d. [13 Aug. 1632], at 25 years; was styled Zhu-shō *zhi* Toku-gwan Sō-Ryū *ko-zhi*. Ōyama San-hyōe followed him in death.

Hisamori,

Mimasaka Min-bu.

B. Kei-chō 17 [1612]; mt. the same.

Adopted by Shimadzu *Dai-zen no suke* Tadahide.

D. En-pō 8 y. 1 m. 12 d. [12 Feb. 1680].

daughter,

w. of Kahayama Ya-zaemon Hisamitsu; name Ko-tsuru-giku.

B. Kei-chō 19 y. 7 m. 26 d. [31 Aug. 1614].

Shigenori,

Kame-giku.

B. Genna 4 y. 2 m. 29 d. [25 March 1618]; mt. the same.

Succeeded Kabayama Gon-zaemon Hisamitsu, and changed name to Tadashige, and again to Tadanori.

Shigetsugi,

Ya-kichi-zaemon.

B. Genna 8 y. [1622]; mt. the same.

D. Kwan-ei 20 y. 5 m. 17 d. [2 July 1643]; n.p.B., Ko-sei-san<sup>54</sup> *an-su*, Take-shita Kurando Harutsuna followed in death.

### [SON OF SHIGEMICHI, 17TH]

18th, SHIGEYORI,

Mata-giku; Iwami *no kami*.

B. at Kagoshima Kwan-ei 6 y. 3 m. 5 d. [27 April 1629]; mt. was daughter of Kawakami Inaba *no kami* Hisakuni.

In the autumn of the same 16 y. [1639], when his grandfather Shigekuni invited the lord *tai-shu* Mitsuhsa, the lord gave the cap to Mata-giku, and named him Iwami *no kami* Shigeyori; moreover, gave him a treasure sword. The hair-dresser was *Dzusho no kami* Hisamichi. Thereafter, [Shigeyori] waited upon the lord, according to his command.

In accordance with a previous command, Shigeyori was married to the lord *tai-shu's* younger sister. The marriage was celebrated on Kei-an 3 y. 6 m. 13 d. [12 July 1650] in the best possible form.

When in Shō-ō 2 y. 4 m. [May 1653] there was a performance of Buddhist services for the spirit of Tai-yū *in* [n.p.B. of the late *shō-gun* Iemitsu], Shigeyori acted as the lord *tai-shu's* envoy. On Mei-reki 2 y. 4 m. 13 d. [7 May 1656], [Shigeyori] dedicated a title-panel of Shigeki *myō-zhin*. The title had been granted in the preceding year by Lord Urahe *no Ason* Kaneoki, the chief of Shintō, and was received this Spring; choosing this lucky day, it was dedicated at this time.

The ancestor of this family, Jō-Shin, held Iriki *in* and lived at the fortress of Kiyoshiki, and thenceforth [Iriki *in*] has been held by heredity without change for more than 350 years. Although in the late Bun-roku 4 y. [1595], at the time of the great grandfather Shigetoki, the domain was, according to [Hideyoshi's] command, transferred to Yu-no-wo, in Kei-chō 18 y. [1613], the grandfather Shigekuni was granted Iriki *in* as before. At that time, two hundred of [the lord's] immediate vassals (*jikkō no samurai*) were retained here and attached to Shigekuni, and constituted [the *chū-chū* of] the *to-zhō*. Therefore, [the lord's] immediate vassals and [Shigekuni's] household vassals (*ka-chū no samurai*) lived in neighboring houses without distinction [of quarters]. And the private domain (*shi-ryō*) was called Iriki, and the *to-zhō* was known as Kiyoshiki, though in fact they were the same place. As Shigeyori appealed [to the lord] about this, the *to-zhō* and the *shi-ryō* were divided, in compliance with his wish, on Man-ji 2 y. 2 m. 28 d. [19 April 1659]: the six *mura*, Tō-no-hara, Ichino, Nakamura, Kusumoto, Kujū, and Kurano, were separated and called Kiyoshiki, and the *shū* [of the *to-zhō*] were transferred to Tō-no-hara; the remaining two *mura* Soēda and Ura-no-myō were granted [to Shigeyori as his domain]. Hence these two *mura* retained the old name Iriki *in*.

D. Kwan-bun 7 y. 7 m. 10 d. [29 Aug. 1667], at 39 years;<sup>42</sup> was styled Zhu-shō *zhi* Bai-shin Sei-Kō *dai ko-zhi*.

The first w. was a Shimadzu, [styled] Bai-gyoku Myō-Shin *dai-shi*; (d. Shō-ō 2 y. 11 m. 20 d. [8 Jan. 1654]).

## [CHILDREN OF SHIGEYORI, 18TH]

## 19th, SHIGEHARU,

also Shigeka; Mata-chiyo; *Hayato no suke*.

B. Kei-an 4 y. 7 m. 25 d. [9 Sept. 1651] at Kagoshima; mt. was daughter of Lord *Kwō-mon* Ichisa.

Man-ji 4 y. was Kwan-hun 1 y. On 1 m. 28 d. [27 Feb. 1661] the ceremony of reaching majority was performed at the lord's castle, Lord *tai-shu* Mitsu-hisa graciously putting the cap [on Shigeharu] and naming him *Hayato no suke* Shigeharu; he, moreover, gave him a treasure sword (Taniyama). The hair-dresser was *Dzusho no kami* Hisamichi.

.....  
In the Spring of Man-ji 2 y. [1650], owing to the late father Shigeyori's petition, the *to-zhō* and the *shi-ryō* were separated. But Kiyoshiki was the name of the fortress of Iriki *in*, as many documents showed. And yet Tō-no-hara was [in 1650] named Kiyoshiki, while the name of the fortress of Tō-no-hara was Hiwaki. Since the names seemed incorrect, Shigeharu appealed [to the lord's council]. Now En-pō 9 y. (*i.e.*, Ten-wa 1 y.) 4 m. 22 d. [8 June 1681], it was ordered, in compliance with the petition, that Kiyoshiki should be changed to Hiwaki. Thus was the desire of the deceased father fortunately fulfilled and the memories of the ancestors perpetuated.

.....  
[D. Ten-wa 2 y. 7 m. 6 d. (8 Aug. 1682)], at 32 years; n.p.B., Ei-datsu *in den* Ki-hō Sō-Zen *dai ko-zhi*; was buried at Zhu-shō *zhi*, Gaku-Kai *wo-shō* of Fuku-shō *zhi* officiating.

## Matsuno,

B. Man-ji 2 y. 11 m. 15 d. [28 Dec. 1659]; mt. was daughter of Kawakami Kotsuke Hisayuki.

D. prematurely the same 3 y. 7 m. 22 d. [27 Aug. 1660].

## daughter,

early name O-Man; w. of Shimadzu Chikugo *no kami* Tada-aki.

B. Kwan-bun 1 y. 11 m. 10 d. [31 Dec. 1661]; mt. the same.

## [CHILDREN OF SHIGEHARU, 19TH]

[?],<sup>55</sup>

B. En-pō 5 y. 5 m. 12 d. [12 June 1677]; mt. was daughter of Lord *tai-shu* Sa *chū-zhō* Mitsu-hisa.

D. Gen-roku 4 y. 12 m. 6 d. [23 Jan. 1692], at 15 years; n.p.B., Ko-shin *in den* Chi-san Ryō-Kan *an-su*; was buried at Nan-rin *zhi*, and the mortuary tablet was placed at Ko-shin *in* of Iriki.

daughter,<sup>55</sup>

girlhood name Tora-kame.

B. Mei-reki 3 y. 4 m. 19 d. [1 June 1657]; mt. was daughter of Niuro Sa-zaemon Tadayori.

D. Kyō-ho 16 y. 9 m. 23 d. [23 Oct. 1731], at 75 years; n.p.B., Bai-hō *in den* Soku-shō Tesshin *dai-shi*; was buried at Zhu-shō *zhi*, Iriki, and the mortuary tablets placed at this church and Ko-shin *in*.

## 20th, SHIGEKATA,

Tora-matsu; Shima *no suke*.

B. En-pō 3 y. 1 m. 27 d. [21 Feb. 1675]; mt. was daughter of Lord *tai-shu* Sa *chū-zhō* Mitsu-hisa.

As Shigekata died leaving a daughter but no son, his widow petitioned Lord *tai-shu* Mitsu-hisa, and had Shigekata marry her daughter, and adopted him as heir, on Ten-wa 2 y. 10 m. 23 d. [22 Nov. 1682]. Shigekata was really the second son of Shimadzu Tanha Tadamichi.

On Ten-wa 3 y. 2 m. 17 d. [15 March 1683], [Tora-matsu] presented [to the lord] one sword, price of a horse, and two loads of three articles, as gift-offering (*shū-gi*) [on the occasion] of his succession to the house.<sup>56</sup>

On Tei-kyō 2 y. 2 m. 1 d. [5 March 1685], at celebrating his coming of age, Lord *Chū-zhō*

Mitsuhisa graciously put the cap on Tora-matsu, named him *Shima no suke* Shigekata, and granted him a short sword.

On Gen-roku 2 y. 2 m. 7 d. [27 March 1689], [Shigekata] was appointed chief of the third company.<sup>57</sup>

On the same y. same m. 29 d. he was appointed *ji-tō* of Noda.

[Gen-roku 8 y.] 12 m. 14 d. [18 Jan. 1696], Lord Yoshitaka graciously visited Shigekata's house [in Kagoshima]; the latter presented a sword and silver in lieu of a horse and thanked his lordship for the honor, and was granted two pieces of silver.<sup>58</sup>

Shigekata had been chief of the family for years, but his end was not auspicious, and a report of the misfortune<sup>59</sup> of his house reached Lord Tsunataka, who graciously pardoned him. Accordingly Shigekata left the house Gen-roku 11 y. 12 m. 6 d. [6 Jan. 1699], and resumed his original family-name.

#### [SUCCESSOR OF SHIGEKATA, 20TH]

##### 21ST, NORISHIGE,

first Tadanori; [n. b.], Kame-zhu; Mata-shirō, Mata-byōé.

B. Ten-wa 2 y. 4 m. 11 d. [18 May 1682]; mt. was daughter of Iriki-in Iwami *no kami* Shigeyori; [Norishige] was really the second son of Shimadzu Chikugo Tada-aki.

Gen-roku 3 y. 11 m. 18 d. [18 Dec. 1690] Norishige [then Kame-zhu] attended the Castle [of Kagoshima] from the house of Tada-aki, his father by birth, and celebrated his coming of age; Lord *tai-shu* Tsunataka put the cap on his head, and Kiire Mata-byōé Hisa-akira dressed the hair. The lord gave [Kame-zhu] a short sword (Mitsukane) and named him Shimadzu Mata-shirō Tadanori. The latter presented 6 *ten-zhō ori*,<sup>60</sup> 3 loads of *taru*,<sup>61</sup> a sword, and silver in lieu of a horse, and thanked [the lord] for the honor.

The same 9 y. 12 m. 7 d. [30 Dec. 1696] the name was changed to Mata-hyōé. On the 28 d., because of this change, [Tadanori] presented a sword and silver in lieu of a horse, and thanked Lord Tsunataka.

The same 12 y. 1 m. 22 d. [21 Feb. 1699], Tadanori, following Lord Tsunataka's command, succeeded to this house, and was named Iriki-in Mata-hyōé Norishige. On the same y. 2 m. 18 d., because of this occasion, [Norishige] had audience of Lord Tsunataka, and presented a sword, silver in lieu of a horse, and 2 loads of 3 articles.

The same y. 3 m. 4 d. [3 April], he was appointed chief of the 3d company.

Norishige was seriously ill with the smallpox, and at last d. Gen-roku 12 y. 11 m. 23 d. [11 Jan. 1700], at 18 years; n. p. B., Ryū-shō *in den* Un-zan Sō-Haku *dai ko-zhi*. The body was sent to Miyako-no-zhō, Hiuga, (the domain of Tada-aki, his father by birth), and buried at Ryū-shō *zhi*. A mortuary tablet was placed there, and another at Zhu-shō *zhi* of Iriki *in*, the domain of the house.

#### [SUCCESSOR OF NORISHIGE, 21ST]

##### 22d, SHIGENORI,

Tora-suke Hisashige, Tora-no-zhō, also Ichi-zaémon; Shu-me; later changed to Akimasa.

B. Kwan-hun 11 y. 2 m. 28 d. [7 April 1671] at Kagoshima. The sixteenth son of the former *tai-shu* Lord *Chū-zhō* Mitsuhisa; his mt. was daughter of Fukuzaki Mondo-saémon Shigemura. (Though Shigemura was [the lord's] immediate vassal, his children became vassals of this house.)

Ceremony of reaching majority on En-pō 6 y. 8 m. [Sept.-Oct. 1678]: Lord Mitsuhisa gave the cap and the name Shimadzu Tora-suke Hisashige,—he was then seven years old,—and granted treasure swords, (Namihiro and Yasuyuki); Shimadzu Mata-zhirō Hisasuke dressed the hair.

[Gen-roku] 12 y. 12 m. 22 d. [9 Feb. 1700] Hisashige, upon Lord Tsunataka's command, became heir of Norishige, and was called Iriki-in Shu-me Shigenori. On the 28 d. of the same month,

he presented a sword, silver in lieu of a horse, and 2 loads of 3 articles, in token of gratitude for succeeding to this house.

.....  
The same 14 y. 9 m. 6 d. [26 Oct. 1701], he was appointed *ji-tō* of Kamo, Ōsumi, and, as token of gratitude, presented a sword and silver in lieu of a horse.

.....  
The same 15 y. 2 m. 28 d. [25 March 1702] Lord Tsunataka graciously gave Shigenori the crest of the character *zhū* [enclosed] in a grass-design;<sup>62</sup> Shigenori, respectfully accepting it, made it a fixed crest of this house.

The same y. 12 m. 14 d. [30 Jan. 1703] Shigenori, with the lord's permission, m. daughter of Kawakami<sup>63</sup> Kotsuke Hisanao.

.....  
Hō-ei 1 y. 11 m. 13 d. [8 Dec. 1704], . . . , lord *tai-shu* Yoshitaka repaired to the Castle, and, having audience of Lord *dai-shu* Tsunayoshi [the fifth *shō-gun*], tendered thanks for his succession [to the Shimadzu house]. According to the old form, nine of the vassals were granted audience of the *shō-gun* at the White Chamber: the first, Shimadzu Suwō Tadahide, the 2d, Shimadzu Takumi Hisachika,—these two had audience as members of the family; 3d, Shimadzu Ōkura Hisa-akira, 4th, Shimadzu Kageyu Hisamasa, 5th, Shimadzu Tatewaki Tadawo,—these were Elders(*ka-rō*); each presented a sword, silver in lieu of a horse, and five sets of clothes of the season, (Honda *Dan-zhō shō-hitsu* Tadaharu reporting [the presents to the *shō-gun*]); next, the officials(*go yō-nin*), Sagara *Gon-no-daibu* Naganori, Hirata Seimon Sumimune, and Iémura Hei-hachi Sumikata, also had audience. Presently Shigenori visited the residence of each of [the *shō-gun*'s] Elders(*rō-chū*), presented a sword and silver in lieu of a horse, and thanked him for the honor of audience [with the *shō-gun*]; each [Elder] thanked him in writing: these letters are preserved in the house.<sup>64</sup>

.....  
[Hō-ei 2 y.] 10 m. 3 d. [18 Nov. 1705], [Shigenori] was transferred to the *ji-tō* office at Chōsa, Ōsumi. The same m. 11 d., he presented a sword and silver in lieu of a horse, in gratitude.

.....  
The same 6 y. 4 m. 2 d. [11 May 1700] Lord [Shimadzu] Mata-sahurō Tadayasu, (first known as Nahe-sahurō, later named Lord Ōsumi *no kami* Tsugutoyo), held the ceremony of coming of age at the residence at Shiha, Edo. Shigenori accordingly presented a sword, silver in lieu of a horse, a load of two articles, and two inside helts, to Lord Tadayasu, and a sword and silver in lieu of a horse to Lord Yoshitaka, in congratulation.<sup>65</sup> On the same day, Lord Tadayasu graciously gave Shigenori a load of two articles, for which he respectfully thanked him.

.....  
In Shō-toku 3 y. [1713], Lord *tai-shu* Yoshitaka, on his tour of inspection, stopped overnight at the Iriki-in domain, on 9 m. 8 d. [26 Oct. 1713]. Shigenori entertained the lord at high feast, and presented him with a sword and silver in lieu of a horse.<sup>66</sup> He was granted audience, and received a cup, and moreover was given a *moku-roku*<sup>66</sup> of 200 *hiki*<sup>67</sup> of copper money.

.....  
In Kyō-ho 7 y. [1722], Lord *tai-shu* Tsugutoyo, on his first return to the *kuni* after his succession to the harony, passed Wakimoto of Chōsa, on 6 m. 23 d. [4 Aug.]. As Shigenori was *ji-tō*, he received the lord in the tea chamber and entertained him at a high feast, and presented him with a sword and silver in lieu of a horse.<sup>68</sup> He had audience, and received a cup and a *moku-roku*.<sup>69</sup>

The *taka* in complete [possession] at Iriki, 5117.5727 *oku*, had been held for generations since the ancestors of the house. At the time of the lord's management(*shi-hai*),<sup>68</sup> there were found in the domain some permanently damaged lands, new *ta*, and spoiled lands in the lower courses of canals. Therefore, in the same 9 y. 3 m. [April 1723], as a compensation *taka*, 113 *oku* were granted at Urushi *mura*, in Kamo; 102 *oku* at Nishi Mochida *mura*, in Chōsa; and 1000.1 *oku* at Tō-no-hara *mura*, in Hiwaki; and [Shigenori] held them in complete possession.



The same y. 2 m. 3 d. [9 March 1723], in obedience to law, the name was changed from Shigenori to Akimasa, thus avoiding the name of the *shō-gun*.<sup>69</sup>

D. Kyō-ho 20 y. 3 m. 25 d. [16 May 1735], at 64 years; n.p.B., Sho-in *den* Kai-tō Shin-In *dai ko-zhi*; was buried at Zbu-sbō *zhi*; the mortuary tablet was placed there.

[CHILDREN OF SHIGENORI, 22D]

daughter,

O-Matsu; w. of Shimadzu Gō-daibu Hisamichi.

B. Hō-ei 4 y. 7 m. 27 d. [23 Aug. 1707]. . . . mt. by birth was daughter of Horikiri Yo-byōe Masabiuro, (*samurai* of Akune). First m. Katsura Ta-sbichirō Hisanari, and begot a son; after Hisanari's death, returned to her father's house, on Kyō-ho 11 y. 8 m. 10 d. [4 Sept. 1726]; the same 13 y. 10 m. 26 d. [27 Nov. 1728], m. Shimadzu Hisamichi.

D. Kwan-pō 3 y. 6 m. 9 d. [18 July 1743], 32 years.

Tora-gorō,

B. Hō-ei 8 y. 1 m. 29 d. [17 March 1711]; mt. the same.

D. prematurely Shō-toku 6 y. 5 m. 10 d. [29 Jan. 1716]. . . .

daughter,

O-Etsu; w. of Hiraoka Hachiro-dayū Yukika.

B. Shō-toku 2 y. 10 m. 28 d. [25 Nov. 1713]; mt. the same.

D. Kwan-pō 3 y. 6 m. 9 d. [18 July 1743], at 32 years.

23d, TADATSUNE,

formerly Shigenori, later Akitaka, Akiteru, Akiyuki; Kuma-zhirō; *Ukon-shume*.

B. Shō-toku 3 y. 12 m. 30 d. [14 Feb. 1714]; mt. the same.

His w. was daughter of Hirata Ta-zaemon Takamitsu; d. Gen-bun 1 y. 11 m. 7 d. [8 Dec. 1736]. . . .

D. Gen-bun 3 y. 12 m. 27 d. [4 Feb. 1729], at 25 years;<sup>42</sup> n.p.B., Kan-kwō *in den* Hon-nen Ryō-Sbō *dai ko-zhi*; buried at Zbu-sbō *zhi*, where was placed the mortuary tablet.

Dai-hachirō,

B. Kyō-ho 10 y. 7 m. 29 d. [5 Sept. 1725]; father was Katsura Ta-sbichirō Hisanari; mt., the eldest daughter of *Shume* Akimasa.

The same 13 y. 8 m. 25 d. [27 Oct. 1728], by application, [Dai-hachiro] was made second son of Akimasa, though really he was Katsura Hisanari's second son.

Gen-bun 3 y. 3 m. 9 d. [27 April 1738], by order, he was adopted as son by Shimadzu Gō-daibu Michiyuki.

[SUCCESSOR OF TADATSUNE, 23D]

24th, SADAKATSU,

formerly Sadasuke; Sen-no-zbō, Shume, Iwami.

B. at Kagosbima Kyō-ho 21 y. (or Gen-bun 1 y.) 4 m. 9 d. [19 May 1736]; the 4th son of the 22d *tai-shu* Lord Tsugutoyo; mt. was daughter of Shibuya Ki-zaemon Tsuraoimi, (lady O-Kaku).

[Gen-bun] 2 y. 3 m. 5 d. [4 April 1737], obeying Lord *tai-shu* Tsugutoyo's command, became an adopted son of Tadatsune, and was called Iriki-in Sen-no-zbō. . . .

En-kyō 1 y. 4 m. 26 d. [6 June 1744], repaired to the Kagosbima castle, and had the ceremony of coming of age . . . , was called *Shume* Tadasuke. . . .

[Kwan-en 2 y. 1 m.] 11 d. [27 Feb. 1749], cut the front lock<sup>70</sup> in the presence [of Lord Mune-nobu, at Edo]. . . .

.....  
The same 4 y. 3 m. 21 d. [15 April 1751], changed the name to Sadakatsu.

Hō-reki 2 y. 3 m. 1 d. [14 April 1752], was appointed company-chief(*ban-gashira*), and *ji-tō* of Kurino, the Elder Ise *Hyō-bu* Sadaoki transmitting the order.

The same y. 10 m. 13 d. [18 Nov. 1752], following Lord Tsugutoyo's gracious command, [Sadakatsu] took to w. Shimadzu Ya-gara Hisakazu's adopted sister, (Kiwa, really Honda Saku-zaemon Yoshichika's daughter), the Elder Yoshioka Sōma Hisanaka transmitting the command. The same m. 24 d., 2 *kwan* of silver were granted . . . , according to Lord Tsugutoyo's command, as expenses of marriage, the official Ishiguro To-zhiri-saemon Shigenori conveying the order. . . .

.....  
Previously, on Gen-bun 4 y. 3 m. 23 d. [30 April 1739], petitioned and contributed *taka* of more than 2100 *koku* of the private domain of Iriki to the treasury of the House at Iso. (The former *tai-shu* Lord Yoshitaka, after retirement, lived at Iso, of Kagoshima, hence his residence was called the House at Iso.) However, since the whole of Iriki had been the ancient domain of the house, on Hō-reki 8 y. 5 m. 11 d. [16 June 1758], by gracious order, 1000 *koku* out [of the surrendered *taka*] was restored to Sadakatsu, the Elder Kamada Ten[?] Katsumasa conveying the order.

.....  
The same [Mei-wa] 6 y. 2 m. 28 d. [4 April 1760], [Sadakatsu] yielded the house to the heir Sadaka, and retired to the private domain Iriki. . . .

D. at Iriki Ten-myō 1 y. 10 m. 9 d. [24 Nov. 1781], at 46 years;<sup>42</sup> n.p.B., Dai-shin *in den* So-un Ri-Gyō *dai ko-zhi*; was buried at Zhu-shō *zhi*, where the mortuary tablet was placed.

#### [CHILDREN OF SADAKATSU, 24TH]

daughter,

O-Hisa; w. of Yamaoka *Sai-gū* Hisakata.

B. Hō-reki 5 y. 12 m. 22 d. [23 Jan. 1756]; mt. was adopted sister of Shimadzu Ya-gara Hisakazu, really daughter of Honda Saku-zaemon Yoshichika.

D. Mei-wa 8 y. 4 m. 14 d. [27 May 1771]. . . .

daughter,

O-Kane; w. of Machida Kageyu Hisayoshi, later divorced.

.....  
25th, SADAKA,

Iwa-kesa, Tsukumo; Hayato.

B. Hō-reki 9 y. intercalary 7 m. 29 d. [19 Sept. 1759], at the hour first *inu*,<sup>71</sup> mt. the same.

.....  
The same [An-ei] 9 y. 1 m. 10 d. [19 Feb. 1780], was appointed *ji-tō* of Aya . . . 7 m. 28 d. [28 Aug.] presented a sword and silver in lieu of a horse to Lord *tai-shu* Shigehide, and same articles to the heir Lord Tora-zhu-Maru, in gratitude for appointment to the *ji-tō* office.

.....  
D. of illness the same [Ten-myō 4] y. 8 m. 10 d. [24 Sept. 1784], at 26 years; n.p.B., Shun-ki *in den* Ittō Ryō-Kwan *dai ko-zhi*; was buried at Zhu-shō *zhi*, where was placed his mortuary tablet.

daughter

O-In.

B. Hō-reki 10 y. 10 m. 1 d. [8 Nov. 1760]; mt. was daughter of Iriki-in Hayata Sadanori.

D. prematurely the same 13 y. 9 m. 13 d. . . .

Sadayori,

Hachinosuke, Tsunosuke, Einosuke.

B. Hō-reki 12 y. 4 m. 14 d. [5 May 1762]; mt. the same.

.....  
D. of illness the same [Ten-myō 4] y. 10 m. 23 d. [4 Dec. 1784], at 23 years, at Fushimi. . . .

## Iwa-kichi

- B. Mei-wa 4 y. 8 m. 8 d. [31 Aug. 1767]; mt. was daughter of Kawahata Kyū-émon Atsuchika, vassal of Hongō Shichiro-zaemon Hisatomo.  
 D. An-ei 4 y. intercalary 12 m. 11 d. [31 Jan. 1776]. . . .

## [CHILDREN OF SADAKA, 25TH]

## daughter,

Tomi-kesa, O-Waka.

- B. An-ei 9 y. 7 m. 28 d. [28 Aug. 1780]; mt. was daughter of Shimadzu Bizen Takazumi. . . .  
 M., Kwan-sei 11 y. 8 m. 20 d. [19 Sept. 1799], Iseda Iori Sada-akira.

## 26th, SADANORI,

Chiyo-gorō, Kamon.

- B. Ten-myō 4 y. 8 m. 5 d. [19 Sept. 1784]; mt. the same.

The same y. 12 m. 18 d. [27 Jan. 1785], was ordered, through Shimadzu Ya-gara Hisaié, that Sadanori should succeed to the house. . . .

Kwan-sei 4 y. intercalary 2 m. 1 d. [23 March 1792] Sadanori for the first time attended court, and Lord *tai-shu* Narinohu gave him the cap, and, granting him an *ori-gami*,<sup>72</sup> named him Kamon. Sadanori presented a sword, price of a horse, 6 *ori*, and 3 loads of *taru*,<sup>61</sup> in gratitude for the ceremony of coming of age. He was granted a cup and a short sword (made by Oku Motohira). The Elder Yamaoka Ichi-no-kami Hisazumi dressed the hair, and Shimadzu Ni-zhūrō Hisayoshi acted as the mediator.<sup>73</sup> On the same day, presented to Lord Shigehide, by the mediator<sup>73</sup> in charge, a sword, price of a horse, and 2 loads of 3 articles, in gratitude for the coming of age.

- .....  
 D. of illness the same 12 y. 3 m. 15 d. [7 April 1800] at the residence in Kagoshima, at 17 years; n. p. B., Shō-kwō *in den* Gaku-gan Ryō-Shin *dai ko-zhi*; was hurried at Zhu-shō *zhi*, in the Iriki domain.

## [SUCCESSOR OF SADANORI, 26TH]

## 27th, SADATSUNE,

Fumi-kesa, Asa-kesa, Sadatsugu, Hayato, Hira-akira.

- B. Kwan-sei 5 y. 7 m. 26 d. [1 Sept. 1793] at the Tsutsumi-gawa residence in Kagoshima; mt. was daughter of Shimadzu Bizen Takazumi.

The same 12 y. 4 m. 6 d. [29 April 1800], relatives presented a petition that it be permitted to adopt Asa-kesa as son [of Sadaka] and make him succeed to the family. The petition was granted 7 m. 28 d. [16 Sept.]. . . . Really [Asa-kesa] was Shimadzu Suwō Tadasuke's third son.

- .....  
 [Bun-kwa 13 y.] 7 m. 24 d. [16 Aug. 1816], [Sadatsune] was appointed *ji-tō* of Yamada in Aira [*kōri*], Ōsumi. . . . Resigned the *ji-tō* office to the lord Bun-sei 6 y. 8 m. 18 d. [23 Sept. 1823].

- .....  
 D. at the domain Iriki Ka-ei 4 y. 8 m. 20 d. [14 Sept. 1851], at 59 years; n. p. B., Toku-shō *in den* Yū-zan Zhu-Sen *dai ko-zhi*; was hurried at Zhu-shō *zhi* of the domain, where was placed his mortuary tablet.

## [CHILDREN OF SADATSUNE, 27TH]

28th, SADAYOSHI [?],<sup>74</sup>

Goro-shirō, Heima.

- B. Bun-sei 5 y. 10 m. 28 d. [9 Dec. 1822]; mt. the same [?].

D. 27 Feb., Mei-ji 30 y. [1897]; posthumous Shintō name, Aki-nori Sakiwai Hiro-wo *no mikoto*.<sup>75</sup>

.....  
 His w., Etsu, was eldest daughter of Machida Shume, b. Bun-sei 9 y. 10 m. 4 d., d. Mei-ji 22 y. [1889]. . . .  
 daughter,  
 Toyo.  
 B. Kō-kwa 4 y. 12 m. 15 d. [20 Jan. 1848], of a secondary consort, daughter of Imamura Ōsuke.  
 daughter,  
 Take.  
 B. Ka-ei 3 y. 8 m. 25 d. [30 Sept. 1850]; mt. the same.  
 M. Hirase Zhunzō, *shi-zoku* of Tane-ga-shima (Island), Kumake kōri.  
 daughter,  
 Kuwa.  
 M. Hikose Kwaikichi, *shi-zoku* of Osaka fu.  
 daughter,  
 B. Ka-ei 6 y. 3 m. 10 d. [17 April 1853]; mt. the same. D. prematurely. . . .  
 Tsunehiko,  
 Yasu-chiyo, Hei-zhūrō.  
 B. Ka-ei 2 y. 1 m. 19 d. [10 Feb. 1849], of the same mt.  
 Was blinded by smallpox.  
 D. Mei-ji 24 y. [1891], and was buried at Iriki gō.  
 daughter  
 D. prematurely and was buried at Nan-rin zhi.  
 daughter,  
 Kuni.  
 B. Bun-kyū 1 y. 6 m. 15 d. [22 July 1861], of the same mt.  
 W. of Arima Kō-gorō.  
 Man-gorō  
 B. 15 July, Mei-ji 7 y. [1874].  
 Adopted as son by a Mizoguchi, *shi-zoku* of Iriki.

## [SUCCESSOR OF SADAYOSHI, 28TH]

29th, KIMIHIRO,  
 Ai-no-suke, . . . Dan-zhō, Mata-roku.  
 B. Ten-po 7 y. 2 m. 11 d. [27 March 1836]; mt. was eldest daughter of Shimadzu Sei-Dō. Really the second son of Shimadzu Hei-Zan, adopted as Sadayoshi[?]'s son, by petition, Ka-ei 7 y. 7 m. [Aug. 1854].  
 D. Mei-ji 4 y. 11 m. 7 d. [18 Dec. 1871], and was buried at Iriki.  
 His w., O-Toki, was the second daughter of Shimadzu Hisamitsu; d. Bun-kyū 2 y. 7 m. 4 d. [30 July 1862]. . . . The second w., Tatsu, was the second daughter of Shimadzu Aki; d. 8 July, Mei-ji 6 y. [1873].  
 .....  
 In the war of *bo-shin* [1868], a company(*shō-tai*) of 120 vassals(*ke-rai*) of Iriki went to the Nagasaki way, and returned safely.  
 Mei-ji 3 y. [1870], [Kimihiro] returned to the government the 5000 *koku* of the domain in hereditary possession at Ura-no-miyō *mura* and Soéda *mura*.  
 [Here follows the document given in No. 155 G of our text.]

## [CHILDREN OF KIMIHIRO, 29TH]

30th, SHIGEMICHI,  
 Ai-kesa, Ko-hei-ta.  
 B. An-sei 4 y. 7 m. 20 d. [7 Sept. 1857]; mt. was the second daughter of Lord Shimadzu Hisamitsu. . . .

In Mei-ji 10 y. [1877], [the residence at Kagoshima] was burned during the war [of rebellion led by Saigō Takamori], and many hereditary treasures were destroyed, the house-lot of Shin-bashi was sold to Arikawa Ya-gorō, and buying a house from Mishima Michiyasu at . . . Nishida *mura*, house-land 8 *se*, [Shigemichi] moved there.

His w., Maki, was the second daughter of Shimadzu Mata-shichi.

D. 29 April, Mei-ji 14 y. [1880]; posthumous Shintō name,<sup>76</sup> Itsuhaya Oiyo Shigemichi-hiko *no mikoto*; was hurried at the former Nan-rin *zhi*.<sup>70</sup>

Toku-zhirō,

D. early.

B. An-sei 5 y. 11 m. 7 d. [11 Dec. 1858]; mt. was the second daughter of *shō ni-i*<sup>77</sup> Lord Shimadzu Hisamitsu.

D. An-sei 6 y. 6 m. 10 d. [9 July 1859]. . . .

Shigemasa,

Tomo-no-suke, Kichi-zhi.

B. Man-en 1 y. 9 m. 29 d. [12 Nov. 1866]; of the same mt.

Adopted as heir by Yama Tsukasa, Oct., Mei-ji 8 y. [1875].

Mine-no-suke,

D. early.

B. Bun-kyū 2 y. 2 m. 10 d. [10 March 1862], of the same mt.

D. Bun-kyū 2 y. 6 m. 23 d. [18 July 1862]. . . .

daughter,

Atsu.

B. Kei-ō 2 y. 6 m. 27 d. [7 Aug. 1866]; mt. was the second daughter of Shimadzu Aki.

D. of illness 2 Aug., Mei-ji 22 y. [1889]. . . .

Haya-suke,

Chiyo-hiko.

B. Mei-ji 4 y. 12 m. 8 d. [17 Jan. 1872], of the same mt.

Adopted as son by Takemitsu Ya-no-suke.

#### [CHILD OF SHIGEMICHI, 30TH]

31st, SHIGEMITSU,

B. Mei-ji 12 y. old style 8 m. 24 d. [9 Oct. 1879]; his mt. is Maki, the second daughter of Shimadzu Mata-shichi.

[D. 1925.]

<sup>1</sup> See No. 12, n. 6; No. 13, n. 38; No. 56, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Respectively, the first (Tarō), second (Zhirō), third (Saburō), fourth (Shirō), fifth (Gorō), sixth (Rokurō), and seventh (Shichirō) son.

<sup>3</sup> Hayakawa, Yoshioka, Ōya, Zōshi, and Ochiai, were parts of Shibuya *shō*, it being customary for warriors to adopt the names of their domains or residences as their family-names.

<sup>4</sup> Tōgō, Ketō-in, Tsuruda, Iriki-in, and Taki, were the names of the domains in Satsuma of which these sons respectively were made *ji-tō*.

<sup>5</sup> *Zen-shi*, a Buddhist title, Jō-Shin being a Buddhist name.

<sup>6</sup> The writer of the genealogy forgot that Uchi-mojiri was in Shibuya *shō*, Sagami.

<sup>7</sup> Family-crests (*mon*, mark, or *ka-mon*, family-mark) were originally designs executed, with the court nobility, on family vehicles, and, with the feudal warriors, on tents and banners. After 1600, crests began to appear also on clothes and utensils.

<sup>8</sup> These were posthumous names chosen, according to custom, by Buddhist priests.

<sup>9</sup> Son by a consort who was not the wife, hence not the chief heir, though the eldest.

<sup>10</sup> These documents are not extant, but their contents may be gathered from Nos. 13 and 17. For the former of the documents, cf. Nos. 20 and 21.

<sup>11</sup> No. 24.

<sup>12</sup> No. 75.

<sup>13</sup> No. 93.

<sup>14</sup> No. 101.



<sup>15</sup> No. 97.

<sup>17</sup> No. 117.

<sup>19</sup> No. 126.

<sup>21</sup> No. 127 C.

<sup>23</sup> No. 130.

<sup>25</sup> No. 133 A.

<sup>27</sup> No. 136.

<sup>29</sup> There is an error in this statement; see No. 137, n. 1.

<sup>30</sup> No. 141.

<sup>32</sup> *Ui-jin*, the first engagement in battle in which a young warrior participated.

<sup>33</sup> Probably the first character was omitted by mistake.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the following genealogical relation:—

<sup>16</sup> No. 112.

<sup>18</sup> No. 115.

<sup>20</sup> Nos. 127 A and B.

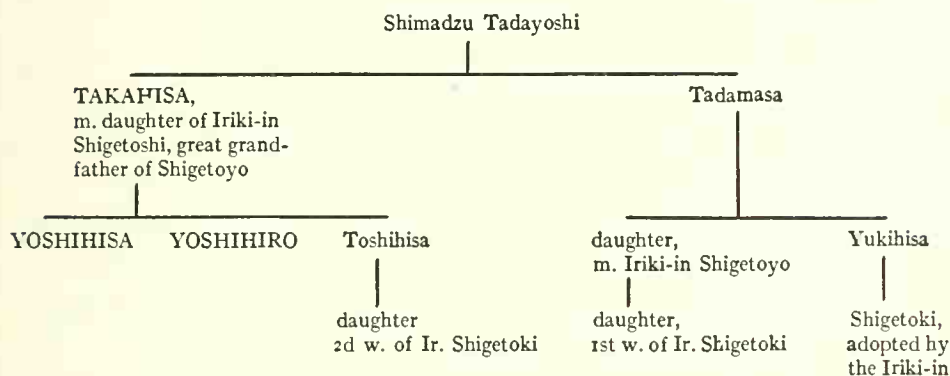
<sup>22</sup> No. 129.

<sup>24</sup> No. 132.

<sup>26</sup> No. 133 B.

<sup>28</sup> No. 138.

<sup>31</sup> No. 142.



<sup>35</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>36</sup> There must be some omission after this sentence.

<sup>37</sup> A Sinico-Japanese name for the title *Konoé shō-shō* that Tadatsune held.

<sup>38</sup> Fushimi is near Kyōto. Since Hideyoshi lived in the castle he had recently erected at Fushimi, the Shimadzu and other lords who waited on him also maintained their residences there.

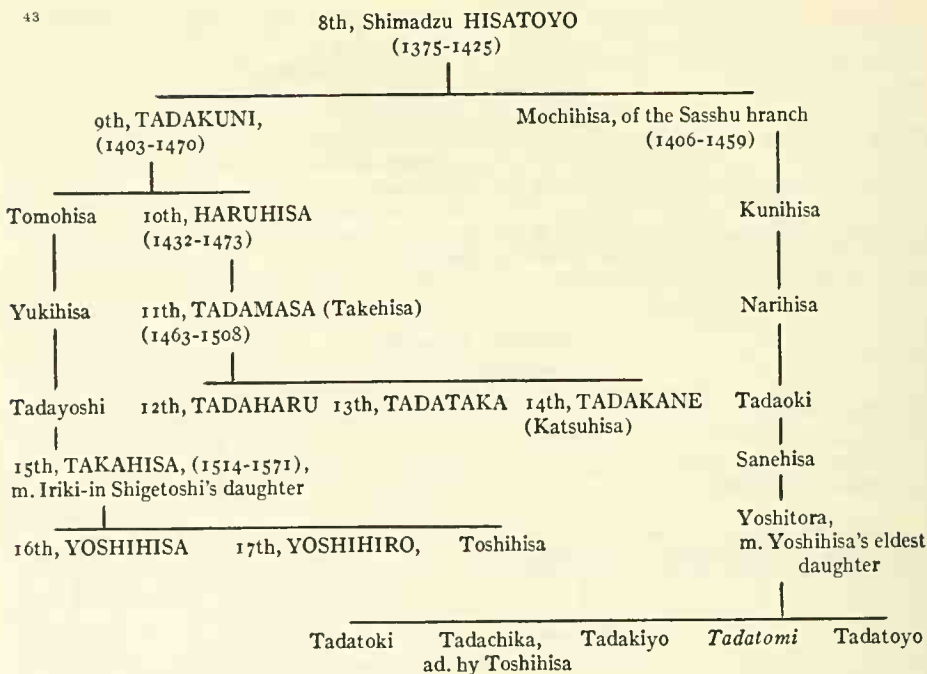
<sup>39</sup> In individual combats, the victor cut off the head of the vanquished. This practice had arisen from the need of proving the warlike deed that had been achieved, for upon the proven merit of his act depended the reward or recognition he should receive subsequently. Comte de Broqua, *Le Portugal, feudataire de Clairvaux* (1027), p. 10, records an interesting European parallel. About 1135, Alfons-Henry, Count of Portugal, who later became the first Christian king of that country, defeated the Mohammedan army of Ismar near Castroverde. In that battle, one of the Count's vassals, Soeiro de Amorim, placed at his lord's feet the heads of Ismar and his four Moorish allies. The hero's descendants bore as their emblem gules with the five heads of the Moor kings adorned with turbans.

<sup>40</sup> A Sinico-Japanese name for the post *Nai dai-zhin*.

<sup>41</sup> Fushimi had been abandoned by Hideyori, successor to Hideyoshi, and taken by Iéyasu. Shimadzu Yoshihiro supported Hideyori's side and participated in the retaking of the castle. See No. 151.

<sup>42</sup> According to the old way of counting the years of a person's age, the number of the calendar years in which he lived was given, and not that of the twelvemonths that he had passed in life. A person born in the first month and another in the last month of the same year were alike one year old at its end; likewise, the calendar year in which their deaths occurred, no matter in what months, was counted as one year.

43



<sup>44</sup> A short sword (*waki-zashi*) worn in the belt beside the long sword (*katana*).

<sup>45</sup> This meant the transfer of their residences, not the revocation of their domains.

<sup>46</sup> These were the *shū-chū* of the *gō*; see No. 152.

<sup>47</sup> Following the historic custom, parturition took place, among the noble classes, in a special structure called *ubu-ya* (house of birth); and in a separate room or house was performed the ceremony of bow and arrow. An arrow called *hiki-me*, whose head was made of wood and had holes, was used in shooting. It whistled through the air, and struck down the target, which consisted of a mat with white borders.

<sup>48</sup> Jesus.

<sup>49</sup> *Nan-ban*, Southern Barbarians, a Chinese term, referred to Portuguese and other colonizing nations of southern Europe who had taken territories in the South Seas.

<sup>50</sup> Christians. For this rebellion, see No. 155, n. 30.

<sup>51</sup> *Kwō-mon* was the Sinico-Japanese for the honorary official title *Chū na-gon* then held by Shimadzu Iéhisa. He died in March 1638.

<sup>52</sup> The *shō-gun*'s message signed by his Elders (*rō-chū*).

<sup>53</sup> The custom of following one's master after death through self-immolation (*zhun-shi*) obtained in ancient Japan, as among other races that believed in the continuance of social relations among the ghosts. The imperial house, moved by the cruelty of compulsory suicide resulting from the belief, forbade the practice already in the ancient period. The custom seems, however, to have continued long afterwards among the lower classes and in the remoter parts of the country, despite repeated prohibition by law. It was the influence of Buddhism and the general growth of culture, rather than law, which finally put an end to this manner of causing premature and unnatural death. But feudalism revived it. Beginning with the voluntary sharing of death in war by the vassal with the lord, the idea of accompanying the master beyond the grave even at his natural demise slowly regained ground toward the end of the period of the Civil War. Early Tokugawa *shō-gun* again forbade what

they stigmatized as an "unnatural and useless" sacrifice, but, seeing that the practice persisted in the barons' fiefs, the fourth *shō-gun* Ietsuna in 1663 personally warned the greater barons against it on pain of severe penalties, and, when five years later one Sugiura, the vassal of Matsudaira Tadamasa, killed himself on the death of the lord, transferred the latter's heir to a small fief, and executed two sons and banished other relatives of Sugiura. Henceforth, the barons took strict measures to stop the custom in their respective spheres. (*Koku-shi dai zhi-ten*, by Yasbiro Kuniji and others, 1428-1429, etc.)

<sup>54</sup> There must be some error.

<sup>55</sup> There is some apparent error in the arrangement of data of these persons. In the original, all the items given here under the two persons are confused under one, the daughter, and the son does not appear, consistently with the statement that occurs below that Shigebaru had no son. But here are apparently two persons implied in the data, and the Buddhist name of one indicates that it was of a male. Probably the male and the data which relate to him should not belong here.

<sup>56</sup> Customary nominal "relief." The custom of presenting swords and horses to the lord on occasions is seen from the beginning of the feudal period, as in many instances recorded in the *Adzuma-kagami*. At succession, the vassal presented the lord with horses, swords, and money, during the period of the Civil War, as it would seem, in more liberal quantities than after 1600. The custom prevailed in all parts of feudal Japan, not only at succession, but also on many another occasion. See the *Bu-ke myō-moku shō*, bk. 205; ed. 1905, pp. 2744-2745. Also see n. 64 below.

<sup>57</sup> In 1643, during Shimadzu Mitsubisa's rule, the *zhū-chū* (see No. 152) of Kagoshima were organized into ten companies (*ban-gumi*), over each of which two chiefs (*kashira*) were appointed. Iriki-in Shume was one of the chiefs of the 9th company, (SK, supp., XXX). Later the organization was changed more or less, but Iriki-in lords continued throughout the Tokugawa period to be frequently appointed as chiefs of companies.

<sup>58</sup> A customary manner of exchanging civilities between lord and vassal. Also, one will see in such instances the Japanese counterpart of the *gite et procuration* (*mansio et prata*), whose origin, in Europe as in Japan, antedated feudalism.

<sup>59</sup> The nature of this unfortunate affair is not stated and now unknown.

<sup>60</sup> Unvarnished wooden boxes containing edible articles.

<sup>61</sup> Casks of *sake*, the intoxicant brewed of rice.

<sup>62</sup> The Shimadzu's crest consisted of two heavy lines crossing each other at right angles enclosed in a circle. Since the cross inside resembled the character *zhū*, meaning ten, the crest was called the *zhū-zhi mon* (crest of the character ten). The crest now granted to Shigenori was a new variant, made of the vertical cross encircled by a vine motive.

<sup>63</sup> The Kawakami was a branch of the Shimadzu.

<sup>64</sup> A good illustration of the elaborate "relief" formality of a new baron. See n. 56 above.

<sup>65</sup> This would remind us of one of the occasions for "feudal aids" in European feudalism, namely, the coming of age of the lord's son.

<sup>66</sup> *Moku-roku*, literally, table of contents, referred to a summary document in which the contents of a gift were enumerated. (*Ko-zhi rui-en*; *zhin-zhi bu*, XXVI, 471-476.)

<sup>67</sup> A *hiki* of copper money was equal to 10 *mon*. 200 *hiki* were therefore equal to 2 *kwan*.

<sup>68</sup> The meaning is not clear. Probably this refers to a cadastral survey.

<sup>69</sup> The custom of refraining from the use of the name of a distinguished person, not only in duplicating any part of it in the name of another, but also in mentioning it thoughtlessly in speech, had come from China, and was called in Japanese *imi-na* (literally, shunning the name; meaning also the name itself, that is, the name shunned). Professor Hozumi has recently made a detailed study of the subject. The custom probably originated in the belief that a person's name embodied a part of his soul.

<sup>70</sup> An act signalling one's coming of age.

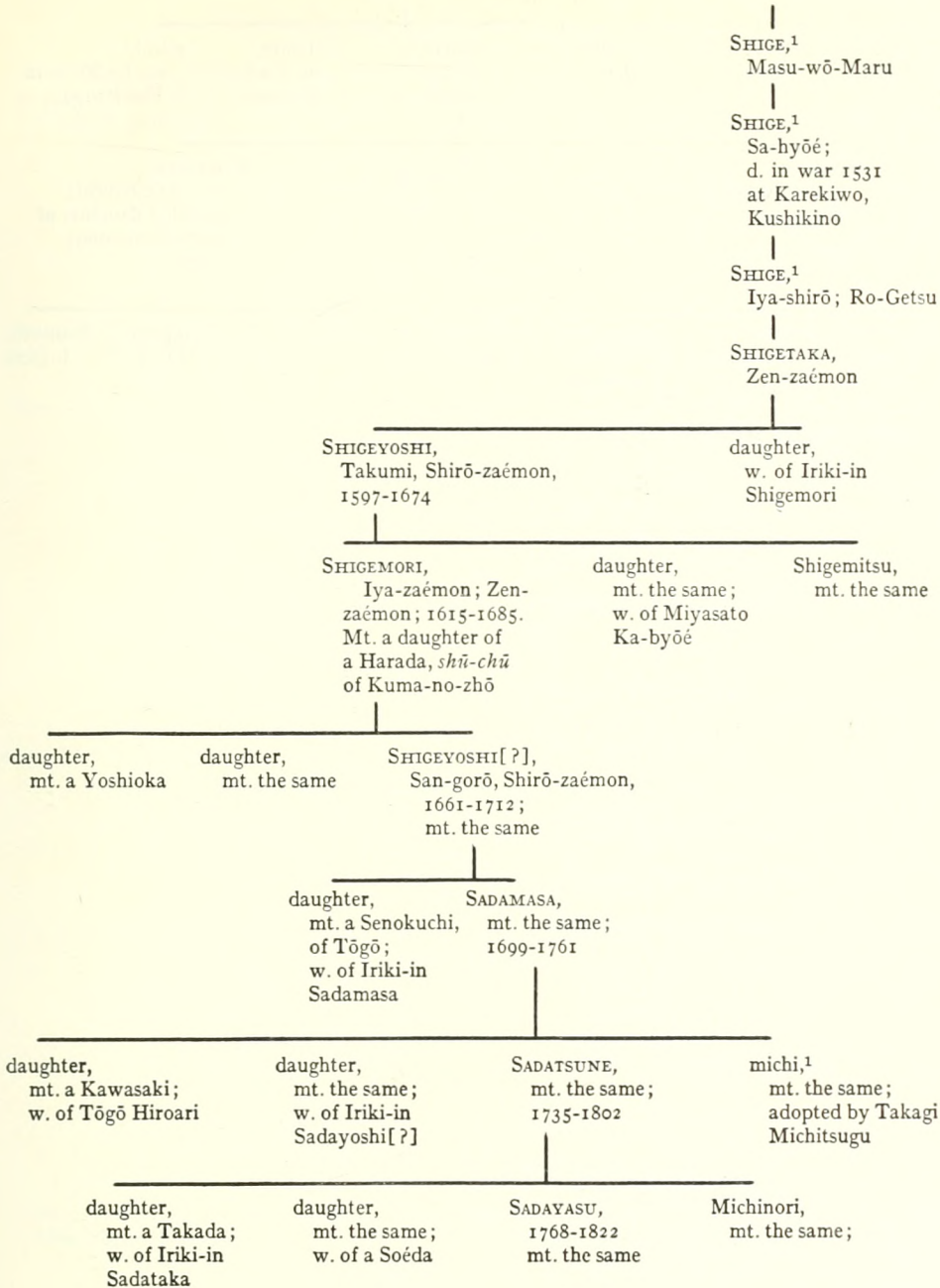
<sup>71</sup> Eight o'clock P.M.

<sup>72</sup> *Ori-gami*, a document written in a sheet of paper folded horizontally in the middle, an informal procedure. Here an *ori-gami* refers to a *moku-roku*, (see n. 63 above).

<sup>73</sup> *Sō-sha*, mediator between the vassal and the lord.

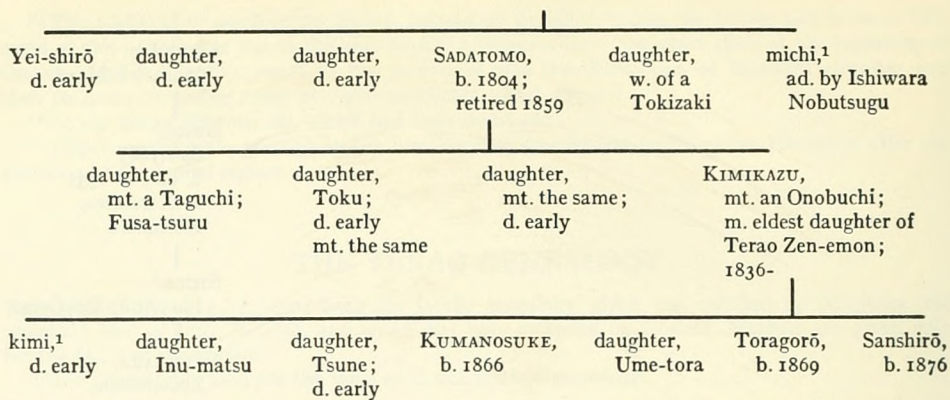
<sup>74</sup> The line is here disconnected, but Sadayoshi [?] was probably son of Sadatsune. The former's mother is said to have been mentioned before, but no other issue of the same mother precedes him in the table. Evidently there is some error somewhere.





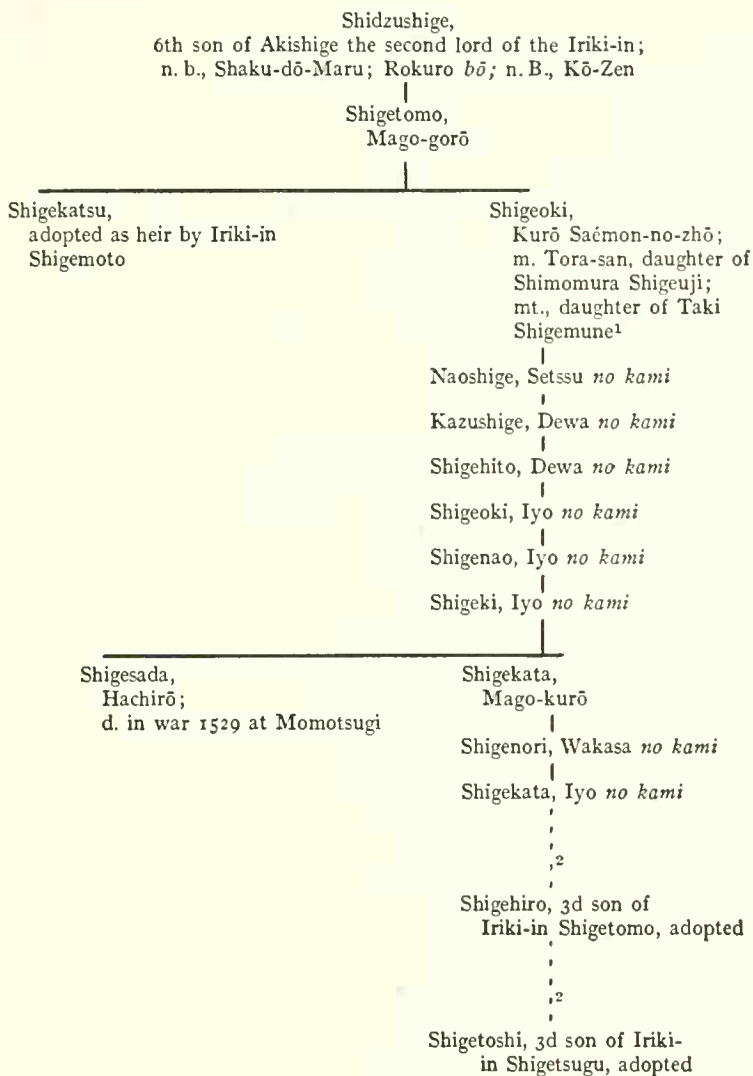


## THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI

<sup>1</sup> Only a part of the name is given.

## THE OKAMOTO GENEALOGY

THE following is made from data found in *KK*, VII, the present head of the Iriki-in family being unable to trace the full family genealogy of this branch. For abbreviations, see the list given with the Iriki-in genealogy.

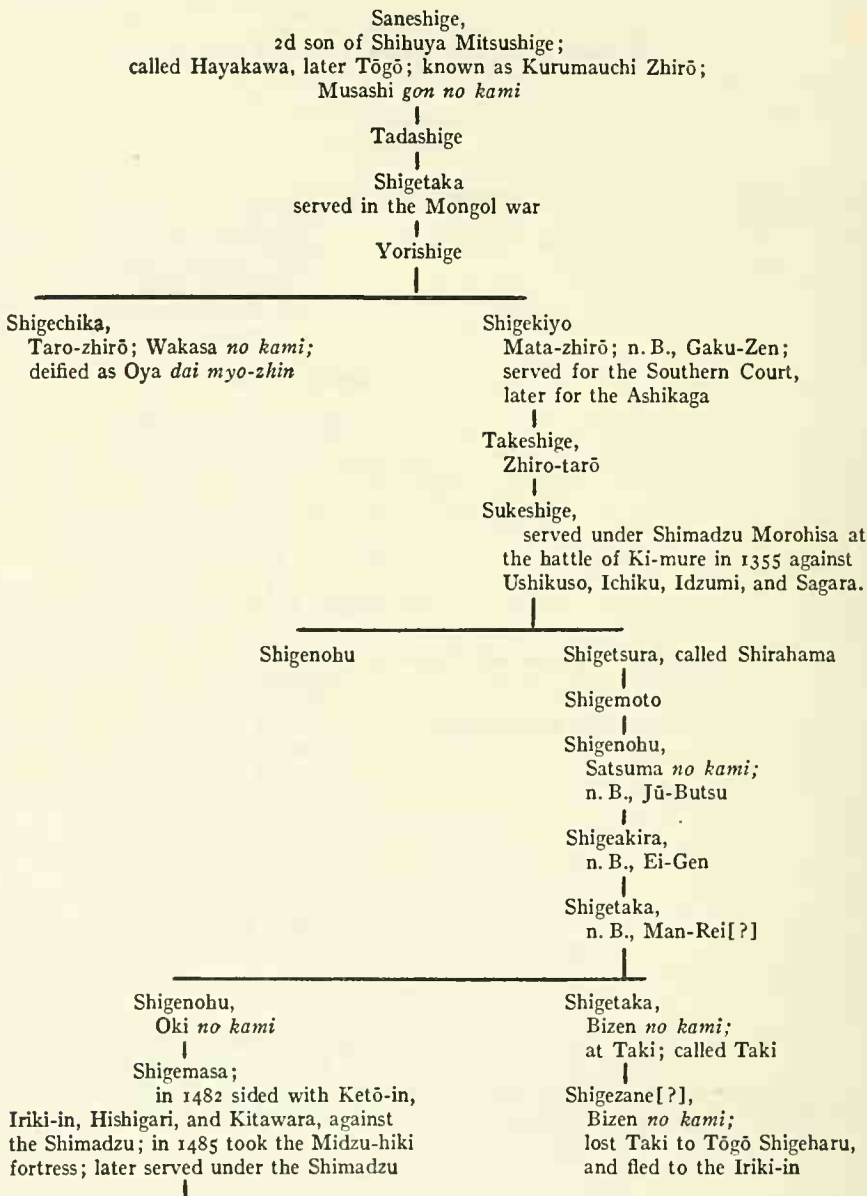


<sup>1</sup> See No. 46, n. B.

<sup>2</sup> Some generations omitted.

## THE TÔGÔ GENEALOGY (TENTATIVE)

ABRIDGED from the *Shibuya kei-fu*, *Ko-zhō shu rai-yu ki*, and *Sasshū shi*, III, and compared with the Iriki-in genealogy, *KK*, and *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xii, 27. There are several doubtful points in the succession.



|  
Shigenobu,  
Saémon-zhirō

|  
Shigeakira,  
Oki *no kami*

|  
Shigeharu,  
Yamato *no kami*;  
took Taki; in 1557 fought with  
Shimadzu Yoshitora at Akune

|  
Shigenao  
adopted from the Hishigari;  
Yamato *no kami*; n. B., Ki-Shun;  
in 1568 fought with Shimadzu Yoshi-  
tora at Akune; in 1570 surrendered  
to the Shimadzu; and gave up Taki,  
Midzuhiki, Chūgō, Yuta, Nishikata,  
Kyō-domari, and Tōgō, but received  
back Tōgō.

|  
Shigetora,  
Gen-shichirō; later Tadanao;  
2d son of Shimadzu Iéhisa, adopted  
in 1577; Satsuma *no kami*; added  
Midzuhiki, Taki, Yuta, to his domains  
at Idzumi, Takawono, Noda, Akune and  
Nagashima

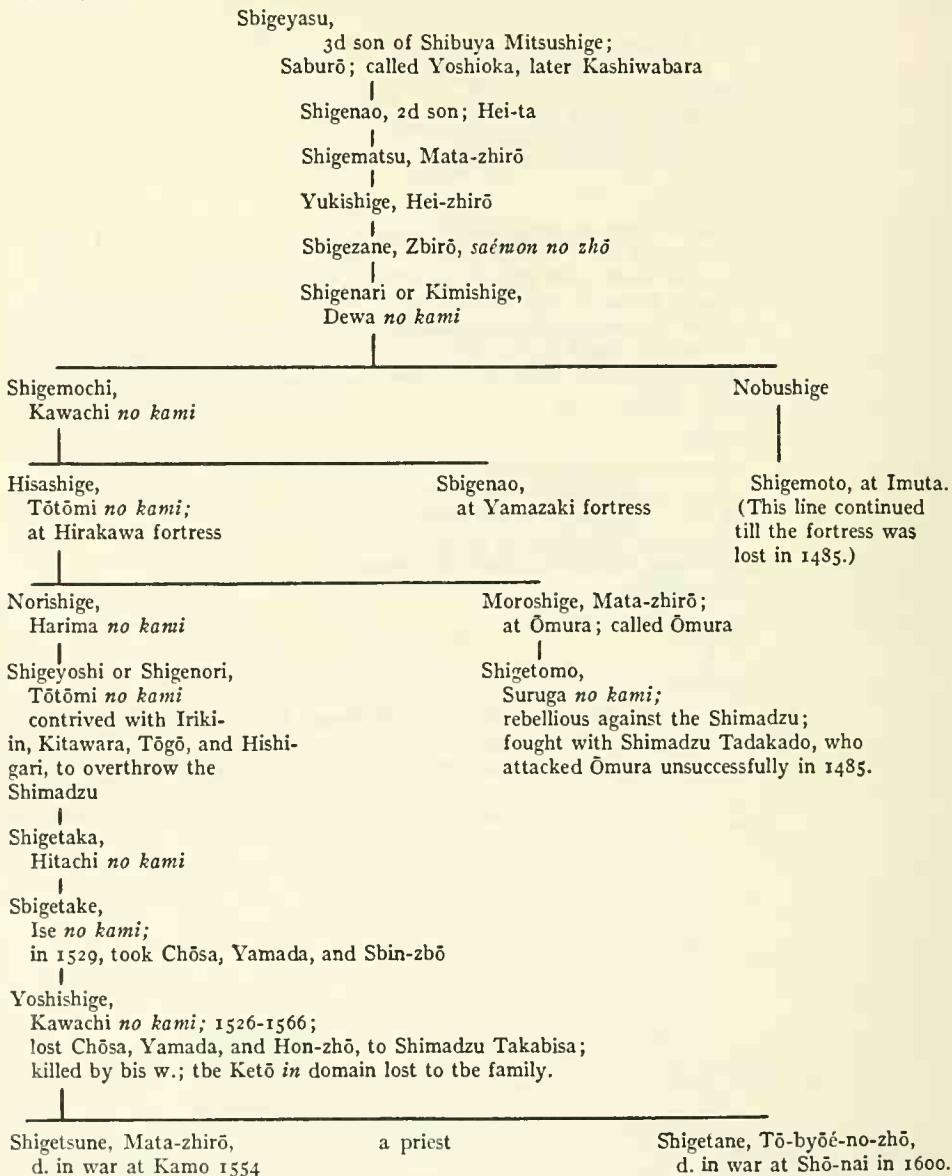
|  
Masatora

|  
Shigetaka.

[After 1588 Shimadzu Tadanaga had Tōgō, but Hideyoshi confiscated it and his other domains in 1593 for an offense committed by Tadanaga in the Korean war, and granted them six years later to Shimadzu Yoshihiro. (See No. 149.) From 1680, the Shimadzu appointed *ji-tō* for Tōgō. The Tōgō family continued, but no longer held Tōgō.]

## THE KETŌ-IN GENEALOGY

FROM the *Ko-zhō shu rai-yu ki*; *Sasshū shi*, III; *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xviii; and *Shimadzu koku-shi*, XVII.





## THE TSURUDA GENEALOGY

FROM the *Ko-zhō shu rai-yu ki*; *Sasshū shi*, III; and *San-goku mei-shō dzu-ye*, xiv, 14, and xvii, 33.

Shigemochi,  
4th son of Shibuya Mitsushige;  
Ōya Shirō; later Tsuruda;  
d. in war in 1221 under the Hōjō, at the Uji river

Shigeyuki, Tarō Saémon no zhō

Yorishige, Gorō Saémon no zhō

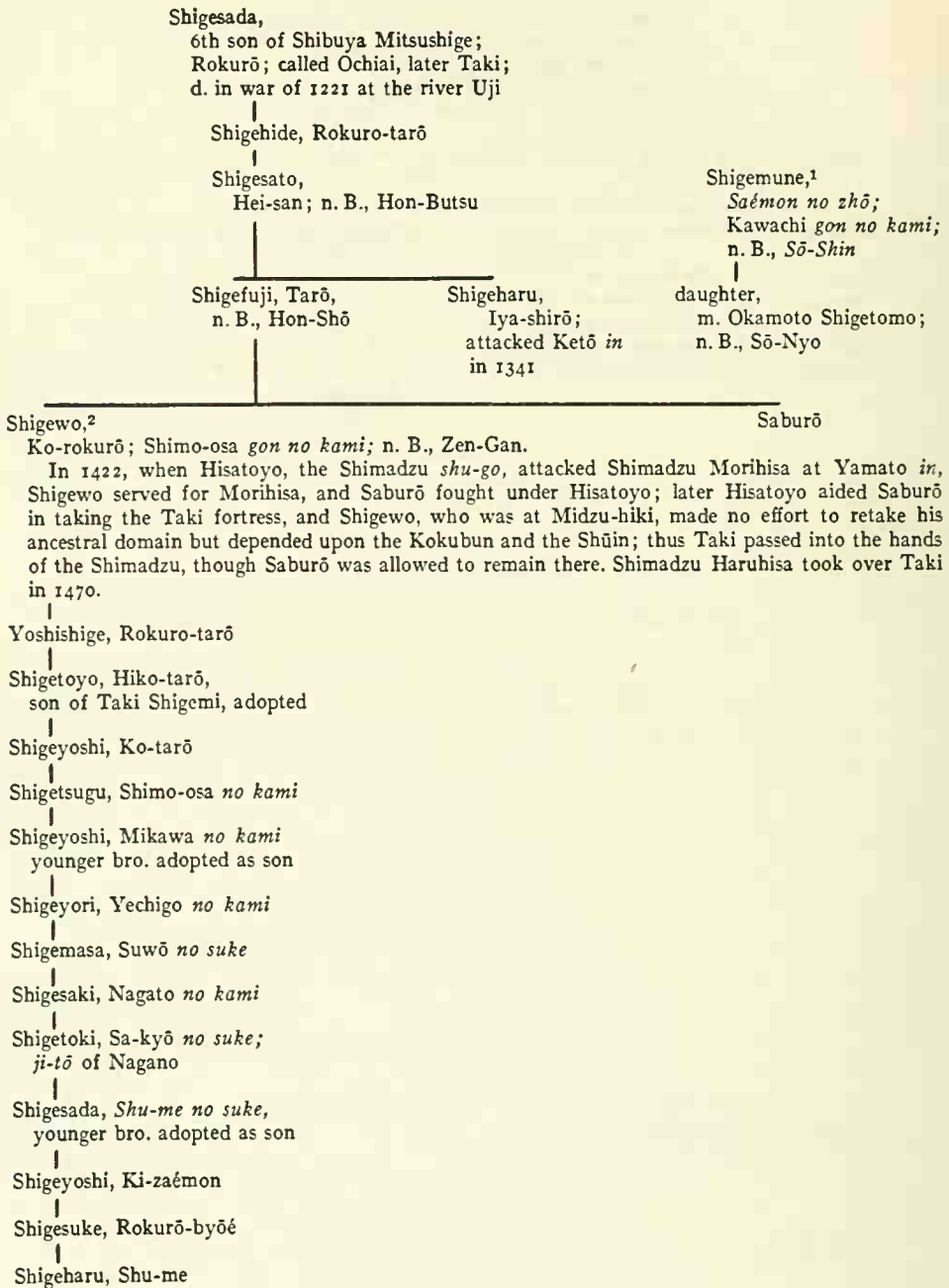
Tsuneshige, Rokurō Saémon no zhō

Shigenari, Gyō-bu Saémon no zhō;  
supported Shimadzu Ujihisa and Motohisa,  
against Shimadzu Korehisa; in 1401, was  
defeated by Korehisa and the other Shibuya  
families, and abandoned Tsuruda, (see No. 127).

Shigenobu,  
(3d generation from  
Tsuneshige); *Min-bu shō-yū*;  
called Yuta.

## THE TAKI GENEALOGY

FROM the *Ko-zhō shu rai-yu ki*, *Taki gō yu-rai ki*, and *Sasshū shi*, III.

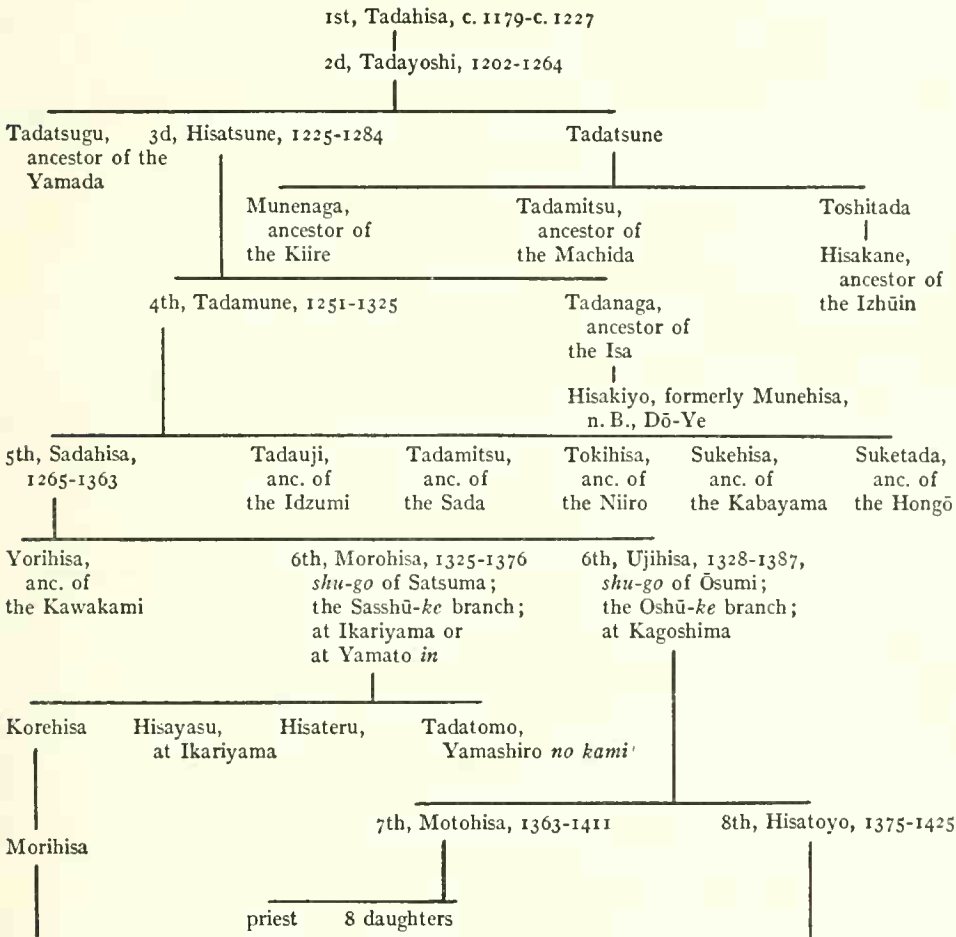


<sup>1</sup> The genealogical position of Shigemune is not clear. It would sometimes seem that he and Shigesato were identical, but then the difference in their Buddhist names would have to be explained.

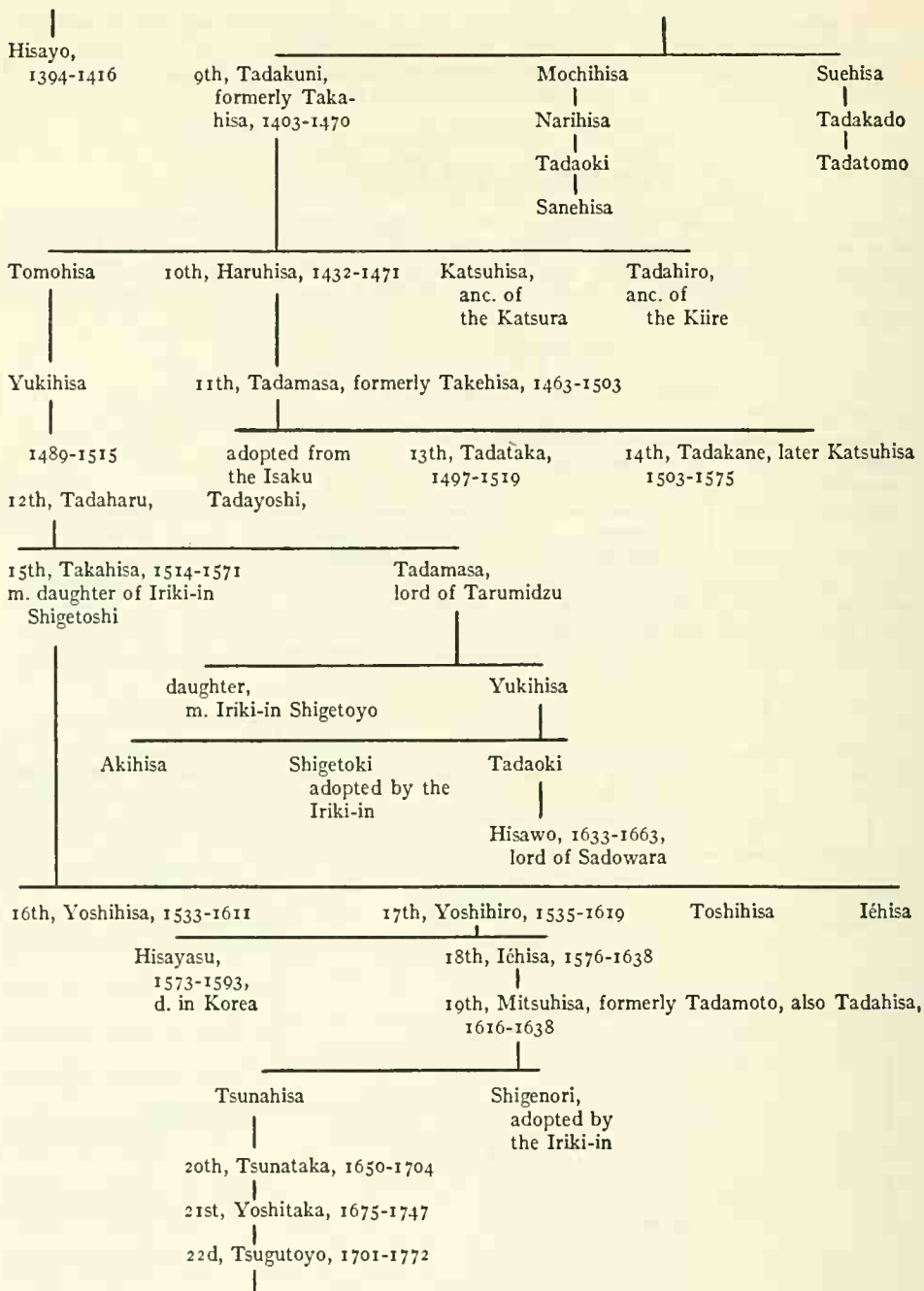
<sup>2</sup> There is an apparent confusion about Shigewo also, for among the Kawakami documents is an order by him dated 1319; he could not have lived so late as 1422.

### THE SHIMADZU GENEALOGY

THIS genealogy is greatly abridged. The following is based upon the manuscript work *Shimadzu kei-fu* written some time after 1840, and the edition of 1917-1918 of the *Kwan-sei jū-shū sho-ke fu*, (genealogies of the barons' families compiled by the *shō-gun's* government in 1799-1812, in 1530 chapters), ch. 108. For other genealogies of the family which have been consulted, see our Bibliography.



## THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI



23d, Munenobu, formerly Tada-aki,  
1728-1749

24th, Shigetoshi,  
1729-1752

Sadakatsu,  
adopted by  
the Iriki-in

25th, Shigehide, 1745-1831

26th, Narinobu, 1773-1841

27th, Narioki, 1791-1857

28th, Nari-akira, 1810-1854

Hisamitsu, 1817-1887

29th, Tadayoshi, Prince  
1840-1897

Tadanari, Prince  
1855-

daughter  
m. Iriki-in Kimihiro

30th, Tadashige, Prince  
1886-

7th daughter, Chika-ko  
m. Prince Kuniyoshi, of the imperial family;  
their 1st daughter, Naga-ko, m. Crown Prince  
and Regent, 1924, the present Emperor.





# INDEX

THE Index serves as the complement of the Summary of Points (pp. 37-81). The Summary analyzes and classifies institutions; the Index only refers, in the alphabetical order, to contents of our material. The former often suggests data hidden behind the literal meaning of the text, and even those to be discovered elsewhere; the latter is content to select items which are visible in the documents. A parallel use of both will be effective. A general table of contents of the Summary is on pp. 37-38.

The Arabic numerals in the Index refer to the pages, and the Italic, to the ordinal numbers of the documents; and "n" stands for "note," and "v," for "see." The only other abbreviations used, in one or two letters, are those of the individual items under which they occur.

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○ 五代 貞久 道長  
文永六 貞治二

忠氏 和泉祖

忠光 佐多祖

時久 新納祖

資久 備山祖

資忠 北堀祖

賴久 號川上

宗久

○ 六代 師久 定山  
正中二 永和二

○ 六代 氏久 齡岳  
嘉慶三 嘉慶元

伊久 久哲

久安 號山祖

忠朝

○ 七代 元久 恩翁  
貞治二 康永十八

仲翁和尚 福昌寺

○ 八代 久豐 義天  
永治元 康永三十二

○ 九代 忠國 初貴久 大左  
康永十 文明二

用久 國久 成久 忠興 實久

季久 忠廉 忠朝

友久

○ 十代 立久 龜山  
永享四 文明六

勝久 桂祖

忠弘 喜入祖

○ 十二代 忠治 關憲  
延德元 永正十二

○ 十三代 忠隆 興岳  
明應六 永正十六

○ 十四代 忠廉 後時久 大翁  
文龜三 元龜四

運久 一郎 忠良 梅岳 日新公 伊作家嫡、母運久二再嫁シ忠良兩家ヲ嗣ケ  
明應元 永祿十二

○ 十五代 貴久 大中 望入來院重壽女  
永正十一 元龜二

忠將 垂永領主

女子 入來院重壽至

以久

彰久

重時 入來院義嗣  
十五代

忠興 久雄 佐上原城主  
寛文三死

尙久 宮之坂領主

○ 十六代 義久 龍伯 實明 母入來院重壽女  
天文二 享長十六

○ 十七代 義弘 惟新 松齡 母同上  
天文四 元和五

歳久 晴義 母同上

女子 入來院重時室

家久 永吉元祖

久保 文祿二朝鮮二死

リ或ハ日置ヨリ東郷ヲ領セシメシガ延寶八年ヨリ東郷ニ地頭ヲ置ケリ)

### 五、祁答院氏略系圖

〔古城主來由記〕、薩州志第三、三國名勝圖會第十八、龜津國史第十七、〔祁答院史等ヲ參考シテ假定ス〕  
溫谷光重三男

△重保 三郎 謫吉岡 後號柏原  
寶治二龍宮院ニ來リ之ヲ號ス

△行重 平次郎  
△重實 二郎左衛門尉  
△重成 公重 出羽守

△重茂 河内守  
重基 關平田ヲ領スルコト代々  
文明十七年亡フ

△德重 播磨守  
△重慶 或 重度 遠江守 入來紀伊 紀北順安司  
等ト共ニ龜津二城ヲ

諸重 又次郎 大村  
重知 駿河守  
國一 播磨守

△重貴 實隆守  
△重武 伊豫守 皇祿二帖  
佐山田新郷ヲ併合ス

△良重 河内守 弘治中島津貴人ニ帖佐山田  
本郷ヲ取ラル 永祿二殺サル

△重經 又二郎 天文二十  
三誕生ニ戰死  
一僧  
重種 藤原御前 慶長五年内  
ニ戰死

### 六、鶴田氏略系圖

〔古城主來由記〕、薩州志第三、三國名勝圖會第十四及十七、〔祁答院史等ヲ參考シテ假定ス〕

溫谷光重四男

△重茂 大谷四郎 寶治二龍宮院領ス  
承久三義時ニ屬シ宇治川ニ戰死ス

△賴重 五郎左  
衛門尉

△經重 六郎左  
衛門尉  
經重ヨリ三代 重信 長部少輔  
號湯田

△重成 刑部左衛門尉 應永二島津元久ニ屬シ島津伊久ト戰フ 溫谷西原城伊久ニ屬シ  
シニ重成ノミ元久ニ屬ス 應永八 伊久及ビ溫谷西原ノ兵ニ龜田城ニ圍マレ重  
成没落ス

### 七、高城氏略系圖

〔高城郷主來由記〕、薩州志第三等ヨリ假定ス  
溫谷光重六男

△重貞 六郎 總治合 寶治二高城ヲ襲ス  
承久ノ役義時ニ屬シ宇治川ニ戰死ス

△重秀 六郎太郎

△重郷 五三  
本傳

△重藤 太郎  
本性

△重棟 河内權守 女子 關元重知妻  
守如

重春 關四郎 曆應四郎  
ト共ニ祁答院ヲ領ス

△重雄 小六郎 下關權守 薩城  
應永二十九島津久豐ノ島津守久ト戰フ十重雄ハ守久ニ屬シ三郎ハ久豐ニ從フ三  
郎ハ久豐ノ援ヲ得テ高城ノ本城ヲ取ル 重雄轉メ之ヲ知レトモ逆賊セズシテ申  
進ノ國分執印兵ニ屬ル 三郎重ク高城ヲ守シ、ガ文明二島津立久ヲ守護領ト  
ス 爾後ノ高城兵ハ高城ノ地ニ關セズ

### 八、嶋津氏略系圖

左ノ系圖ハ専ラ關聯ニ從ヘリ、本傳ニハ詳細ノ同氏系圖ヲ要セザレバナリ

### 三、岡元氏略系圖

左ノ系圖ハ「青色編鑑」第七ヨリ作シリ。岡本氏ノ先々系譜傳ハラズ

入來院第二世明重六男

△靜重

幼名輝重乳 六郎坊 興吉

△重知

孫五郎

重勝

入來院重基養嗣

△重興

九郎左門尉 始説岡元  
母高城重樹女 妻下村重氏女虎三

△尙重

龜津守

△和重

出羽守

△重仁

同

△重置

伊豫守

△重直

同

△重樹

同

重定

八郎  
享祿二年首次ニ戦死

△重堅

孫九郎

△重則

皆養守

△重堅

伊豫守

關子ナシ入來院重朝三男龜田ヲ養嗣トス

△重博

一セアリ關子ナシ入來院重朝三男重載ヲ養嗣トス

### 四、東郷氏略系圖(假定)

「諸谷系譜」ハ「古郷主系出記」ニ「藤州志」第三ニ人來院系譜ハ「青色編鑑」ヲ參照シテ作ル。不明ノ箇所アリ。邊關ノ説アルヘシ。

諸谷光重二男

△實重

親軍川 後改東郷 或號重内次郎 武藏權守

△忠重

△重高

元成ノ後ニ功アリ

△頼重

重親

大郎次郎 若狹守  
崇徳親大光明

重清

又稱 傳吉  
元弘建武ニ官軍友 後ニ武家方

△武重

二郎太郎

△右重

二郎太郎 重喜  
文和四年木曾義盛ノ攻メニ島津師久ニ從軍

重信

重實 號白鷲

△重元

△重信

關家守 重博

△重明

永元

△重隆

△重信

關家守

重隆

號高城 備前守

重實

備前守

重朝重治ニ高城ヲ取ラル

△重理

文明十四郎管院人來院夢利北原ト結ビ島津氏  
ニ叛シ十七水引城ヲ取ル 後島津氏ニ降ル

△重信

左衛門二郎

△重朗

關家守

△重治

大和守 大永中島津實久ノ叛ニ從ヒ逐降ル  
弘治三島津義虎ト阿久根ニ戰フ

△重尙

大和守 喜切家ヨリ養子也 法名喜俊 元龜元島津氏ニ降リ  
高城水引中郷湯田西方軍ヲ獻ジ貴久ヨリ重朝ヲ賜フ

△重虎

源七郎 關家守 島津系久ニ明也天正五年養嗣 水引高城湯田ヲ本質出水高尾  
野野田阿久根長島ニ併ス 文祿二年島津義弘重虎ヲ島津ニ復姓シ庶子ト改名ス

△昌虎

△重隆

(天正十五年島津義久東郷ヲ收メ串良領主島津忠長ヲ東郷ニ遷シ  
シガ、忠長朝鮮役ノ過失ニヨリ秀吉東郷ヲ沒收シ六年ノ後之ヲ  
島津義弘ニ賜フ、文書一四九參照。其後島津氏ハ或ハ宮之城ヨ

寛延三年七月定教公直補役人職 進上鈴瓶二雙御肴一折奉謝之

女子二人 一人入來院平五郎定聖妻

△定經 善藏 東風右衛門 彌一兵衛

享保二十年二月十一日生 享和二年八月十四日死

寶曆十一年奉 定勝公之命家督 進上二種一荷奉謝之 乃

頂戴御盃

同十三年爲 岩袈裟君守役加役二番組頭及普請方 進御樽

香奉謝之 乃頂戴御盃

明和九年爲 定馨公近習役

安永三年 定馨公口白命役人頭

○通

他養子

女子

入來院仲太兵衛定登妻

女子

副田嘉三次定三妻

△定寧

善藏 三保齋 彌十郎 善之丞

明和五年四月九日生 文政五年正月十二日死

若年之時御小坊主

番頭 組頭 近習役 役人職

通禮

他養子

榮四郎 早世

女子二人 夭亡

△定朋 袈裟五郎 善左衛門 隱居名一聲

文化元年正月十日生 安政六年十一月二十三日隱居

組頭 宗門方 足輕奉行 番頭役料高二十石 役人職

天保六年七年一ケ年間慶島御屋敷在番詰

女子

善藏 他養子

女子三人

幼名廣助 金石衛門 四郎左衛門

△公和

天保七年十月十七日生市來清右衛門政德嫡子也 奉 公寬

公之命寺尾善右衛公信之爲婿養子

御側見習 慶島御屋敷御側頭取 二番頭 横目 御軍役方

山方牛馬方御島方掛

袈裟五郎

女子二人

△熊之助

慶應二年十二月二十五日生

女子

虎五郎

三四郎

鶴王丸

比丘尼明言房

女子

比丘尼眞秀房

女子

女子

△重○

號向 彌太郎 入道道賢

延文五年八月九日受父妙勝之讓

勘解由

三郎四郎

△諸重

竹王丸 彌四郎

應永末年戰死

重○

竹鶴丸 周防

女子

千代王丸 四郎

△重位

益王丸 若狹守

△重○

左兵衛

△重○

享祿四年於串木野枯木尾戰死

彌四郎

△重○

△重高

善右衛門

自文祿至慶長重高爲入來院家之實在伏見

慶長四年六月二十三日重時君被攻日向山田城此時重高手負

△重良

内匠 四郎左衛門

慶長二年二月十八日生 延寶二年二月廿五日死

女子

入來院左京重傳室

△重盛

彌左衛門 善右衛門

元和元年五月廿四日生 貞享元年七月朔日死

女子

重詳

三郎 休兵衛

東郷一郎左衛門養子

女子二人

△重聖 三五郎 四郎左衛門

寛文元年六月二十三日生 正徳二年九月十四日死

女子

入來院平次郎兵衛定昌妻

△定政

初重光 明照 三四郎 善右衛門

元祿十二年二月二十一日生 寶曆十一年十月十日死

享保十六年重矩公補二番組頭兼善請見廻役



早助 千代彦

三十代

愛媛 小平太

△重通

安政四年丁巳七月二十日生母ハ島津久光公二女

明治十三年辰四月二十九日卒ス神號嚴速了世重通彦命

舊南林寺ニ葬ル

三十一代

△重光

明治十二年舊八月二十四日誕生 母島津又七二女アキ

## 二、寺尾氏略系圖

〔左ノ系圖ハ元祿三年六月十四日入來院重堅ノ譜印アリ其後明治初年マデ追加セル寺尾氏系圖ナリ要  
點ヲ抄録セルモノナリ〕

入來院元祖定心三男

△重經

五郎四郎 寺尾四郎 法名定佛

寛元四年三月二十九日父定讓賜相模上庄吉田之内寺尾村伊

勢箕田大功田美作河會郷十町村 而後住寺尾村

建長三年八月二十四日定心又薩摩入來院塔原郷

同七年十二月七日相模守陸奥守連署之御下知

△重通

彌四郎

爲重

初重員 與一入道善阿

賴重

七郎

女子

初字竹鶴 澁谷左衛門次郎賴重妻  
賴重死後剃髮號十町尼

重貞

四郎次郎 法名廣化

明一房

眞良房

正和四年七月死

△惟重

孫三郎

父重通以塔原北方讓嫡子重貞以南方讓二男惟重 重貞無嗣  
子以故惟重併南北領焉

重廣

孫次郎

萬歳丸

三郎丸

別當次郎丸

小野王丸

△重名

初重經 竹王丸 彌四郎 法名妙勝

建武以來屬畠山直顯數抽軍功

内重

二郎三郎

重見

明忍房 彌三郎

竹夜双丸

禪僧

二十八代

△定極

五郎四郎 平馬 平

文政五壬午拾月廿八日生 母同前

明治三十年三月二十七日卒ス 法名明德福廣雄命

女子 豐

女子 竹

女子 桑

大阪府士族彦瀨魁吉ニ嫁ス

女子 夭亡

常彦 安千代 平十郎

女子 夭亡

女子 國

萬五郎

明治七年甲戌七月十五日生

入來士族溝口某之養子トナル

二十九代

△公寛

愛之助 恰 彈正 亦六

天保七年丙申二月十一日生 母島津靜洞長女

實島津柄山二男嘉永七年甲寅七月依願定極之養子トナル

明治四年十一月七日卒ス入來ニ葬ル

室於珍 島津久光二女

明治三年私領入來浦之名村副田村累代之領地高五千石ヲ返

獻ス

寫

入來院彈正

右依

勅命從來之家格被廢士族之名目被相定世祿三百石限被究

置候左候而祖先勳功之御取譯ヲ以高貳百石御藏米之内ヨ

リ年々被下置候

八月知政所

重○ 早世

重正 富之助 吉次

峯之助 夭亡

女子 愿

天明元年辛丑十月九日卒于入來享年四十六

女子 於久 山岡齋宮久容室

女子 於嘉彌 町田勘解由久虔室後離婚

二十五代 岩袈裟九十九隼人

○定馨

寶曆九年己卯閏七月二十九日戌上誕生 母「嶋津矢柄久壽

養妹實本田作左衛門由親女」

「明和」六年己丑二月二十八日奉命家督

「安永」九年庚子正月十一日補綾地頭職

「天明四年甲辰」八月十日病卒享年二十六

於院

女子

・天亡・

定凭 八之助津之助永之助

岩吉

女子

當袈裟於和歌  
嫁伊勢田伊織貞岐

三十六代 千代五郎掃部

○定矩

天明四年甲辰八月五日誕生「母嶋津備前貴澄女」  
同年十二月十八日命嶋津矢柄久宅使定矩繼家統

「寛政」十二年庚申三月十五日病卒于 城下第

二十七代 文袈裟 麻袈裟 定次 隼人 平章

○定經

寛政五年癸丑七月二十六日生於 城下鼓川邸 母嶋津備前  
貴澄女

同十二年庚申四月六日親族上願狀請以麻袈裟爲養子使繼家  
七月二十八日許之 實嶋津周防忠救三男也是日自鼓川

邸入來家

「文化」十一年甲戌二月上願狀請娶小笠原彦六郎長當女成婚

八月十八日許之

同十三年丙子 七月二十四日補始羅郡山田地頭職

「文政」六年癸未八月 十八日 致地頭職於公

天保七年丙申七月二十五日上願狀曰雖未及告老歲四十四平

日多病倦于勤故請告老而傳家子嫡子定一 十一月五日御

用人切紙 明日定一及嶋津矢柄久計代定登城於數舞臺副

定一家許定經告老御家老嶋津安房久備傳之

嘉永四年辛亥八月二十日病卒于采邑入來 享年五十九

「此處ニ空開アリ。マダ定矩ヨリ此處マデ系圖ノ據ヲ施サズ」

二十三代

○定恒

初重教中明齋明昭明之燕次郎近主馬

正德三年癸巳十二月晦日誕生

元文三年戊午十二月二十七日卒享年二十五

大八郎

二十四代

○定勝

初定教千之承主馬石見

享保二十一年元文元年丙辰四月九日誕生於慶城二十二代之太

守繼豐公之四男也母澁谷喜左衛門貫臣女嘉久

「元文」二年丁巳三月五日奉 太守繼豐公之高命爲定恒之養

子稱入來院千之允 同年四月六日午刻去慶城移居當家同

日賜寶刀大小大北國明光長尺八部擁有守刀一腰家手鈴嘉州住一

本白銀十貫目及八重山

同三年戊午九月三日於鼓川之第初拜謁

吉貴公進上御肴代百疋御樽代二百疋 公亦賜紗綾三卷

同四年己未三月十五日島津鄉太夫久壽代千之承此時進上御

太刀一腰銀馬代三種二荷于太守繼豐公御肴代二百疋于吉

貴公御太刀一腰銀馬代三種二荷于忠顯公奉禮謝繼目相續

之事

延享元年甲子四月二十六日登覽城首服島津備中貴備代 太

守繼豐公加冠額姓內膳久周役理髮賜脇刀政平稱主馬定教

頂戴御折紙 時進上御太刀一腰銀馬代御折六合御樽三荷

于 繼貴公御肴代百疋御樽代二百疋于 吉貴公御太刀一

腰銀馬代三種二荷于 宗信公奉禮謝之 共島津求馬久教

奏達焉

同二年己丑 宗信公初賜告 七月二十二日入慶城其當日於

御休息所定教初取拜謁寵待殊篤矣

同三年丙寅正月九日 宗信公賜御馬繪畫一疋

同四年丁卯七月二十六日 太守宗信公手自賜脇刀一腰

「寬延」二年己巳正月「十一日於御前執前髮」

寶曆二年壬申三月初日補番頭栗野地頭職國老伊勢兵部貞起

傳之

同年十月十三日奉 繼豐公之懇命以嶋津矢柄久壽之養妹和實本因作左衛門由親女

爲定勝之妻國老義岡相馬久中執達之

同月二十四日爲婚姻之資用於四配館 繼貴公有命賜文銀貳

貫目於定勝

同年十一月朔日成婚故進上御肴一折美酒雙樽於 繼豐公於

是 公亦賀賜金子三百匹御屑衣袴一具御衣服二領給一

御帶一筋

先是

先是元文四年己未三月二十三日有請收納私領入來之內高貳

千百石餘於磯御方倉廩則太守吉貴公致仕後遷移慶豐園

雖然入來一圓者當家舊領之地故寶曆八年戊寅五月十一日

有恩命返賜其內一千石於定勝國老鎌田典膳政昌傳高命

同九年己卯三月十五日辭免番頭一番組頭及栗野地頭職嶋津

圖書久亮傳之

「明和」

「明和」六年己丑二月二十八日依願讓家督於嗣嫡定繫隱居于

私領入來國老樺山左京久智傳高命

○重矩

虎助久重 虎之承又市左衛門主馬後改明雅

寛文十三年庚子二月二十八日誕生慶府城中 前太守中將光

久公之十六男也母福崎主水左衛門重村女也重村爲山主之臣子孫爲當道之臣

延寶六年戊午八月元服 光久公加冠稱嶋津虎助久重七時年

賜寶刀安行嶋津又次郎久祐役理髮矣

天和二年壬戌春久重年十移居御臺所也

〔元祿〕十二年己卯十二月二十二日久重奉 綱貴公之高命爲

規重之後嗣稱入來院主馬重矩也同月二十八日獻上御太刀

一腰銀馬代三種二荷奉禮謝當家相續之事矣

同十四年辛巳九月六日補隅州蒲生地頭職因獻上御太刀一腰

銀馬代奉禮謝之矣

同十五年壬午二月二十八日綱貴公以唐草十文字紋忝賜于重

矩謹拜戴之爲當家之定紋也

同年十二月十四日重矩蒙恩免妻川上二郎久尙之女既而行大

禮矣

〔寶永二年〕十月三日轉補隅州帖佐地頭職 同月十一日獻納

御太刀一腰銀馬代奉謝之矣

同五年戊子四月十日 吉貴公爲參觀發本邦重矩爲御番頭同

年三月二十六日率先驅之輩發慶府同五月十五日到于東都

矣

同六年己丑四月二日於東都芝第又三郎忠休公御爲三郎公後奉稱大隅守慶豐公御

元服是故重矩奉獻御太刀一腰銀馬代二種一荷下帶二子忠

休公御太刀一腰銀馬代于 吉貴公奉賀之即日忠休公忝以二種一荷賜于重矩謹而奉謝之也

正德三年癸巳 太守吉貴公御巡見之時五月十一日止宿私領

入來院重矩獻盛膳進上御太刀一腰銀馬代取拜謁頂戴御盃

且賜青銅二百疋之御目錄

同四年甲午二月十五日依願拜領居宅之東方三百九十八坪之

地國老嶋津大藏久明以町田八右衛門俊方傳高令是養母梅

峯院貞享三年丙寅十月所拜領之宅地也

享保七年壬寅 太守繼豐公襲封之後取路於東目筋初歸國六

月二十三日經過帖佐賜元 重矩依爲地頭奉請御茶屋獻盛

膳進上御太刀一腰銀馬代遂拜謁頂戴御盃及御目錄

入來一圓高五千百十七石五斗七升貳合七撮者當家先祖代々

傳領之 丁大御支配之時一圓之內有永損地新田溝下損地

以故同九年甲辰三月爲返高賜百十三石于漆村內生百二十石

于西餅田村帖佐千石壹斗于塔之原村內全領知之

同十年乙巳二月三日依法令遊將軍家諱之字改重矩於明雅

・・・享保十七年正月・十一日轉補六番組頭帖佐地頭職

亦無退轉共迄末期勤之

享保二十年乙卯三月二十五日卒享年六十四・・・

女子

於松 嶋津郷太夫久道室

虎五郎

・・・早世・・・

女子

於悅 平岡八郎太夫之香室



清敷雖然實者同所也 故實賴訴之萬治二年己亥二月二十八日如願被分外城私領割塔之原市比野中村楠元久住倉野六ヶ村號清敷移七寮於塔之原添田浦之名二箇村殘之賜之以故今二箇村存入來院之舊名

寛文七年丁未七月十日卒享年三十九 初室嶋津氏

十九代

又重香 又千代隼人佐

○重治

慶安四年辛卯七月二十五日誕生於廳府母堂黃門家久公之女也

往萬治二年之春因亡父重賴之訴以被分下外城私領 雖然清

敷者入來院之城名也其證書多今以塔之原被號清敷塔之原之城者樋脇也似名實不正以故重治訴之今茲延寶九年即天辛酉四月二十二日如願被改清敷號樋脇之旨有高命達亡父之志追考先祖可謂幸也

〔天和三年七月六日〕死去享年三十二

松能 天亡

幼字於萬

女子

島津筑後忠顯室

女子

男子 名ヲ邊ス

延寶五年 誕生 元祿四年 死去享年十五

二十代

○重堅

虎松志摩之助

延寶三年乙卯正月二十七日誕生母堂者太守左中將光久公娘也

重治有一女無男子故妻女請 太守光久公以重堅娶女子爲猶子是天和二年壬戌十月二十三日也重堅實嶋津丹波忠通二男也

天和三年癸亥二月十七日爲家督相續祝儀獻上于御太刀一腰

御馬代三種二荷

元祿二年己巳二月七日家貴命爲三番組頭同年同月二十九日被補野田之地頭職也

〔元祿八年〕十二月十四日 公〔吉貴〕忝貴臨於重堅之宅獻上

御太刀一腰銀馬代奉謝之時賜白銀二枚矣

先是重堅相續當家多年也雖然以難全其終奉訴當家遺變之事達綱貴公之聽恩免之 是故重堅元祿十一年十二月六日辭當家而復木氏矣

三十一代

初忠矩 龜壽又四郎又兵衛

○規重

天和二年壬戌四月十一日誕生母入來院石見重賴女 實嶋津筑後忠顯二男也

規重病痘瘡其病甚重元祿十二年十一月二十三日竟死亡享年十八

唐津城主寺澤兵庫頭堅尙領内肥後天草亦凶徒蜂起而後航海加原城

大樹尊公遣群國之諸將治罪之時 太守黃門公在病床爲加勢

遣軍衆于島原天草 重高奉嚴翌年戊寅正月八日發處城同

十四日到著天草久田間嶋津翌後守久賀喜入攝津守忠政北

鄉佐渡守久加山田民部少輔有榮相共嚴武備警固之 同二

十二日去久田間陣甲禰守衛不怠 二月二十八日諸將陷原

城屠殺凶徒 於是上使松平伊豆守信綱公戶田左門氏鐵公

凱旋時繫船天草巡見以令薩摩之守兵狩山搜索凶徒之餘黨

而後賜暇 以故三月十五日發三角瀬戸同十七日參著鹿城

〔同十八年辛巳〕太守公狩郡山二十一日被寄 高駕于入來

院清色入御重高之契廬以滞在十日御機嫌不謂可識

正保四年丁亥八月十八日卒享年六十九號蓮昌寺大圓月鑑庵

主 家臣原田主膳經秀藤田番左衛門秀益川添但馬重次川

崎佐左衛門助延殉死

女子

穎娃左馬頭久政後之室幼名安千代

慶長十一年丙午誕生母重時女

十七代

○重通

又六

慶長十三年戊申誕生母同前女

寬永九年壬申六月廿八日卒行年二十五號壽昌寺德岩宗隆居

士 大山三兵衛殉死

久盛

女子

爲嶋津大膳亮忠榮之養子

樺山權左衛門久盈室

重則

爲樺山權左衛門久盈之後嗣而改名忠重又更忠則

重次

寬永二十年癸未五月十七日卒 竹下藏人春綱殉死

十八代

○重賴

又菊 石見守

寬永六年己巳三月五日誕生於慶府 母川上因幡守久國女

同十六年己卯之秋祖父重國奉招請 太守光久公時公加冠又

菊被號石見守重賴加之賜寶刀理髮圖書頭久通也 而後奉

嚴命勤仕于 御側

重賴兼被嚴命忝爲 太守公之御妹輩慶安三年庚寅六月十三

日婚禮盡善盡美

明曆二年丙申四月十三日奉納 重來明神之鎮札是去年所賜

神道管領長上下部朝臣兼起公也

當家入來院清敷城者元祖定心領入來院住清敷城自爾以來世

々傳領之三百五十年餘不易之地也去文祿四年依台命改之

賜湯之尾子曾祖父重時慶長十八年祖父重高如舊拜領入來

院此時昵近之士二百人殘居此地屬於重國以爲外城故昵近

之士與家中之侍比居雜居更無差異依之私領稱入來外城曰

重高室

女子

文祿三年甲午誕生 母島津左金吾歳久入道晴義女、...

初忠富或重國或久秀 彌一郎石見守伯耆守

重高

天正七年己卯八月二十日誕生

重時有女子無男子以故蒙 太守公之嚴命爲婿養子實島津薩摩守義虎五男母堂 前太守義久公之嫡女也公母堂雲意妙安大姉者陽中之娘也故忠富者陽中之玄孫也相續當家年間詳後

文祿二年癸巳之夏長兄累又太郎忠辰背 太閤秀吉公之嚴命時忠富與仲兄又助忠清季弟小七郎忠豐共被預小西攝津守行長在肥後宇土

同三年甲午之夏忠富爲行長之從軍渡高麗勞軍務臘月歸宇土

送年月

慶長二年丁酉五月十一日忠富潛出宇土直渡朝鮮六月二十四日謁加德嶋奉見 義弘公爾來無不陪侍 公之左右就中

唐船之番船破南原之域時有軍勢

同三年戊戌十月朔日泗川新寨之役忠富獲敵首數級 十一月

十八日南海之船軍亦有軍勢 而後奉從 義弘公歸朝於名護屋賜暇歸參陸府而後更名久秀

同四年己亥之夏

羽林忠恒公師莊內時久秀勞軍務

同五年庚子九月十五日濃州關ヶ原合戰時 義弘公破大敵之圍出江州水口此地有新關多兵守之久秀奉嚴命使關之守將一騎馳向中間千兵衛從駕駿足如飛千兵衛亦後故只一人到關所對面守將達嚴命令役退守兵

義弘公惑之賜關之御賜指 其後經伊賀路出攝州住吉而後歸國時久秀一日不離 公之左右勵忠功依之賜御感狀以拜領新恩地二百石此時爲顯姓氏之名跡

同十年乙巳之春

羽林公上京時久秀奉從 高駕 在洛中奉嚴命相續當家改姓名號入來院石見守重國 翌年之春到於湯之尾遂婚禮

同十二年丁未正月二十五日谷山御狩 依之重國越參廳府留守失火私第成焦土此時家傳之重器多燒失者

同十五年庚戌之夏

羽林公擲琉球王被參謁駁府及武城時久秀供奉 是太守公御參府之始也殊被相伴琉王以故觀者如堵

同十七年壬子有一所衆古所傳之論在當去私領移廳府之嚴命於是賜宅地於玉城之巽海邊然說不能造營家屋以故去湯之

尾假移吉田山莊 是歲之冬

羽林公狩樂山時寄高駕于山莊一宿

同十八年癸丑轉湯之尾賜本領入來院且又被稱地頭職士衆二百人入來院也此時衆中衆體難居今茲徙廳府之宅 重國更名重高

今茲「元和七年庚午」七月十九日暴風八月六日亦大風洪水且

又海潮大滔俗謂之四海波他邦謂之津波 當家文書罹此災化烏有去者多矣惜哉

同十四年丁丑之冬肥前州嶋原城主松倉長門守勝家領內之百姓一揆起兵而後稍籠原城是南蕃國耶蘇吉備支那徒也 同國

慶長元年丙申之春重時病愈故渡高麗於加德嶋之陣下奉見  
又八郎忠恒公 斯之時毛利壹岐守吉成伊東民部大夫祐岳秋

月三郎種長高橋九郎元種嶋津又七郎忠豐陳安骨浦去加德  
一里許 慶長二年丁酉之春重時奉 忠恒公之命使安骨浦

之五將既奉返詞舉歸帆 敵之番船數艘出而遮之重時指揮  
放鐵炮防之其戰殆危自加德安骨浦被出加勢之船賊船見之

退去重時凌大敵圖歸參加德  
忠恒公御感不斜安骨浦骨之五將亦馳介使感之重時譽名聞四

方  
慶長二年丁酉七月十五日之夜

義弘公忠恒公相謀諸將攻屠加羅嶋巨瀨島俗稱加羅嶋之番船

同月十八日之夜陷南原城今機重時重時勞軍務

同三年戊戌十月朔日大明及朝鮮之大軍圍攻泗川新寨大急

義弘公忠恒公戰於南海嶋頭屠殺敵數百人取其船時重時抽戰  
功家臣村尾少五郎以下多戰死者 而後供奉 義弘公歸朝

於名護屋賜暇而十二月二十四日歸湯之尾之宅  
同四年己亥之春

太守羽林忠恒公誅逆臣伊集院右衛門大夫忠棟入道幸侃於伏  
見之華第 幸侃之嫡子源次郎忠真素在于日州莊內之郡之

城聞父伏誅擄十二之磐既露顯叛心分兵守之振逆威 依之  
羽林公速歸國而攻伐之 時賜竹崎高平原兩所之地頭職于重時

以施而日 六月二十三日被攻山田城時重時屯楠梓禮待相  
圖之刻限以與諸將相爭先進軍早且來城々兵強拒之矢石如

雨鐵炮如雷不脛之攻登守兵悉屠殺城乃陷 此時重時軍中  
東鄉十郎左衛門被傷入來院全介海老原吉右衛門長江吉內

高木彌左衛門樺木新三郎中津野市兵衛稅所掃部高田宗吉  
唐介中間有首級東鄉少次郎那答院藤兵衛種田休左衛門池

田治右衛門中嶋津之介同主水平瀨太郎左衛門池田治右衛  
門今藤小右衛門西俣源二郎原田市之允彌六市左衛門中間

戰死入來院上總同彦右衛門同仲兵衛寺尾善右衛門鄉民部  
左衛門村尾源左衛門種田新右衛門田口半兵衛宮里主水橋

口十左衛門野間口六郎左衛門稅所合右衛門勝田彌左衛門  
同四郎右衛門原田權兵衛木場平左衛門松元八兵衛木場田

有京迎井掃部三嶋九郎兵衛池田主殿南條利右衛門金介中間

蒙疵 於高城口溝口宗右衛門齋藤源兵衛森原彦八郎拔戰  
功

山口勘兵衛尉直友奉  
內府家康尊公之嚴命舊冬下向當國敷說忠貞勸降伏忠貞不肯

之 茲今庚子之春忠貞矢竭力屈因直友之降羽林公亦重  
台命故宥忠貞之逆罪 於是直友歸洛 羽林公令重時隨直友

上京被奉謝 內府公之鴻恩斯之時重時奉拜 台賴而後直  
在伏見奉仕 義弘公

慶長五年庚子八月朔日  
義弘公與諸將共攻伏見城時重時合鑓振武威拔戰功家臣村尾

善兵衛勝田彌二右衛門斧淵源五郎大迫彌七郎有首功 九  
月十五日濃州關ヶ原合戰時重時在 義弘公之前隊大戰比

筑前中納言秀秋逆戈擊破大谷刑部少輔吉隆之軍依之石田  
治部少輔三成以下諸將之軍敗走 時敵之大軍交隔 義弘

公之旗下與先手之備而後敗軍時重時殘兵三十餘破重圍摧  
堅陣數回而出萬死從兵入來院彥右衛門東鄉清太村尾善兵

衛大迫彌四郎前田三郎次郎彌四郎中間而已其餘皆戰死 其  
後赴歸國途中會敵重時主從七人皆戰死維同月二十三日也

號壽昌寺雲庵定曉居士崇日吉大明神後改號重來明神

室島津氏法號蓮秀妙心庵主 寬永十八年五月二十三日己

女子

右馬允

女子

同氏大炊助重治妻  
母肝付兵部少輔兼興女

門代

○重豐

千代五郎又五郎彈正少綱  
母肝付兵部少輔兼興女

天正二年甲戌之秋有重豐挾野心之風聞於是重豐大驚懼獻靈社之神文以訴無逆意時獻山田辰田崎寄田四ヶ所 太守公誅官蒙恩免返賜寄田以加本領安堵焉

同八年庚辰十月十五日

太守公遣諸將攻肥後國八崎城時重豐在病床故令家老山口筑前重秋種田新右衛門秀次率數百士卒從軍 重秋秀次以下兵士五十餘人戰死

同十一年癸未八月五日卒 後崇廣瀨大明神

室嶋津氏

女子

又六

重載

又七郎  
岡本宇兵衛重博之養子

女子

高城左京亮重說妻

女子

重時初室

元龜元年庚午誕生 母島津右馬頭忠將女

十五代

○重時

鐙三郎又六

元龜二年壬午  
天正元年癸酉誕生 母北鄉左衛門尉時久女

重豐無男子以故令重時合女子相續當家 實嶋津右馬頭以久之二男 養母以爲忠將之長女故重時伯母也

同十五年丁亥四月二十八日殿下秀吉公西征之時令小西攝津

守行長脇坂中務少輔安治九鬼大隅守豪隆以下諸將圍攻平

佐城太急也 城守桂神祇忠防強防焉 時爲加勢遣高木和

泉潮々善左衛門以下兵士數十人高木瀨々等盡粉骨

重時夫婦不睦終離別 於茲養母相議告一族家臣等 太守公

以左金吾歲久之長女妻重時 歲久者陽中之外孫也所以慕

其善好也

文祿元年壬辰之夏大關秀吉公令諸將伐朝鮮國

兵庫頭義弘應台令出陣時重時有負薪之憂不能走從軍於是遣

親族入來陣左京重典家老東鄉甚右衛門重影渡高麗 其兵

百五十爲二隊 茲有梅北宮內左衛門國兼者後 義弘公欲

渡朝鮮繫船于肥前平戶於是國兼慮有遲參咎乎忽變心起謀

叛僞唱太守之命田尻荒兵衛以下同意之者多 不圖重影從

梅北之軍亂入肥後

太守龍伯公在名護屋聞此變即達台聽蒙嚴命與細川幽齋共下

國誅罰梅北之黨 先是國兼敗死肥後佐敷重影以下之士卒

七十五人被誅於所々 重時奉嚴令誅重影之父備前重定及

從兵之親族 斯時重典率士卒七十五人直渡海馳著永平城

京畿畿內 奉見

義弘公而後勞軍務有年其中數令一族家臣渡海軍役曾不忘

同四年乙未之秋有當國之諸家所領交替之台令以故重時去舊

領入來院移湯之尾 是非太守公之素意所出國老伊集

院右衛門大夫忠棟入道幸侃之姦謀也 依之翌年之正月二

十日世子忠恒公賜以時節宜安堵本領之御證書



重聰奉加勢 其中蒜采女者討強敵長瀬平左衛門拔戰功  
先是重聰以小女奉嫁貴久公以故欲抽無二之忠功者也

同八年己亥閏六月十七日

貴久公發向市來即日陷平城時重聰馳參奉賀之 告老義故不

能勞軍務令息男又五郎重朝以多兵在陣而歸城

天文年中卒法諱陽中定祐居士 先是永正九年壬申三月七日

陽中自爲逆修建石塔今以逆修之日爲落命之日

室白濱氏法號正隣心好大姉

女子 東鄉備前守重隆入道本好妻

法號月叟明心大姉

女子 祇答院常陸介重貴室

女子 東鄉隱岐守重朗室

十二代

### ○重朝

又五郎石見守

母白濱加賀守重香女

天文八年己亥閏六月十七日

貴久公師市來時重朝從父重聰馳參 公之陣營而後應父之命

直在陣 同月二十七日被攻本城重朝率多勢進大日寺口抽

軍忠 此時蒜采女永池十郎戰功拔群也 依今度軍功蒙川

内方宣掠取之嚴命

同年八月二十八日之夜襲取百次城 此城去天文五年七月二

十三日蒙 前太守勝久公之恩免年々攻擊之漸此日入手裏

九月十日攻取隈之城及宮崎

重朝近年代取數多之城邑誇武功

貴久公數戒敦之 斯之時氏族東鄉祇答院以下之國人多叛逆

者重朝亦有同意之聲 於是數訴無叛心不被免許 天文十

三年甲辰之夏既被停止出仕 加焉翌年乙巳之八月八日被

攻取郡山城 此城去天文六年丁酉三月十四日 勝久公所

賜重朝也

女子 東鄉備前守重弼室 他腹

女子 太守貴久公龐中

義久公義弘公之母堂也 金壽院久亦此腹也 母同重朝

天文十三年甲辰八月十五日逝

平太次郎

十三代

### ○重嗣

又五郎加賀守

天文十五年丙午八月二十四日重嗣初陣串木野枯木尾 爾來

數勞軍務 太守貴久公戒重朝之誇武功停止出仕雖然重

嗣者忝被恩免以數謁廳府勤仕之禮嘗以不忘 貴久公感其

志永祿二年己未十二月二十三日賜御判之感狀以拜領大迫

名

永祿十二年己巳之冬重嗣誘東鄉大和守重尙入道喜俊降參

太守貴久公獻高城水引中鄉湯田西方以奉謝多年之罪 此之

時重嗣亦獻隈之城百次平佐碓山高江五城是所以慮爲家長久

之謀也

・・・室肝付氏、

又八郎中務少輔

### 重鄉

重治 平右衛門大炊助

### 重博

宇兵衛 岡本伊豫重堅之養子

女子 虎王  
女子 栗犬

八代  
○重長  
菊五郎彈正少弼

應永十三年丙戌十一月十五日得嚴親重賴之讓爲家督  
同十八年辛卯九月十五日嶋津左兵衛尉久世公賜英禰院洲羅  
同三十年癸卯八月晦日  
大守陸奥守久豐入道存忠公賜起請文  
康正二年丙子八月廿六日卒 法號登九定重庵主  
室嶋津氏松月永祝大姉 落命日不詳

伊豫守 號副田  
越前守 法名定勝  
宮内少輔 新五郎  
小次郎

女子 下村重秋妻

九代  
○重茂  
初五郎出羽守

應永三十年癸卯八月十六日受嚴親重長之讓爲家督  
永享八年丙辰九月十四日  
太守陸奥守貴久公後改爲忠公賜羽島六丁任先例可領知之證狀  
室東郷氏

山城守  
左馬助  
女子 大村諸重室  
女子 蘭平田河内守室

女子 蒲生美濃守室  
宮内少輔

十代  
○重豐  
菊五郎下野守彈正少弼入道法名以心

嘉吉元年辛酉二月二十七日得祖父重長之讓爲家督  
寬正三年壬午三月二十四日  
太守陸奥守立久公賜誓書 且拜領火同永利山田城  
同七年丙戌卯月十六日  
太守公又賜契約狀  
文龜元年辛酉閏六月二日卒 室北原氏

十一代  
○重聰  
千代五郎又五郎加賀守彈正少弼

母北原又五郎貴兼入道昌宅女  
文明五年癸巳二月二十九日於慶府元服恭太守立久公爲加冠  
號又五郎重聰  
延德二年庚戌八月二十一日受父重豐之讓爲家督  
同十三年辛丑八月十二日二十日  
太守武久公後改爲忠公賜契約狀 重聰亦捧請文  
明應二年癸丑十二月晦日  
前將軍義材公下著周防國山口倚賴大内介義興 義興應嚴命  
催近國之軍兵時重聰數得義興之使(札) 然頃歲當國大亂  
相爭雌雄之秋也以故不應彼催促  
永正年間太守忠治國之時重聰拙忠志  
頃年陸隅日三州大亂 天文四年乙未之冬前太守勝久公沒落  
慶府以來彌亂成割據之勢時重聰屠城略地奮武威於遠近  
天文六年丁酉正月七日貴久公陷竹山砦攻殺肥後入道助西時

女子

高城河內守登重室字王壽法名祖方

五代

○重勝

平次五郎美濃守法名妙雄

定圓無嗣子故養重勝連續當家實孫五郎重知之嫡子也

元弘之亂屬官軍拔戰功頂戴綸旨安堵舊領

觀應二年辛卯七月晦日

將軍義詮卿賜本領安堵之下文

正平六年辛卯八月三日自吉野賜綸旨依之屬征西將軍宮數抽

軍忠

重勝受養父母定圓顯心實父母重知宗如之讓且又因戰功有新恩之地以故所領倍舊日

重宗

號村尾 初重成 松壽丸刑部少輔法名圓雄 他腹

六代

○重門

虎松丸石見權守能登守彈正少弼法諱心門定珍

貞和五年己丑閏六月廿三日得嚴親重勝之讓爲家督

文和二年癸巳十月九日賜御教書

正平二十二年丁未二月十日拜藏綸旨是所被感軍忠也

文中元年壬子六月二十三日戰死於高江陸州峰城

室嶋津氏利明妙眞大姉

虎一九五郎美濃五郎左衛門尉

重繼

奉屬

嶋津判官師久公有軍功

牢山

壽昌寺十世之住持

從兄戰死峰城

養庵

坂本坊

重次 號江河

將重 五郎

七代

○重賴

虎五郎丸彈正少弼法諱松山義秀

建德二年辛亥十月十五日得嚴親重門之讓爲家督

文中元年壬子十二月廿一日征西將軍宮賜令旨所以感父重門

忠死也

應永七年庚辰十二月十三日嶋津判官伊久入道久哲公以谷山

郡陸州給寮院同國半分爲料所預焉

同十年癸未十一月廿九日

太守陸奥守元久公賜武村陸州鹿兒島郡內鳴川村同國指宿ノ内

同年十二月七日嶋津播磨守久公賜西方荒川羽嶋陸州三所共

同年十二月十三日

元久公賜契約狀

永享元年己酉十月九日卒 號天福寺松山義秀庵主

重良 淡路守

相續下村家詳記他卷

女子 長王

女子  
寅三 岡本重興室 母致重女  
女子

三代  
○公重  
平次法名靜圓

大永二年乙丑之秋受嚴親善心之讓補惣領職  
七月五日卒法諱鑑久靜圓居士 室田村氏法號來室妙元大姉

重高  
平三郎法名性觀  
重秀  
重俊

篤重  
威重貫平太法名念心 山口之祖也 或說他腹之長男也

有重  
平四郎法名性善  
弘安四年辛巳六月廿九日與蒙古戰筑前之海上奮武威被中

賊矢而死 號慈光寺性善大禪伯 後崇若宮大明神  
室島津氏法號節夢幻忠大姉

致重  
平五郎法名道善  
女子 字辰童女 重氏室  
女子 宇彌陀童女 重基室

兄有重同時戰死 崇若宮大明神  
後爲尼號顯心...

靜重  
釋童丸六郎房戒名興善...  
重尙  
四郎太郎

兄有重同時戰死

長德丸  
早世

四代  
○重基  
初童丸新平次法名定圓  
嚴觀靜圓及叔父性善之所領重基相傳之 且又重基妻  
叔父道善之女也故道善之遺領半分兼帶焉

元弘三年癸酉十一月九日奈拜戴綸旨安堵本領所以是  
賞軍忠也

祐重  
曾司次郎三郎後改號岡本法名定重

重知  
孫五郎  
河內十郎

重文  
女子 字乙童女

重勝  
平次五郎  
母高城河內權守重棟入道宗心女法名宗如

重基入道定圓養重勝爲嗣子  
號岡本九郎左衛門尉法名定賀

重興  
元弘建武之亂重興數抽軍功  
虎一丸

附錄

一、入來院氏系譜

原夫桓武天皇第五王子葛原親王之的孫高望王始賜平姓 高望王  
七世之孫澁谷之莊司重國(者)相州之豪家也以武功鳴世 重國有  
數子太郎光重次郎高重四郎時國五郎重助七郎重近各有武名 光  
重生六男澁谷太郎重直早川二郎實重<sup>後改</sup>吉岡三郎重保<sup>後改</sup>大  
谷四郎重諸<sup>後改</sup>曾司五郎定心<sup>後改</sup>落合六郎重貞<sup>後改</sup>也 光重告將軍  
家以相傳所領願讓數子令惟太郎居本國二郎以下兄弟五人皆下向  
薩州之所領以所是慮子孫無窮之榮也

元祖  
澁谷太郎元重五男

○○定心

初號曾司後入來院又清色五郎禪師

寶治二年戊申之春定心應嚴觀光重之命下著薩州入來院住清

色<sup>或作數</sup>城爾來改稱號入來院又號清色

定心所領相州吉田<sup>澁谷</sup>上莊勢州箕田大功田大類作州河會鄉

打(鑊)薩州入來院等也

以寄生爲旗幕之紋

二月四日<sup>年不詳</sup>卒號壽昌寺定心大禪定門 室蘭室妙香尼師<sup>命落</sup>

日不詳

重純

次郎三郎 他腹

重遠

重賴  
重長

女子

二代

○明重

三郎

建長五年癸丑十一月九日受嚴親定心之讓爲家督

同七年乙卯六月五日賜政所之下文

四月二日卒 號峯恩寺善心大禪定門 室尼壽阿大姉

重經

五郎四郎法名定佛 號寺尾

重賢

五郎

範幹

號倉野苑六

幹綱

平四郎

宗幹

平六

女子

女子

女子

重繼

號下村

重世

號中村

重村

五郎四郎 兄重繼之養子

重村

五郎四郎

重氏

平六法名惠朝



明治己巳六月

太政官 印

一五五丁

島津少將

高拾萬石

依勅功永世下賜候事

明治二年己巳六月

一五五戊

入來院彈正

右依

勅命從來之家格被廢士族之名目被相定世祿三百石限被究置候 左候  
而祖先勳功之御取譯ヲ以高貳百石御藏米之内ヨリ年々被下置候

八月 知政所

シテ獲所ノモノト云ニ異ナランヤ庫ニ入ルモノハ人其賊タルヲ知ル  
土地人民ヲ攘奪スルニ至ツテハ天下コレヲ怪シマス甚哉名義ノ紊壞  
スルコト今也丕新ノ治ヲ求ム宜シク大體ノ在ル所大權ノ繫ル所毫モ  
假ヘカラス抑臣等居ル所ハ即チ天子ノ土臣等牧スル所ハ即チ天子ノ  
民ナリ安ソ私ニ有スヘケンヤ今謹テ其版籍ヲ收メテ之ヲ上ル願ク  
ハ朝廷其宜ニ處シ其與フ可キハ之ヲ與ヘ其奪フ可キハコレヲ奪ヒ凡  
列藩ノ封土更ニ宜シク勅令ヲ下シコレヲ改メ定ムヘシ面シテ制度典  
型軍旅ノ政ヨリ戎服器械ノ制ニ至ルマテ悉ク朝廷ヨリ出テ天下ノ事  
大小トナク皆一ニ歸セシムヘシ然後ニ名實相得始テ海外各國ト並立  
ヘシ是朝廷今日ノ急務ニシテ又臣子ノ責ナリ故ニ臣某等不肖謏劣ヲ  
顧ミス敢テ鄙衷ヲ獻ス天日ノ明幸ニ照臨ヲ賜ヘ臣某誠恐誠惶頓首再  
拜以表

〔明治二年〕

正月

毛利宰相 中將

島津少將

鍋島少將

山内少將

一五五乙

島津宰相

今般版籍奉還之儀ニ付深ク時勢ヲ被爲察廣ク公議ヲ被爲採政令歸  
之思食ヲ以テ言上之通被聞食候事

〔明治二年〕

六月

行政官

一五五丙

島津宰相

鹿兒島藩知事被仰付候事

一宮之城 高一萬五千三百十石 嶋津圖書殿  
 一種々嶋 高一萬三千七百五十石 嶋津龍之助殿  
 一日置 七千六百五十九石 嶋津山城殿

以上御親類衆 御役無之大名衆

御家門 持切方

一喜入 高五千七百六十二石 肝付彈正殿  
 一知覽 高五千四百石 嶋津空殿  
 一鹿籠 高三千七百四十五石 喜入主馬殿  
 一永吉 高四千二百八十二石 嶋津主馬殿  
 一吉利 高四千四百三十三石 小橋帶刀殿  
 一平沼 高二千四百八十石 小松帶刀殿  
 一入來 高三千二百六十二石 入來院石見殿  
 一雀田 高千六百五十石 横山左京殿  
 一黒木 高千二百二十八石 嶋津内膳殿  
 一佐司 高二千六百三十二石 嶋津左仲殿  
 一新城 高四千二百十四石 嶋津内藏殿  
 一花園 高五千二百二十五石 嶋津大學殿  
 一市城 高千六百九十二石 嶋津右膳殿

以上御役なし御家門衆

嶋津家 御家老衆中之頭取

一川上殿 一吉岡殿 一樺山殿 一新納殿 一二階堂殿  
 一丸津殿 一伊集院殿 一赤松殿 一吉田殿 一市田殿  
 一汀田殿 一伊集院殿 一宮原殿 一鎌田殿 一嶋津登殿

以上此衆は御大名と申候

外高取御家人武士 一萬九千人餘 凡國々村々郷士  
 士惣人數 五萬七千人餘  
 以上高三拾三萬三千貳百四十七石貳斗七升六合

外城衆 高拾壹萬一千四百五十五石一斗一升三合  
 合薩隅日琉球台高八十七萬一千八百四十五石一斗三合四勺  
 神社佛閣高壹萬五千二百十石

山海川嶋々合凡三百萬程也 尤嶋の宜敷處ははいられず何程と其程は知れず 尤商船の利分は外に候 唐物は高敷しれず

一五五甲

臣某等頓首再拜謹接スルニ朝廷一日モ失フ可ラサル者ハ大體ナリ一日モ假ス可ラサル者ハ大權ナリ天祖肇テ國ヲ開キ基ヲ建玉ヒシヨリ皇統一系萬世無窮普天率土其有ニ非サルハナク其臣ニ非サルハナシ是大體トス且與ヘ且奪ヒ爵祿以テ下ヲ維持シ尺土モ私ニ有スルコト能ハス一民モ私ニ攘ムコト能ハスは大權トス在昔朝廷海内ヲ統馭スル一ニコレニヨリ聖躬之ヲ親ラス故ニ名實竝立テ天下無事ナリ中葉以降綱維一タヒ弛ミ柄ヲ弄シ爭フ者踵チ朝廷ニ接シ其民ヲ私シ其土ヲ攘ムモノ天下ニ半シ遂ニ搏噬攘奪勢成リ朝廷守ル所ノ體ナク棄ル所ノ權ナクシテ是ヲ制馭スルコト能ハス義雄造ニ乘シ弱ノ肉ハ強ノ食トナリ其大ナル者ハ十數州ヲ併セ其小ナル者猶士ヲ養フ數千所謂幕府ナル者ノ如キハ土地人民擅ニ其私スル所ニ頒チ以テ其勢權ヲ扶植ス是ニ於テ乎朝廷徒ニ虛器ヲ擁シ其視息ヲ窺テ喜戚ナナスニ至ル橫流之極滔天同ラサルモノ茲ニ六百有餘年然レ共其間往々天子ノ名爵ヲ假テ其土地人民ヲ私スルノ跡ヲ蔽フ是固ヨリ君臣ノ大義上下ノ名分萬古不拔ノモノ有ニ由ナリ方今大政新ニ復シ萬機之ヲ親ラス實ニ千歳ノ一機其名アツテ其實ナカルヘカラス其實ヲ舉ルハ大義ヲ明ニシ名分ヲ正スヨリ先ナルハナシ嚮ニ徳川氏ノ起ル古家舊族天下ニ半ス依テ家ヲ興スモノ亦多シ而シテ其土地人民コレヲ朝廷ニ受ルト否トヲ問ハス因襲ノ久シキヲ以テ今日ニ至ル世或ハ謂ラクは祖先鋒鏑ノ經始スル所ト呼何ソ兵ヲ擁シテ官庫ニ入り其貨ヲ奪ヒ是死ヲ犯

八百六十七石

七百六十二石

五百四十四石

四百七十一石

四百六十四石

五百石

八百八十石

千四百六十石

四百石

藏米百五十俵

四百石

三百八十石

二百石

四百石

二十石

三百七十五石

三十三石

百三十八石

二百三十三石

二百七十九石

二十石

三百一十石

三十石

百七十六石

外藏米七十五俵

五百六十六石

三十三石

薩摩國高城郡水引郷之内

大隈國桑原郡國分郷之内

大隅國鰐嗉郡曾於郷之内

日向國諸縣郡大崎郷之内

神社拾三社

市原宮別當

新願所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

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菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

菩提所

八幡新田社

正八幡宮

霧嶋神社

飯隈山大權現

南泉院

大乘院

福昌寺

淨光明寺

大龍寺

南林寺

妙國寺

興國寺

壽國寺

不斷光寺

妙圓寺

廣濟寺

幸善寺

日新寺

一乘院

平等王院

彌勒院

願成寺

神德院

大慈寺

寶滿寺

四千九百二十二石

藏米百九十俵

藏米四萬六千五百五十俵

藏米二萬三千四百俵

九萬八千石

合高拾萬五千九百二十石

藏米合六萬九千九百六十五俵

但部(屋)扶持方相渡候儀無御座候

都合高四十九萬五千五百石

都合藏米十四萬九千九十九俵

此本石 二萬九千八百十九石八斗

但高石ニノ八萬五千百九十九石四斗二升八合

二口合高五十八萬六千九百九十九石四斗二升八合

右之通御座候以上

寶曆六 子 十月改一

〔弘化二乙巳年長月申朔曆之 松井範春(印)一

一五四乙

御家門方

一加治水 高一萬五百五十四石九斗九升四勺三才

一柳之城 高二萬五千三百五石

但十萬石余上り 東内番所御國役年中國詰折々荒子

嶋交替也

一垂水 高一萬七千四百五十五石五合

一今和泉 高一萬五百九十三石

一重田 高一萬三千九百六十二石

寺院貳百五拾三軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

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右同五軒

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右同五軒

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右同五軒

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右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

右同五軒

嶋津備中殿

嶋津因幡殿

嶋津肥前殿

嶋津肥前殿

嶋津肥前殿

贈原郡

桑原郡

菱刈郡

始羅郡

日向國諸縣郡之內

大崎郷

士三百八人

六十石  
二百六名

薩摩國出水郡出水郷之內  
薩摩國穎娃郡穎娃郷之內

加紫久利神社  
牧聞神社

九百十二石  
六百十五石  
四百三石  
七百三十四石  
六百十石  
二千五百三十五石  
千三百四十四石  
七百四十六石  
二百九十九石  
四千九百十三石  
六百四十一石  
五百九十二石  
三百六十四石  
三百二十七石  
四百六十二石  
七百七十七石  
五百四石  
二百五十八石  
二百八十七石  
二百八十三石  
四百一石  
二百七十九石  
九百八十一人  
三百七十六石  
二千六百六石

鹿屋郷  
串良郷  
高隈郷  
百引郷  
恒吉郷  
末吉郷  
財部郷  
福山郷  
敷根郷  
國分郷  
清水郷  
曾於郡郷  
踊郷  
日當山郷  
横川郷  
栗野郷  
吉松郷  
湯之尾郷  
馬越郷  
曾木郷  
本城郷  
溝邊郷  
帖佐郷  
山田郷  
蒲生郷

士百二十七人  
士百五十六人  
士四十九人  
士百八十五人  
士百十八人  
士四百十六人  
士四百二十人  
士二百六人  
士百十七人  
士三百八十五人  
士二百六十六人  
士二百六十九人  
士百二十七人  
士九十八人  
士百四十八人  
士二百三十四人  
士二百二十二  
士百三十五人  
士百二十四人  
士九十八人  
士百七十五人  
士九十三人  
士三百六十一人  
士百六十七人  
士四百七十九人

二千六百六十六石  
五百十石  
五百八十一石  
六百九十三石  
千二百四十四石  
千四百一石  
七千九百六十七石  
九百七十九石  
千十五石  
七百三十八石  
三百二十八石  
千八百一十石  
四百四十九石  
二千二十石  
七百七十三石  
二百三十八石  
二百五十石

志布志郷  
松山郷  
勝岡郷  
山之口郷  
高城郷  
穆佐郷  
倉岡郷  
高岡郷  
綾郷  
野尻郷  
高原郷  
高崎郷  
小林郷  
須木郷  
飯野郷  
加久藤郷  
馬關田郷  
吉田郷

士四百三人  
士九十七人  
士五十二人  
士百十五人  
士二百六人  
士二百二十四人  
士百二人  
士六百九十人  
士二百八十二人  
士二百七十一人  
士百六十三人  
士百三十七人  
士三百四十二人  
士二百十人  
士三百三十八人  
士二百六十八人  
士九十四人  
士百四十五人

合人数 二萬二百九十七人  
内 一萬五千七十人 地方取

六百五十人 藏米取 此藏米一萬三千俵  
四千五百七十七人 無祿  
合高八萬五千四百五十五石  
合藏米一萬三千俵

藏米七千六百六十八俵 二十七俵取 土二百八十四人

合高三万四千二百二十五石

合藏米六万六千三百三十四俵

郷士之部

薩摩國

鹿兒嶋郡

六百十八石

吉田郷

土百五十二人

谿山郡

千四百七十石

谷山郷

土三百三十九人

揖宿郡

千六百八十六石

指宿郷

土三百十八人

穎娃郡

六百八十石

山川郷

土七十三人

河邊郡

千三十五石

穎娃郷

土三百六十四人

河邊郡

千六十九石

河邊郷

土二百二十人

河邊郡

二千五百五十二石

加世田郷

土五百五十三人

阿多郡

二百五十八石

山田郷

土九十人

阿多郡

千七百十石

坊泊郷

土四十六人

阿多郡

百一十石

久志秋目郷

土六十九人

阿多郡

七百三十石

阿多郷

土二百二十五人

目置郡

四百七十九石

田布施郷

土二百十八人

目置郡

千四百五十石

伊作郷

土三百九十四人

目置郡

千七百二十九石

伊集院郷

土二百四十六人

薩摩郡

三百六十二石

郡山郷

土百二十四人

薩摩郡

千二百二十三石

市來郷

土二百七十二人

薩摩郡

八百四十石

串木野郷

土二百二十七人

薩摩郡

二百五十一石

百次郷

土六十四人

薩摩郡

二百九十七石

山田郷

土八十人

薩摩郡

八百七十石

隈之城郷

土二百六十七人

薩摩郡

百五十五石

高江郷

土九十八人

薩摩郡

八十九石

中江郷

土七十七人

伊作郡

五百二十三石

東江郷

土二百四十三人

伊作郡

八百一十石

樋脇郷

土百八十九人

伊作郡

百八十九石

山崎郷

土八十四人

伊作郡

三百五十二石

鶴田郷

土九十三人

伊作郡

四百二十八石

大村郷

土百三十八人

伊作郡

二千四百三十九石

大口郷

土三百八十二人

伊作郡

三百四十五石

羽月郷

土百四十八人

伊作郡

三百十九石

山野郷

土百四人

伊作郡

五千五百十三石

出水郷

土千四人

伊作郡

八百二十八石

高尾野郷

土三百六人

伊作郡

三百五十二石

野田郷

土百七十八人

伊作郡

七百石

長嶋郷

土三百二十一人

伊作郡

九百十四石

阿久根郷

土二百十五人

伊作郡

四百六十四石

高城郷

土二百四十二人

伊作郡

千二百六十石

水引郷

土百五十九人

伊作郡

七百八十石

龜嶋郷

土四百二十四人

大隅郡

五百二十四石

櫻嶋郷

土五百十二人

大隅郡

二百四十一石

牛根郷

土百六十二人

大隅郡

百六十石

大根占郷

土百八十八人

大隅郡

三百十七石

小根占郷

土二百七十八人

大隅郡

六十石

佐多郷

土百七十九人

肝屬郡

百九十一石

田代郷

土百四十二人

肝屬郡

二百二十七石

内之浦郷

土六十人

肝屬郡

千七百七十石

高山郷

土二百二十六人

肝屬郡

四百九十二石

始羅郷

土七十八人

肝屬郡

三百二十四石

大始良郷

土百十五人

大隅國



二百五十一石	二階堂林右衛門	五百六十石	北郷助太夫
二百九十石	澁谷喜三左衛門	百八十八石	福山平太夫
二百六十九石	河野安之右衛門	部屋住無祿	宮之原宇右衛門
二百七十六石	關山軍兵衛	二百八十七石	山田元右衛門
三百六十二石	山澤十太夫		
用人			
百九十九石	基太利助左衛門	三百六十九石	相良彌一兵衛
外藏米百四十二俵			
二百四十八石	島津權左衛門	二百七十八石	堀堀右衛門
百九十石	川上彌五太夫	百七十石	諏訪甚兵衛
三百七十一石	堀甚左衛門	二百十石	中馬源兵衛
外藏米七十五俵			
三百十六石	小林中太兵衛		
町奉行			
百三十六石	三原源五左衛門	九百三十三石	讃良善助
近習役			
外藏米七十三俵			
百八十六石	鎌田太郎右衛門	二百三十四石	迫水善左衛門
百三十二石	伊地知新太夫	百五十八石	澁谷喜納右衛門
部屋住無祿	二階堂源太夫	百八十九石	石黒戸後左衛門
二百二十九石	日高次右衛門	外藏米七十五俵	伊地知喜右衛門
以下略シ戸項目ト眞數トヲ左ニ掲ケ			
江戸留守居 四人			
京都留守居 二人			
大阪留守居 二人			
納戸奉行 八人			
物頭 十三人			
御守殿添御用達 三人			
		船奉行 七人	
		使番 六人	
		納殿役人 七人	
		普請奉行 四人	

記錄奉行 三人	
長崎附人 二人	
高奉行 六人	
物奉行 三人	
馬方 六人	
小納戸役 七人	
小納戸役並 五人	
目付 四十人	
右筆 七人	
御守殿御鎖口添留 十三人	
納殿 二十六人	
山奉行 六人	
郡奉行 十五人	
細工奉行 四人	
屋久島奉行 四人	
宗門改 三人	
尾畔奉行 一人	
茶道頭 一人	
記錄方添役 一人	
唐船方請込 五人	

寺社方取次 五人	
勘定方小頭 七人	
代官 九人	
臺所頭 一人	
春屋頭 一人	
側小姓 七十人	
表小姓 二十七人	
紀明方見習 一人	
奥小姓 十人	
側醫師 二十五人	
「五百四十石 百石以上醫師三人」	
六百八十五石 九十石より十石迄醫師三十二人	
藏米九百俵 三十俵取右同三十人	
書院役人同朋、側同朋、表同朋、合八人 側茶道 五人 小坊主 六人	
「藏米千六百廿三俵 三十石より二十俵迄 茶道方惣坊主六十五人」	
無役之中通 八人	
内記錄方總占 兵道方二	
天文方一 異國船手當方一	
二万四千百十石 從五百石百石迄 士百六十七人	
藏米千五百十五俵 從百九十五百俵迄 士十三人	
二万九千三百六十九石 從九十九石十石迄 士千五百四十三人	
藏米四万三千六百十五俵 從五十俵二十俵迄 士千四百七十九人	
城下組附之部	

一門

一萬七千四百石

嶋津備中

一萬三千九百三十八石

嶋津周防

一萬石

嶋津周防

一萬九千五百九十三石

嶋津兵庫家

一族

七千九百石

嶋津出雲

六千七百石

嶋津大學

三萬四千六百十四石

嶋津筑後

一萬五千二百七十八石

家老 嶋津圖書

家老

三千三百五十六石

嶋津主殿

二千二十七石

義岡相馬

二千二百四十石

嶋津主鈴

千九百七十一石

伊集院織部

二千六十七石

鎌田典膳

千九百八十八石

高橋經殿

若年寄

千五百六十一石

嶋津將監

四千六百八十七石

嶋津木工

五千三百三十二石

禰寢式部

大目付

千八百五十九石

樺山左京

四百十八石

川田伊織

千二百六十四石

鎌田隼人

寺社奉行

八百四十九石

嶋津十太左衛門

四百十七石

宮之原甚兵衛

四百四十石

荻刈孫兵衛

勘定奉行

二百五十五石

嶋津求馬

六百三十石

嶋津大藏

組頭

四百二十二石

番頭 新納四郎

千六百四十九石

嶋津主水

千九十八石

嶋津助之丞

五千二百二十八石

肝付彈正

四千七百七十五石

島津市太夫

二千六百五十三石

島津小平太

用人

千六百九十六石

町田郷九郎

二百七十二石

島山數馬

六百五十一石

桂太郎兵衛

三千七百十四石

喜入主馬

三千六百六十三石

入來院石見

七千七百九十三石

北郷民部

部屋住無祿

島津又七郎

六千三百十四石

伊勢兵庫

三百十二石

名越左源太

部屋住無祿

島津直衛

一萬九百九十石

種子島藏人

部屋住無祿

島津早太

九百三十七石

島津内記

一所持

用上久馬

二百八十七石

大野權太夫

三百石

吉利奎右衛門

千二石

頼廷内膳

二百六十六石

比志島隼人

二百八十六石

諏訪甚六

七百四十二石

一所持格

島津賴母

島津清太夫

三百一十石

寄合

二百六十二石

島津彦太夫

二百一十石

郷原金太夫

二百四十五石

新納次郎四郎

二百八十一石

樺山權十郎

四百三十七石

北郷權五郎

三百二十三石

桂奎右衛門

三百四十三石

新納五郎右衛門

千四百三十三石

町田源左衛門

二百三十八石

新納十郎左衛門

七十五石

山田新助

五百三十三石

平田袈裟次郎

外藏米百石

二階堂舍人

藏米百五十俵

本田新次郎

百七十七石

相良源太夫

三百八十九石

小笠原郷左衛門

寄合並

伊勢新五郎

二百石

西平太

三百三十四石

側用人

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

本田久米右衛門

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞

三百六十七石

島山數馬

二百六十四石

財部孫之丞



外城	高	内寺家分	衆中	内知行持	一ヶ所寺家
大日	三六六、三、石	三三、石	三三、人	二九三、六六石以上	六、八
山野	二八六、九、石	二、	七〇、	六三、	五、二
羽月	四七五、四、	三、五	一八、	一〇一、三六石以上	二、
鶴田	三九二、二、	二、	六八、	六二、一八石以上	五、二
大村	三〇五、七、	九、	八二、	五〇、一六石以上	三〇、二
山崎	一九、	二〇、	一、	一九、	三〇、二
清數	一二三、七、	七、三	一〇、	一七、一八石以上	一七、三
鹿兒島	八三六、三、	一、四	七七、	五六、一八石以上	一九、二
薩州諸外城合	五九四、六八、一四七、一三〇、三八七、五		五、五九、三九、三		一、五四、九二

陽州諸外城

外城	高	内寺家分	衆中	内知行持	一ヶ所寺家
蒲生	二六〇、五、石	八二、二、石	三五、八、人	三三〇、一八石以上	八、八
帖佐	一八三、二、	八九、	一八、	八三、一八石以上	九、三
帖佐山田	一四七、一、	二六、	五〇、	二六、	三、二
曾木	一三三、二、	二、	五三、	二九、	三、二
本城	二七四、八、	二、	二五、	七五、	八、二
馬越	一七二、二、	二、	九一、	四三、	六、二
湯之尾	七三、八、	二、	三七、	一六、	九、二
吉松	三三九、二、	二、	八九、	四三、	二、
栗野	五一四、二、	二、	二五、六、	一〇三、二八石以上	四、三
横川	九〇、七、	二、	九三、	五八、八石以上	四、六

外城	高	内寺家分	衆中	内知行持	一ヶ所寺家
踊邊	一八、三、石	石	五八、人	一八、二八石以上	六、八
溝當	六九、		一、		二、
日當	一〇八、六、	二、	三七、	二一、	一五、一
會於郡	三三、二六、	四、	一〇七、	三三、二八石以上	七〇、三
清水	七六〇、六、	一九、	一九、	二六、二八石以上	一、二
國府	五七九、四、	八、七、	二〇四、	一六、九八石以上	五、四
敷根	二二五、二、	二、	五三、	二六、一八石以上	二四、二
福山	八八八、九、	三、二	一〇八、	九八、三八石以上	八、二
財部	八六四、八五	一五、二	一七一、	一〇六、八石以上	六三、二
末吉	一八二、七、	六、	二二〇、	二四、三九石以上	一五、二
恒吉	三五八、	二、	七五、	四九、一八石以上	二四、二
百引	一三四、九三	二、	五六、	三〇、	三三、二
高良	六八〇、七、	二、	一七、	七、四八石以上	四、二
給良	一四三、七、	二九、	四五、	一八、二四石以上	三三、二
給良	一八〇、二、	二、	六六、	二六、	一五、二
佐多	八二、四、	二、	四一、	六、	二八、二
田代	二、	七、	六七、	一、	三三、二
大根	三三、二、	二、	四九、	三六、一八石以上	二、
牛根	一五、	二、	四四、	二、	四〇、二
向之島	六三、一、		八九、	八九、一八石以上	二、
陽州諸外城合	三三九、一、二九六、一三三、五七		三三八、一〇一、九		一一四、六五

六石餘之衆 高六十四石・ 人跡十人  
 五石余之衆 高八十七石・ 人跡十六人  
 四石餘之衆 高五十一石九斗・ 人跡十二人  
 三石餘之衆 高三十五石・ 人跡十人  
 二石余之衆 高三十九石・ 人跡十七人  
 一石余之衆 高九石八斗・ 人跡七人  
 斗ヨリ下ノ衆 高七石四斗・ 人跡十六人  
 鹿兒島分寛永十六年出物之高  
 合三十一萬四百四十石六斗七升七合八勺七才  
 人跡千五百五十人 内二十七人寺社  
 御小者衆御中間衆御道具衆諸村庄屋 高八十三石・ 人跡二十二  
 人 切米取 九十人  
 一ヶ所取鹿兒島 百十二人  
 合二百二人  
 琉球國司 高九萬八百八十三石九斗一升二合七勺  
 (以下便ヲ圖リテ表ニ直シテ解ス)

薩州 諸外城

外城	高	内寺家分	衆中	内知行持	一ヶ所	寺家
谷山	二七三・石	一六・石	三三・人	一八・内百石以上 二六・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	三七・人	三・人
指宿	二五二・石	一八九・石	一〇〇・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一七・人	二・人
山川	七三・石	三六・石	二五・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
穎娃	二二三・石	二二・石	二四・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
知覽	二二五・石	四・石	一七・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
川邊	六八・七三・石	五・石	二七・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
坊津	三〇・石	二〇・石	七・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人

外城	高	内寺家分	衆中	内知行持	一ヶ所	寺家
泊志	三六・石	七・石	四・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	三七・人	三・人
久志	六・石	一・石	一・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
秋目	四・石	一・石	一・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
加世田	二五九・石	一六八・石	二五三・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
阿多	六六・石	三三・石	一一・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
田布施	六七・石	一三六・石	一〇九・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
伊作	一六三・石	一六七・石	二〇七・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
伊集院	一六三・石	一六七・石	二〇七・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
郡山	三六・石	二・石	一・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
市來	一〇九・石	八〇・石	一八五・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
串木野	五九・石	三一・石	九・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
山田	三九・石	五・石	七・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
百次	二二〇・石	三六・石	五三・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
隈之城	一〇七・石	四・石	一八・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
中郷	一三九・石	二・石	五・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
高江	八三・石	二・石	五・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
水引	一五・石	八九・石	一一三・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
川内高城	七五・石	六・石	一六・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
甕島	四九・石	二・石	一三・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
阿久根	四八・石	二・石	一三・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
高尾野	一七・石	三・石	二・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人
出水	七六・石	一〇・石	二一・人	一八・内百石以上 二五・内百石以上 二八・内百石以上	一〇・人	二・人



蒲生

人數三千四百八十六人 内男二千四十二人

鐵炮百二十一挺 弓六張 鎗三十一本 具足四兩

吉田

人數千九百九十四人 内男千七百七十六人

鐵炮三十七挺 弓十四張 鎗十八本 具足二兩

國分

人數九千八百八十六人 内男五千二百三十二人

鐵炮六十六挺 弓三十六張 鎗七十四本

具足七兩 長刀四振

清水

人數千八百七十八人 内男千八十二人

鐵炮六十九挺 弓十九張 鎗三十二本

曾於郡

人數二千五百十四人 内男千四百七十四人

鐵炮六十六挺 弓十八張 鎗六本

正月吉日

右一通

## 一五三丁

左ノ文書ハ一五二丁 國分國中把高松縣中飛馬定張ノ中ヨリ省斷シタル分ナリ。之ヲ加ヘテ復  
 交書ヲ定メスベシ。但シ左ノ寫ニ往々右高松縣ノ石位以テ誤シタル箇所ニハ二裏・一丁加フ

鹿兒島

一所衆井奥方 高十三萬二千三百十三石二斗五升三合八勺二才

人跡三十八人 乘馬二百五十六騎 内十六騎是方分

寺社但

高五千四百八十二石五斗二升四合

千石より四千石迄衆高四萬六千五百五十九石六斗七升一合一勺六才

人跡三十二人 乘馬八十七人

九百石餘之衆 高二千八百二十三石三升五合四勺一才

人跡三人 乘馬三騎

八百石餘之衆 高七千四百四十三石七斗八合六勺二才

人跡九人

乘馬九騎

七百石餘之衆 高四千四百七十六斗五升四合

人跡六人 乘馬六騎

六百石餘之衆 高五千七百二十二石三斗五合八勺一才

人跡九人 乘馬九騎

五百石餘之衆 高一萬二千七百八斗五升四合九勺九才

人跡三十二人 乘馬二十二騎

四百石餘之衆 高一萬二千四百五十九石九斗七升五勺八才

人跡二十四人 乘馬二十四騎

三百石餘之衆 高二萬一千四百五十三石三斗七升二合二勺二才

人跡六十五人 乘馬六十五騎

二百石餘之衆 高一萬七千五百二十九石四斗七升二合二勺四才

人跡七十五人

百石餘之衆 高二萬六百五十九石九斗二升五合八勺八才

人跡百五十七人

九十石餘之衆 高二千五百十九石三斗一升二合五勺四才

人跡二十七人

八十石餘之衆 高二千六百五十五石

人跡三十一人

七十石餘之衆 高三千一百九十九石

人跡四十二人

六十石餘之衆 高三千二百二十一石

人跡四十九人

五十石餘之衆 高二千四百九十四石

人跡四十六人

四十石餘之衆 高千七百六十八石

人跡四十八人

三十石餘之衆 高三千四百五十五石

人跡九十一人

二十石餘之衆 高二千四百八十九石

人跡百五人

十石餘之衆 高千九百六十三石

人跡百五人

九石餘之衆 高百六十八石

人跡十八人

八石餘之衆 高百三十二石

人跡十六人

七石餘之衆 高七十四石

人跡十人

須木

以上一通年月ナシ

人數千四十七人

○伊集院

人數五千七百五十五人 内男三千三百九十九人

鐵炮七十八挺 弓九張 鑓四本

郡山

人數千七百七十七人 内男千二十九人

鐵炮二十七挺 弓二張 鑓十四本 長刀一振

○宮之城

人數四千四百八十三人 内男二千七百四十八人

宮之城道具究不見得餘

御入番

人數千二百十人 内男七百一十一人

山崎

鐵炮十七挺 弓三張

鶴田

人數千八百五十人 内男千五百五十二人

鐵炮四十四挺 弓三十五張

○大村

人數二千二百七十七人 内男千三百九十九人

鐵炮六十七挺 弓十四張 鑓二十四本

山田衆

人數千五百五十七人 内男九百四十一人

鐵炮三十挺 弓五張

○横川

人數千七百七十八人 内男千九百六十六人

鐵炮六十挺 弓二十一張 鑓三本

御入番

人數一萬千卅八人 内男六千三百卅八人

よし田

人數九百三十八人 内男五百四十三人

鐵炮四十二挺 弓十七張 鑓九本

おとり

人數千九百三十三人 内男千二百二十一人

鐵炮三十八挺 弓六張 鑓八本

日當山

人數千七十七人 内男六百三十七人

○栗野

鐵炮十二挺 弓八張 鑓四本

人數二千五百五十一人 内男千三百九十九人

本城衆

鐵炮七十三挺 弓五十三張

人數千三百三十人 内男八百十人

鐵炮五十六挺

弓二十五張

○野尻

人數千八百二十八人 内男千九百十四人

高原衆

鐵炮百九挺 弓十張 鑓十八本

人數三千六十人 内男千八百五十二人

鐵炮百五十二挺

弓五十七張

○三之山

入番衆

人數千二百九十三人 内男七百五十九人

恒吉

鐵炮七十挺 弓九張

牛根衆

人數千七百人 内男千十二人

鐵炮三十二挺 弓四張

入番衆

人數五千二百四十三人 内男三千四十六人

鐵炮百一十一挺 弓百十二張

○末吉

帖佐衆

人數三千十一人 内男千七百四十八人

鐵炮十三挺 弓三張

敷根

御入番

人數千百五人 内男六百三十二人 敷根道具不知

福山

鐵炮七十一挺 弓二十四張

人數千七百三十三人 内男千七人

○鹿兒島

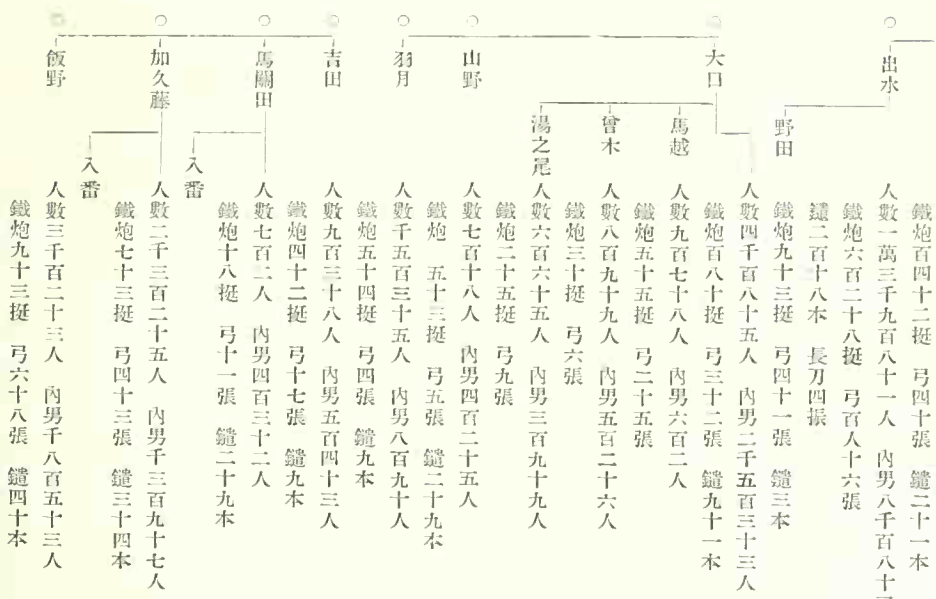
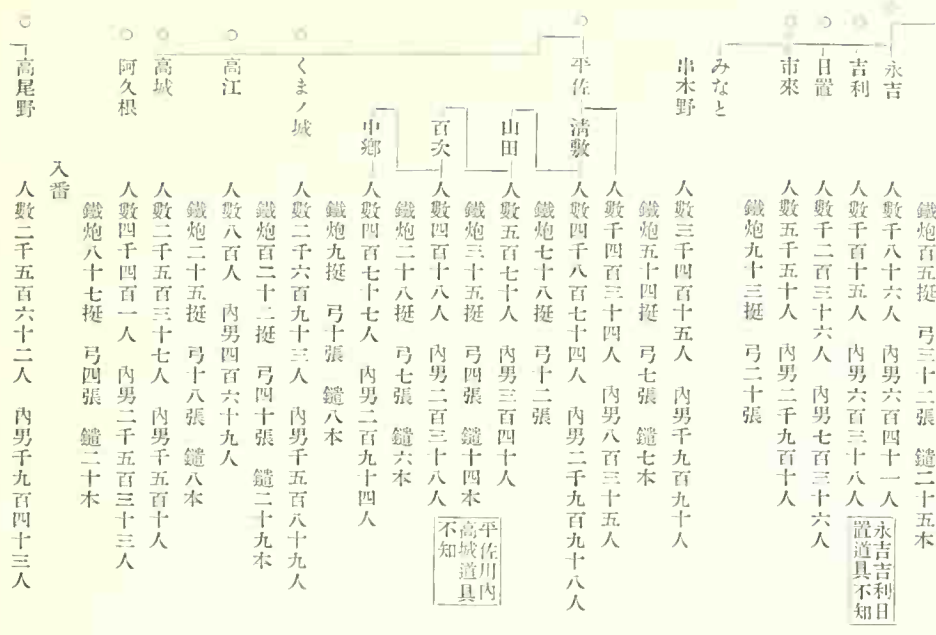
人數三萬三千四百三十二人 内男一萬八千六百二十四人

十四人

谷山

鐵炮九十二挺 弓四十九張 鑓四本

人數五千四百十七人 内男三千二百三十八人

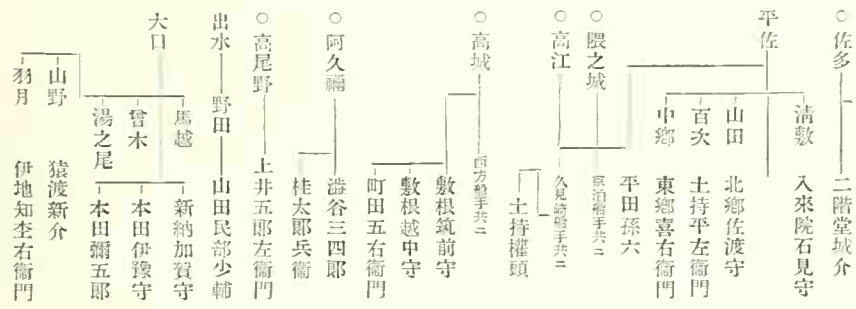
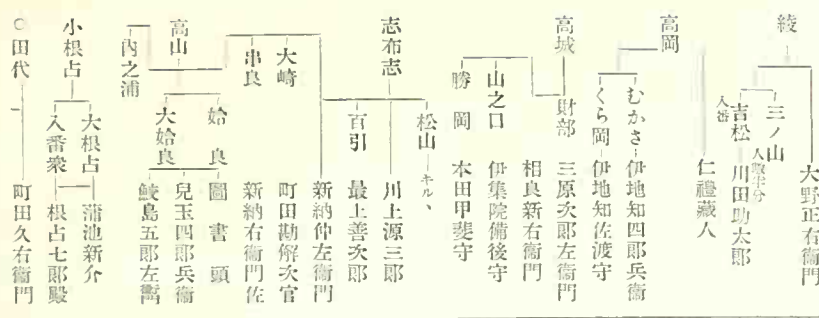


人叟三千四百一十二人

人數三千六百七十七人 內男二千四百七十六人

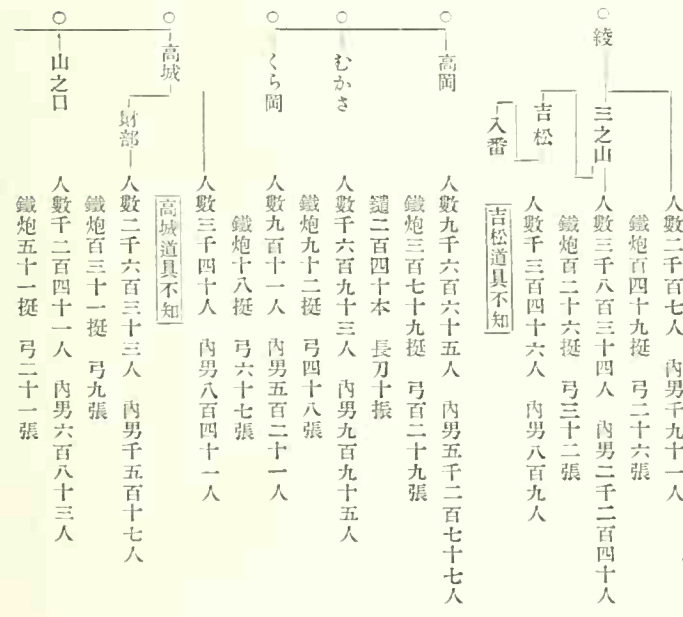
一五三乙

堺目



一五三丙

堺目



右一通

吉田 弟子丸五右衛門  
 馬關田 入番衆 川上上野守  
 曾木甚右衛門  
 須木  
 村尾舍人佐  
 加久藤 入番衆 川上又左衛門  
 飯野 大膳亮  
 大膳亮



高五百六十五石 蒲池備中守殿  
 高五百十四石 土持豊前守殿  
 高四百七十八石 伊東肥後守殿  
 高四百二十八石 新納尾張守殿  
 高三百九十二石 山口内藏助殿  
 高三百八十二石 伊地知與兵衛尉殿  
 高四百六十二石 鹿島郷兵衛尉殿  
 高五百二十五石 本田甲斐守殿  
 高四百十二石 平田民部左衛門尉殿  
 高三百六十三石 寺山出羽守殿  
 高四百六十三石 重存坊  
 高三百九十二石 岩切雅樂助殿  
 高三百九十五石 吉田六郎右入道殿  
 無上地  
 高二百八十五石 野村但馬守殿  
 高五百十石 福崎新三郎殿  
 高五百十九石 伊勢大内記殿  
 高三百七十九石 弟子丸越後守殿  
 高四百十八石 菱刈大膳正殿  
 高三百二十石 米良縫殿助殿  
 高二百二十三石 丹生新三郎殿  
 高四百六十一石 高崎大炊助殿  
 高百二十六石 平野彌九郎殿  
 高三百十六石 税所次郎右衛門殿

高三百七十五石 猿渡新介殿  
 高四百八十二石 上原右衛門入道殿  
 高三百六十八石 伊集院九郎殿  
 高三百六十八石 川上十郎左衛門殿  
 高三百六十六石 伊地知肥前入道殿  
 高二百六十五石 關田清左衛門殿  
 高三百九十二石 伊勢右京亮殿  
 高三百六十九石 鯨島筑右衛門殿  
 高三百七十四石 平田藤七兵衛尉殿  
 高三百四十一石 阿多甚左衛門殿  
 高二百五十三石 田代宗五郎殿  
 高三百七十三石 東郷十左衛門殿  
 高三百石 比志嶋彦太郎殿  
 高五百六十七石 桂 外記殿  
 高六百九十石 佐多越後守殿  
 高五百九十七石 理 心  
 高五百二十五石 諏方主稅助殿  
 高四百三十石 土持平右衛門殿  
 高四百一石 曾木甚左衛門殿  
 高三百九十石 鎌田播磨守殿

高二百四十九石 高陽仲三郎殿  
 高四百四十九石 相良勘解由次官殿  
 高三百石 堀綱右衛門殿  
 高二百七十七石 鬼塚少左衛門殿  
 高五百石 山鹿越左衛門殿  
 高二百八十四石 相良五左衛門殿  
 高二百九十五石 平田内匠允殿  
 高二百一十一石 岩本源六殿  
 高三百二十石 岩切彦兵衛尉殿  
 一〇〇〇 小幡長門守 (七百石八加増、無上地)  
 八六七 村田三郎右衛門  
 五〇六 門司安右衛門  
 文書全體ニツキテ石高ニ對スル人数ヲ別記スレバ左ノ如シ  
 高トノ記シ石數ヲ記セザルモノ  
 一石以下  
 一石以上五十石  
 五十一石ヨリ百石  
 百一石ヨリ二百石  
 二百一石ヨリ三百石  
 三百一石ヨリ四百石  
 四百一石ヨリ五百石  
 五百一石ヨリ千石  
 千一石ヨリ一萬石  
 一萬石以上

高百三十九石 米良彌吉殿  
 高二百四十三石 町田甚兵衛尉殿  
 高二百五十八石 高城主馬首殿  
 高百七十二石 小野右京亮殿  
 高五百五十石 花山備後守殿  
 高二百二十八石 大山六右衛門尉殿  
 高百五十石 吐師七左衛門殿  
 高二百五十一石 八木丹後守殿  
 高百七十二石 町田彌兵衛尉殿

北郷休次郎殿

山田民部少輔殿

川上左京亮殿

新納五郎右入道殿

高七百五十四石

高六百八十五石

高五百九十九石

高九百十二石

高六百八石

高七百四十三石

高七百九十三石

高七百二十石

高七百二十四石

高三百七十六石

高五百四十五石

高千十七石

高四百五十三石

御使兼耕土地

助七郎

右衛門佐殿

市來助右衛門殿

野村市右衛門殿

毛利内膳正殿

別府信濃守殿

野村千代松殿

頼娃長左衛門殿

鎌田加賀守殿

市來八左衛門殿

有馬久藏殿

平田新左衛門殿

本田伊賀守殿

北條土佐守殿

御使兼耕土地

又二郎殿

高五百五十石

高千八百五十四石

高九百四十六石

高千四十六石

高千六百十二石

高千三百二十五石

高千三百二十二石

高千一百石

高千二十一石

高六百五石

高四百六十三石

高千三石

高八百三十五石

高千石

高七百二十石

高七百九十石

高七百八十石

高千四十八石

高八百二十石

種子嶋殿

肝付長七郎殿

源七郎殿

北郷讃岐守殿

新納近江守殿

北郷又二郎殿

樺山美濃守殿

稻荷領

妙谷寺

大龍寺

春日大明神

霧島領

常所

若宮八幡領

比志島紀伊守殿

鎌田出雲守殿

町田圖書頭殿

伊勢兵部少輔殿

三原諸右衛門殿

歟根中務少輔殿

伊集院右馬助殿

新納刑部大輔殿

高五千六百二十五石

高二千六百五十五石

高七百十四石

高三萬三千三十七石

高九百四十三石

高七千三百九十九石

高二千二百七十石

高千二百石

高八百石

高二百石

高三十石

高三百八十石

高四百石

合高四千石

高二千六百六十九石

高二千七百三石

高二千二十二石

高千九百四十四石

高千五百八十二石

高千八百三十四石

高二千百八十石

高千五百九石

外役分二千石

外役分二千石

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七百五十人 并御荷馬三百人

千人

都合 壹萬三千人

のより百八拾七人  
乗馬 二百八十九正

御馬廻備之次第

一番

引藥箱五十荷 但五萬はなし

玉藥箱三十荷

三番

四番

五番

百矢臺三十荷

具足長持二十合

桶五十帖

六番

七番

八番

のほり五十六本

鐵炮三百挺

弓二百張

九番

十一番

十一番

鎗二百本

御馬十五疋

御手廻道具

十二番

乘馬衆百三十騎

かち小姓外城衆二百四十三人

終

御かち小姓鹿兒嶋二百十三人

「右〔御覺悟居衆〕ノ前ノ行ヨリ〔備之賦〕ノ〔三番〕マデノ行間ニ左ノ衆アリ」

「薩隅諸縣郡高宛

京竿惣高六十一萬石

俵付惣合百七十一萬二千七俵

内百七十萬八千俵 京竿高十石ニ付廿八俵ツ、

残り四千十七俵餘分

京竿之高ニノ千四百三十五石分

已上

慶長十九年三月廿二日

知行目錄

薩州 入來院浦名内

高三拾石

高二十八石二斗 二升  
三合

右之知行應此中公役之高被宛行者也

慶長十九年七月廿三日

同

下大根田門  
平ノ門

伊勢兵部少輔

貞昌〔印〕

三原藩右衛門

重種〔印〕

比定島紀伊守

國貞〔印〕

町田藩兵衛尉

久幸

肝付通光坊

一五三甲

「表紙」 元和六年

薩隅日三州一所衆 并鹿兒嶋衆中

高極之帳

二月二十七日

「高壹萬四千四十九石

高七千五百六十石 外役分壹千石

高八千六百十九石

高二千二百五十三石

外二千二百六十七石一斗九升 二俵出銀ノ未地分土地

高壹千六百十三石 外役分二千石

高二千四十四石

高二千二百五十石

高壹千五百三十七石

高四千五百八十九石

佐多伯耆守殿

喜入攝津守殿

中務太輔殿

根占七郎殿

入來院石見守殿

九五

一人森小左衛門

一人肥後乙千世

一人益山八右衛門

一人横山長右衛門

一人大場市兵衛尉

一人福崎小左衛門

一人泉昌坊

一人井尻宗五郎

二人川上長門守

二人平田九郎右衛門

二人中村喜兵衛尉

一人山口相左衛門

一人吉利奎右衛門

七人東霧島

右二百六十六人

七百七十人御藏入より出夫

八十人御臺所より出夫

五十人加治木方より出夫

右九百九十八人

内二百九十三人外城より之御道具持衆へ渡分

七十五人御道具衆へ渡分

二十人 のほりさしへ渡分

十人 御小者衆へ渡分

十二人 御中間衆へ渡分

八人 御荷所道具持衆へ渡分

五十人 御〇所道具持

五十人納殿道具持

百三十八人御臺所へ渡分

一人本田右京亮

一人蘭田與七左衛門

一人前田四郎兵衛尉

一人谷山孫右衛門

一人家村造右衛門

一人向井勘解由左衛門

一人松田萬右衛門

一人岡本茂右衛門

二人木上掃部介

二人密乘坊

二人市來善兵衛尉

一人永閣

七人町田勝兵衛尉

内百三十五人賦付

百三十一人淨夫

二十人御荷所御藏入より出夫

七十人國分御藏入より出夫

一人竹崎播磨守

一人篠内善内跡

一人中島善左衛門

一人本田利左衛門跡

一人宮原右兵衛尉

一人長谷場主水佐

一人本田奎助

一人有馬二右衛門

一人大山稻介

二人松本彦左衛門

二人德永源兵衛尉

一人兒玉五右衛門

六人護摩所領

二十人御殿へ渡分

五十人楯持

三十人百矢臺持

九十二人うき夫

三番備之分

合四千三百四十二人

船手 合千人

右之乗衆

船數大小四十六艘

七人 山鹿越右衛門

八人 奈良原喜左衛門

一人 坂元壹岐丞

三人 新納伊賀守

佐多御假屋

山下志摩丞

片瀬御假屋

宮原典兵衛尉

串木野御假屋

都合 一萬三百五十人

昇百八十一本

御留守居衆

豐州

新納五郎右衛門入道

相良日向守

鎌田加賀守

備之賦

一番二千人

二番三千人

三番三千五百五十人

九四

七十八人具足持

三十人玉藥持

五十人引藥持

六人 連長坊

六人 森嘉右衛門

一人 野村玄蕃助

一人 川野獻右衛門

小堀白河御假屋

播磨屋休兵衛尉

坊津御假屋

山崎土佐守

漫牟木勝兵衛尉

市來源御假屋

兒玉次左衛門

寺田市右衛門

意治源御假屋

伊集院宮内少輔

伊集院肥前入道

内深道具衆

船手 船六小四十六艘

舟馬七十三疋

舟馬百三十六疋

舟馬七十三疋

舟馬百三十六疋

舟馬七十三疋

舟馬百三十六疋

舟馬七十三疋

舟馬百三十六疋

二八 《高八十四石四斗八升六合 内二石右同》  
伊勢上總跡 内一略

四人 野添彌吉跡 内〔一略。一人うき〕  
《高二百廿三石五斗 内五石右同》

二人 伊地知平右衛門跡 内一略。一人うき  
《高九十八石四斗八升 内一石右同》

一人 向井彌右衛門跡 内一人山下兵左衛門

八人 一乘院  
内一人 員上二左衛門 一人枝次九郎左衛門  
一人有田藤七郎

一人 田中玄蕃允 一人藤崎善介 一人宮里勝兵衛尉

一人 梶原善左衛門 一人うき  
《高千六百八石三升六合 内五石殿役分 三百石御免許 三百石整摩》

九人 談義所  
内一人 新納助右衛門 一人白置分右衛門 一人有田大次助  
一人榮滿二左衛門 一人千尾重允 一人梶原七左衛門

二十八人 福昌寺  
内〔二十二人略、皆俗名。六人うき〕  
《高千七百廿七石八斗七升 内廿石殿役分 三百石御免許》

九人 淨光明寺  
内〔七人略、皆俗名。二人うき〕  
《高五百四十一石四升九合 内十四石殿役分 百石御免許》

十二人 泰平寺  
内〔十人略、俗名。二人うき〕  
《高三百五十石一升八勺 内十石殿役分 五十石御免許》

八人 南林寺  
内〔七人略、俗名。一人うき〕  
《高五百廿一石三斗七升 内百石御免許》

一人 寶樹院  
内〔高百六十三石一斗九升 内百石御免許 三石殿役分〕  
血良島助

一人 大興寺  
内〔高百六十三石一斗九升 内百石御免許 三石殿役分〕  
遠川源九

一人 多賀領  
内〔高五十七石九斗七升七合 内一石殿役分〕  
豐分兵衛左衛門

一人 大明寺  
内〔高五百廿三石三升七合〕  
赤田彌半次

八人 妙谷寺  
内〔六人略、俗名。二人うき〕  
《高二百廿三石三升七合 内八石殿役分 百石御免許》

四人 興國寺  
内〔三人略、俗名。一人うき〕  
《高五十七石五升三合 内一石殿役分 十石御免許》

一人 不斷光院  
内〔高五十七石五升三合 内一石殿役分 十石御免許〕  
勝目勘左衛門 一人勝目勘左衛門

二人 笑岳寺  
内〔高六十石四斗九合〕  
岩切監右衛門 一人本田彌藏兵衛尉

一人 惠燈院  
内〔高六十石四斗九合〕  
倉野平次郎

一人 上山寺  
内〔一人略、俗名。三人うき〕  
妙圓寺 内〔一人略、俗名。三人うき〕

十人 廣濟寺  
内〔八人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 木村玄蕃跡  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 松田龜介  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 淵村甚兵衛尉跡  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 江月跡  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 木村平右衛門跡  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 壹岐千世跡  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 奈良原源十郎跡  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 森乘助跡  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

八人 有馬次右衛門  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

二人 阿多周防入道  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 別府主殿助  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 土持若狹守  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 桑幡刑部少輔  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 御乳持  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 御臺屋  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 丹生龜千世  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 勝目甚右衛門  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 勝目甚右衛門  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
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内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
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内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
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内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
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内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
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内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
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内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 勝目甚右衛門  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉

一人 勝目甚右衛門  
内〔一人俗名略。二人うき〕  
末松甚兵衛尉



十五人 市來 九人 田布施 二十人加世田 十九人指宿  
十人 顯娃 一人 永吉 十三人伊集院 十八人清敷  
廿八人 蒲生 二十人 帖佐 二十人串木野 十七人隈城  
七人 山田 五人 百次 十二人高城 八人 宮之城  
二人 大村 六人 横川 十八人栗野 十六人清水  
十一人會於郡 二十一人國分 五人 數根 廿二人福山  
十九人 財部 二十八人末吉 十人 松山 六人 恒吉  
六人 向島 二十人 根占 十九人高山 十三人大崎  
八人 串良 二人 牛根 二十人馬越 六人 吉田  
九人 吉松 二十人 小林 二十三人高原 九人 内之浦  
合五百八十六人 但衆中十人間ニ一人ツ、人役  
鹿兒島御道具衆  
合二百二十五人

御道具持又内ヨリ出分  
十八 新納殿 二人 伊地知平右衛門跡三人 伊集院左近跡

一人 桑幡刑部少輔 一人 百梅 一人 向井彌右衛門跡  
一人 大山稻助 一人 土持若狭守 一人 山口相左衛門跡  
一人 上原源右衛門入道二人 野添彌吉跡 二人 有馬熊千世  
一人 古後平七郎 一人 伊集院彌七 三人 有馬次右衛門  
一人 別府主殿助 一人 阿多周防入道 一人 鐵田有兵衛尉  
一人 有川七左衛門 十四人町田勝兵衛尉  
合五十一人

諸所之町のほりさし之賦  
三人 加世田 二人 川邊 三人 田布施 二人 阿多

二人 伊作 二人 市來 五人 伊集院 六人 清敷  
六人 宮之城 三人 蒲生 四人 横川 六人 栗野  
一人 串良 二人 大崎 六人 末吉 二人 高原  
二人 財部 三人 高山  
合六十一人  
御小者衆 合二十八人  
御臺所付衆 合二十五人  
夫 賦  
拾壹人 新納殿  
内一人大迫清三郎 一人大迫清太左衛門 一人上村助七  
一人丸田新作 一人桐野葉右衛門 一人新原新二郎  
一人坂元壹岐丞 一人丸尾善五郎 一人折田理兵衛尉  
二人 うき  
内一人木藤次郎介 一人竹下彌六

二人 百梅 内一人末藤次郎介 一人竹下彌六  
四人 伊集院左近跡 内 一人うき  
四人 妙春 内 一人うき  
四人 伊集院彌七 内 一人うき  
一人 有馬鶴千世 一人相良彈兵衛尉  
二人 有馬熊千世 内 一人うき  
二人 上原源右衛門入道 内 一人うき  
二人 古後平七郎 内 一人うき

玉藥渡奉行

《高三十五石》

四人

大野小外記

五人

《高二百七十二石四斗二升》  
渡邊市左衛門

右備之分

小以上人數六百二十四人 昇十一人 乘馬六十二疋

左右備之分

合人數三千三百一人 昇廿三本 乘馬百三十疋

鹿兒島陸小姓衆

《廿石四斗》

顯姪早左衛門

一人新納助右衛門

皿弓五

《六十石》

《廿一石六斗九合》  
櫛三右衛門

《六十石六斗六升》  
竹迫吉兵衛尉

一人山本六左衛門

一人白濱分右衛門

一人竹内盛右衛門

一人鑓瀨二左衛門

始良新次郎

井尻董允

白濱才右衛門

《九十石三斗》  
川野大炊助

竹下主膳正

宮之原助八郎

一人中島孫左衛門

一人日高主税之助

一人川上九郎右衛門

一人關十郎

一人岩永彌七

一人重田彦右衛門

長倉藤五兵衛

一人上別府甚六

渡邊安房介

一人肝付金右衛門

一人黒田百左衛門

一人慶阿彌

一人肝付大右衛門

一人丸田伊豆守

二人長江休右衛門

二人塚田加五右衛門

一人津曲八郎三郎

三人染郷勘左衛門

一人谷山宮内左衛門

一人梶原七左衛門

一人浦川金左衛門

一人長濱彌三郎

一人山田彌兵衛尉

《八十五石二升七合》  
一人大内田内匠

《八十六石三升》  
一人種子田掃部介

一人皿田善助

《六十石》  
一人平田二兵衛尉

一人染川源允

一人藤田彌四郎

《六十石七斗八升》  
一人國分民部左衛門

一人東郷覺右衛門

一人平田彌平次

《五十石四斗四升》  
一人木藤帶刀長

一人井尻藤太郎

一人伊地知吉右衛門

《五十石四斗四升》  
一人新納式部少輔

一人武助五郎

一人湯地三次郎

《六十五石六斗七升三合》  
一人初山種兵衛尉

一人岩切彦七

《以下百五十一人》  
「ソノ石高ヲ朱記セルハ」「三人 阿多渾左衛門」ヲ最多トシ、  
「枝次 二升五合」

九郎左衛門」ヲ最少トス。マタ「一人 純可」、「慶養坊」、「二人 賣阿彌」、  
《四十石五斗三升》

「休阿彌」、「二人 爲阿彌」アリ。」

合人跡二百八人

外内之者九拾六人

從外城之陸小姓衆

三十五人 外夫三十五人

帖佐衆 三十人 外夫三十人

四十三人 外夫四十三人

加世田衆 七人 外夫六人

八人 外夫七人

牛根衆 壹人 外夫一人

四十三人 外夫四十二人

串木野衆 拾七人 外夫十六人

三人 外二人

指宿衆 四十八人 外夫四十七人

合人跡二百廿九人

外夫二百廿一人

從外城之御道具持衆

十八人 谷山

二十人 伊作

九人 川邊

九人 阿多

田代刑部少輔

四人 右同 高二百石 下村主水佐 四人 右同 町田縫殿佐

四人 右同 高二百石九斗六升 遠矢金兵衛尉 四人 右同 鐵田主鈴

六人 右同 高三百石六斗 米良休右衛門入道 五人 右同 高九百石八斗一升 法元二右衛門

四人 右同 高百九十石 平田吉左衛門 五人 右同 高二百二十石四斗四升 右松慶丞

四人 乘馬一疋 高二百二十五石 猪俣爲右衛門 四人 乘馬一疋 高二百石 大久坊

四人 右同 藤井助四郎 四人 右同 高百五十石 帖佐彌左衛門

四十人 北郷宮千世 人數斗

後備

五十八人 昇二本 乘馬一疋 喜入攝津守

横目衆

貳拾六人 昇一本 乘馬一疋 高千三百二十石一斗七升 澁谷周防介 二十人 右同 高五百九十石一斗二升 本田甚兵衛尉

御使番衆

貳拾人 昇一本 乘馬一疋 高千三百石 諏訪治部少輔 十四人 乘馬一疋 高七百十二石九斗八升 市來八左衛門

八人 乘馬一疋 高四百廿一石四斗 平田藤七兵衛尉 六人 右同 高五百十五石八斗七升 平山藏人

八人 右同 有川大炊左衛門 十人 右同 高五百十五石八斗七升 野村但馬守

備井普請奉行

六人 乘馬一疋 高二百九十六石三斗二升 白坂式部少輔 八人 右同 村尾源左衛門入道

三人 右同 高百五十石 鈴木宇左衛門

鐵炮奉行

二十三人 乘馬一疋 高六百五十四石四斗五升 葵刈大膳亮 六人 右同 高三百石六斗一升 新納四郎左衛門

十人 右同 高三百七十三石 東郷權左衛門

弓奉行 六人 乘馬一疋 高三百五十四石六升 町田甚兵衛尉 四人 右同 高二百五十石 平田狩野介

鑓奉行 拾一人 乘馬一疋 高五百五十石 平田民部左衛門 五人 右同 高三百石一斗 三原七左衛門

昇奉行 十八人 乘馬一疋 高九百五十石二斗九升 野村市右衛門

玉藥渡奉行 四人 乘馬一疋 高二百一十石一斗二升 關主殿助 五人 乘馬一疋 高二百一十石 入佐郷左衛門

六人 右同 勝目兵右衛門

左備之分 小以上 人數六百七十七人 昇十二本 乘馬六十六騎

三番 右備之分

五十人 昇二本 乘馬一疋 高二千五百石 佐多伯耆守 六十二人 昇三本 乘馬一疋 高千三百三十石二斗八升 鎌田又七郎

二十人 昇一本 乘馬一疋 高千三百七十七石一升 本郷伊豫守 廿三人 昇一本 乘馬一疋 高二百六十二石 相良彦次郎

十六人 乘馬一疋 高七百三十六石二斗一升 野村彌平 十二人 乘馬一疋 高二百六十二石 鹿島典次郎

廿六人 右同 高千二百九十八石二斗 吉田長四郎 八人 右同 高五百石四斗一升 比志島彦太郎

十人 右同 高三百二十石 岩切興次郎 七人 右同 高三百六十五石六斗九升 鬼塚典藏

十人 右同

《高百六十三石》  
寺山出羽守

二百十一人 乘馬三疋 國分衆

二十人 昇一本  
《高五五石》  
喜入吉兵衛尉

三十一人 野尻衆

八十四人 昇四本  
《高四千九百九十一石二斗》  
肝付長三郎

六十四人 伊作衆

二十二人 小林衆

十七人 阿多衆

三十二人 市來衆

四十九人 財部衆

八人 百次衆

五十四人 大崎衆

十三人 松山衆

六十九人 末吉衆

十三人 内之浦衆

四人 始見衆

二十人 串良衆

四百八十九人 加治木衆 内 御使番三人  
外 百七十五人 備 普請奉行三人

横目衆

二十六人 昇一本  
《高千三百石九斗八升》  
川上式部太輔

五十人 昇二本  
《高二千五百石》  
敷根中務少輔

二十人 昇一本  
《高千四百一十一斗》  
村田三郎左衛門

八人 昇馬一疋  
《高四百一十一斗五升》  
訪諫神七

九人 昇馬一疋  
《高三百六十石》  
伊地知四郎兵衛尉

十四人 右同  
《同五百二十石四斗九升》  
伊勢内記

御使番衆

十四人 昇馬一疋  
《高四百六十石一斗四升》  
伊集院助右衛門

四人 右同

備 普請奉行

二十人 昇一本  
《高三百六十石》  
土持左馬權頭

七人 昇馬一疋  
柏原周防入道

三人 加治木衆

合人數三千人 昇七十七本 乘馬衆八十五騎

已上

三番左備之分

八十人 昇四本  
《高四千石八斗》  
中務大輔

二十人 昇一本  
《高千四百四十石》  
川上上野守

四十人 昇二本  
《高二千七百石一斗六升》  
三原諸右衛門

十人 昇馬一疋  
《高五百石》  
桂民部少輔

三人 昇馬一疋  
《高百五十九石五斗九升》  
伊集院藏人

十二人 右同  
《高六百石二斗五升》  
伊地知平三郎

八人 右同  
《高四百一十五斗九升》  
高陽仲三郎

十人 右同  
《高四百一十二石九斗九升疊前守家藏》  
土持半三郎

九人 右同  
《高三百石四斗八升》  
丹生新三郎

七人 右同  
《高四百四十石五斗六升》  
高城主馬首

六人 右同  
《高三百石二斗三升》  
寶泉坊

六人 右同  
《高三百石二斗》  
大田新太郎

六人 右同  
《高三百六十石六斗七升六合藏三瓦路也》  
一和

六人 右同  
《高三百石二斗》  
國分權右衛門

七人 右同  
《高三百六十石六斗七升六合藏三瓦路也》  
平山三五郎

四人 右同  
《高二百廿七石五斗》  
本田隼人佐

四人 昇馬一疋  
《高二百五十二石六斗八升》  
市來清十郎

六人 昇馬一疋  
《高二百廿七石》  
壹岐勝三郎

五人 右同  
《高二百五十五石》  
國分但馬守

四人 右同  
《高二百廿一石三斗》  
隈岡茂兵衛尉

五人 右同  
《高二百四十三石六斗八升舊右衛門家藏》  
勝目志摩介

四人 右同  
《高二百廿八石四斗九升右助兵衛家藏》  
肥後興次兵衛尉

四人 右同  
《高二百三十五斗》  
德永助右衛門

四人 右同  
《高二百廿九石二斗七升七合》  
上井甚十郎

四人 右同  
《高二百四十四石一斗》  
長井彌三郎

十一人 右同  
《高三百九十石十八斗四合六分右衛門入道藏也》  
吉田貞左衛門

七人 右同  
《高二百五十一石三斗四升民部左衛門家藏》  
八木丹後守

四人 右同  
《高百八十一石》  
伊地知治左衛門

六人 右同  
《高三百石六斗五升八合》  
小野左京亮

六人 右同  
《高三百廿六斗一升》  
堀綱右衛門



六十七人 昇三本 乘馬三正

七十四人 根占右近太夫 鹿兒嶋衆

横目衆

八人 乘馬一正 佐多越後守

十人 右同 五代勝左衛門

十六人 右同 頼娃長左衛門

御使番衆

三十三人 昇一本 高千六百四十二石五斗五升 川上左京亮

十四人 昇一本 高五百四十四石七斗八升 宮原吉左衛門

十三人 乘馬一正 重存坊

備並普請奉行

六人 乘馬一正 後醍院喜兵衛尉

九人 右同 蘭田清左衛門

六人 右同 相良五左衛門

合人數二千人 昇五十一本 乘馬數七十三騎

以上

二番備

三百七十三人 昇十八本 乘馬十八正

百廿六人 昇六本 乘馬六正

三十九人

七百廿六人 昇三十八本 乘馬三十八正

二十人 昇一本 桂山城守

六十八人 高山衆

十九人 高原衆

二十二 右同 大膳亮

二十九人 乘馬一正 吉利左衛門

三十二人 市來衆

七人 右同 相良勘解由次官

廿八人 昇一本 村田刑部少輔

二十人 田布施衆

三十二人 昇一本 新納右衛門佐

二十人 川邊衆

二十二 昇一本 鎌田玄蕃助

三十一人 清水衆

十四人 乘馬一正 木田大炊太夫

二十一 曾於郡衆

六人 横川衆

十二人 恒古衆

清敷衆

北郷讃岐守

右總高之内 仕上方御國遣御臺所付

寛永十六年六月御勘定之高 但戌寅年分

高拾六萬九百拾貳斛六斗九升二合二勺三才

御倉入

高千三百七十四斛一斗四升五合一勺八才

屋久之嶋

貳拾七石三斗七升四合

硫磺嶋

九石三斗八升六合四勺

竹嶋

貳拾一石三斗七升六合三才

黑嶋

四百九十七石九斗六升八合二勺五才

七嶋

三萬二千八百廿九石七勺四才

珠珠みちの嶋

但當分取納ノ高ハ四萬三千二百五十石七斗六升三合三勺四才

御倉入

合拾九萬五千六百七拾一斛九斗四升二合三勺三才

高六千八百八十六斛九斗七升八合八才 諸屋敷方

高三百七十八斛二斗七升二合四勺二才 諸御城内

合六千五百六十五斛二斗五升五勺

中略。コハ二割セシ分ハ下ニ一五三丁トシテ割ケ一

寛永十六己卯

拾二月

高所一

一五二甲

左ノ文書ノ順序ニ依テセシ分ハ今迄ニシテ内ニ掲ケ一

慶長十八年十二月朔日

人衆賦帳

一番備

貳百人 昇十本 藥馬拾疋

六十六人

《萬一萬八石》

牛菊丸

伊集院衆

二百七拾二人 昇拾四本 藥馬拾四疋

十四人

六拾人 昇三本 藥馬三疋

百人 藥馬二疋

五十五人 昇三本 藥馬三疋

二百九十八人 藥馬五疋

十七人

二百六十七人 昇十三本 藥馬十三疋

《萬一萬三千五百五十五石四斗六升》

北郷伊賀守

相良玄蕃助

隈城衆

山田衆

新納次郎四郎

馬越衆

飯野衆

阿多甚左衛門

栗野衆

上原昌拾郎

吉松衆

平野六郎左衛門入道

高尾野衆

敷根衆

阿久根衆

四十三人

羽月衆

龜嶋衆

《萬一萬三千五百八十八石八斗二勺》

野州

宮之城衆

伊集院半右衛門

大口衆

《萬二千六百八十六石二斗八升》

樺山久太郎

出水衆

山野衆

《萬一萬三千五百五十五石四斗六升》

山田衆

隈城衆

新納次郎四郎

馬越衆

飯野衆

阿多甚左衛門

栗野衆

上原昌拾郎

吉松衆

平野六郎左衛門入道

高尾野衆

敷根衆

阿久根衆

四十三人

羽月衆

龜嶋衆

阿久根衆

惣高七拾三萬貳千六百拾六斛

内

三拾壹萬三千二百五拾三斛餘

薩摩

〔朱註〕押紙ニ薩摩ノ下有

三拾壹萬貳千五百四拾九石三斗八田畠之高

七百三十七石八斗八山浦遺役ノ米但

米一石ヲ以高一石ニノ相加候

外ニ

貳千四百五十六石三斗

内貳千三百拾五石三斗八高城郡ノ内水引ニ同所ト在之目録ニ薩摩

百四拾一石ハ此度相寛候薩摩田帳ニハ在之目録ニハ不足

拾七萬五千五拾七斛餘

大隅

〔朱註〕押紙ニ大隅ノ下有

拾七萬九百三拾五石三斗四升八合 田畠之高

内百壹石八斗九升六合省時度相寛候薩摩田帳ニハ無之

四千五百貳拾壹石八斗八山浦遺役之米右同

拾貳萬六百六斛餘

日州 諸縣郡

〔朱註〕押紙ニ薩摩郡ノ下ニアリ

拾貳萬貳拾四石八田畠之高 五百八拾貳萬八山田浦遺役之米右同

〔押紙ニ

三〇 合田畠之高六拾萬三千五百八石余

外貳千三百五拾四石余ハ此目録ニ不足

合六拾萬五千八百六拾貳石八斗八升ノ高ニ合申候

拾貳萬三千七百斛餘

琉球 諸島

已上

薩摩中納言

〔島津世系記〕第八ニ見ユル同文書ニハ寛永十一年甲戌十一月廿六日ノ日附アリ

一五二丁

〔御分國中

惣高并衆中乘馬宛帳

高 宛

總高 七拾三萬二千六百十六斛

内

京竿 三拾壹萬三千貳百五十三斛餘

薩摩

京竿 拾七萬五千五十七斛餘

大隅

京竿 拾貳萬六百六斛餘

日州 諸縣郡

寛永十二年賦增高

拾貳萬三千七百斛餘

琉球

惣高六拾九萬九千八百五十五斛八斗四升七勺七才

内予百拾八石九斗四升七合三勺九才 寛永十六年迄ニ仕明地御支配

五百五十九石貳斗七升三合六勺 寛永十六年寛地御支配分

外ニ三萬二千七百五十七石一斗五升九合二勺三才

京竿之高ニ引合不足分石京竿之こく高を及指面者當分高百石三付五石六斗八升九合ツ、増九

るへし

右之内

寛永九年御檢地高

貳拾六萬九千六拾壹斛八斗五升五合一勺 薩摩

内七百三十六石八斗八升二合六勺八才 仕明地御支配ニ成分

二百廿九石七斗七合六勺四才 寛地御支配ニ成分

右同

拾九萬八千九百三斛三斗五升三勺一才 大隅

内三百七十九石九斗四升二合一勺三才 仕明地御支配ニ成分

二百八十八石三斗一升五合八勺五才 寛地御支配ニ成分

右同

拾萬八千二百廿四斛二斗四升七合九才 日州 諸縣郡

内七十一石一斗二升二合五勺八才 仕明地御支配ニ成分

四十一石二斗五升七勺 寛地御支配ニ成分

寛永十二年賦增高

拾貳萬三千七百十二斛九斗二合一才

琉球

米大豆合壹萬四千四百三拾八石九斗

一右馬頭殿馬數九騎 此人數三百三十貳人

一幸觀之馬數六十九騎 此人數貳千三百卅貳人

惣已上馬數合三百五拾騎

惣已上人數壹萬五千九十七人

船配 但二度漕ニノ一度之分

一拾端帆拾艘 但壹艘ニ付八十人宛 八百人

一九端帆四拾艘 但壹艘ニ付七十人宛 二千八百人

一八端帆三拾壹艘 但壹艘ニ付六十人宛 千八百六十人

一七端帆四艘 但壹艘ニ付四十人宛 百六十人

一六端帆六艘 但壹艘ニ付三十人宛 百八十人

合船九拾壹艘

合人數五千八百人

馬船之賦

一七端帆拾五艘 馬八拾疋 但舟子數ニ付馬一疋 馬付十五人宛

一六端帆拾四艘 馬五拾六疋 但舟子數ニ付馬四疋 馬付十二人宛

合船三拾艘

合馬百三拾六疋

加子馬付 合人數六百八十人

惣都合人數五千八百人

惣都合船數百二十壹艘

有船

一拾端帆拾艘 一八端帆拾艘

一七端帆廿艘 一六端帆廿艘

合六十五艘

一六端帆四十五艘 但船壹艘ニ付六十五貫文ツ、入目

一八端帆廿一艘 但船壹艘ニ付五十五貫文ツ、入目

合作船六十六艘

惣都合四千三百五貫文

右米ニノ二千八百七十石

文五十二月五日

一五一甲

一薩摩國十四郡田數畠方山桑漆役硫磺役

合卅一萬四千八百五十九斗一升七合五勺也 一五勺ハ五サノ四カ一

一大隅國八郡田數畠方山桑漆役

合十七萬八百三十三石九斗六升六合也

一日向國諸縣郡田數畠方山桑梶役

合十二萬九千九百六十七石四斗三勺四才也 一ニ萬ハ二萬ノ誤カ一

右惣合六十萬五千六百七石二斗八升三合三勺九才也

内田方三十五萬八千五百九十二石六斗八升九合七勺

畠方二十四萬四千三百八十一斗六升二合四勺三才

硫磺山桑漆役二千六百三十四石四斗三升一合二勺三才

一五一乙

一薩摩國參拾壹萬四千八百五石餘 大隅國拾七萬八百參拾三石餘 日向國諸縣郡拾壹萬九千九百六拾七石餘 都合六拾萬五千六百七石餘

目録 在別帳事可有全領知之狀如件

元和三年九月五日 御判

松平薩摩守殿

一五一丙

一薩摩大隅日州諸縣郡之内 知行目録

一 壹千四百七十三石四斗七升九合

一 壹千二百九石二斗七升七合

一 壹千七百五十六石五斗一升八合

一 八十石

一 貳千三百廿七石七斗九升七合

一 七千二百六十四石一斗一升

合八萬三斛八斗四升

島津右馬頭知行

一 五千二百六石四斗八升

山役川役此米

一 六十六石一斗四升

一 壹千九十三石

山役浦役此米

一 三千六百卅四石三斗八升

合壹萬斛

給人領

一 貳拾六萬六千五百三拾三斛

寺社領

一 三千斛

惣都合五拾七萬八千七百卅三石

右以今度檢地之上如此被成御支配候也

文祿四年六月廿九日 大関御朱印

一五〇甲

唐入に付島津殿御軍役

人數壹萬五千

又一郎殿

めぐり

大隅之内

市成

同

もひき

同

平房内

同

内之浦

日向諸縣郡之内大崎

大隅熊毛郡種子島十四ヶ村

十四ヶ村

永良部村

屋久島

一 三百本のほり 五本手鑓 義久

一 三百本之内貳百本は長鑓三十本手鑓 義弘

此外手鑓面々たしなみ次第第二十本手鑓 供使之時又は陣屋の前に

長鑓斗は見くるしく候

一 千五百丁鐵炮 一千五百張弓者也

一 六百本こさし物是はくそくきせて候

一 馬上は歴々衆斗 但かちたちにて不成衆いづれも可爲馬上 然間

馬上員數は不相定 馬上之衆は甲具足可然候事

凡如此一隊控御たしなみ專一候事

天正十九年

一五〇乙

一 一千二拾石ニ馬壹騎之賦 合九拾五騎 此人數三千貳百三拾人 但

人跡壹人ニ付卅四人宛

一 五百拾石ニ馬壹騎之賦 合廿四騎 此人數四百八人 但人跡壹人

ニ付拾七人宛

一 三百石ニ馬壹騎之賦 合百四十三騎 此人數千四百三十人 但人

跡壹人ニ付拾人宛

一 一から小將衆三百人 夫丸九百人 但人跡壹人ニ付夫丸三人宛

一 無足衆五百人 夫丸千人 但人跡壹人ニ付夫丸五人宛

一 御道具衆六百六拾五人

一 御藏入より可出夫丸貳千人

一 加子貳千人

惣都合人數壹萬貳千四百三拾三人

右之人數五ヶ月之兵糧壹萬五百二十二石九斗 但此内船頭加

子増分籠候

一 馬數貳百七拾貳疋 此飼大豆六百拾六石 但五ヶ月分一日ニ貳升



隅州肝付郡之内

一 九百拾五石九斗一合  
一 壹千八百八十九石四斗五升  
貳百石

合三千五百三斗五升壹合

龍伯藏入分

一 壹萬四千六百五十六石九斗四升五合 大隅國會於郡之内十六ヶ村  
一 壹萬九千五百六十六石二升 同桑原村之内二十八ヶ村  
一 壹萬壹千六百二十五石一斗六升七合 同下大隅之内れしめ村  
一 六千七百八十五石七斗一升四合 同 九ヶ村  
一 五千二百四十石二斗五升三合 同肝付郡之内七ヶ村  
一 五千九百八十五石三斗七升七合 大隅之内菱刈郡内六ヶ村  
一 貳千七百八十一石三斗六升五合 同伊作郡之内三ヶ村  
一 壹萬四百五十五石一斗七升 日向諸縣郡之内志布志村  
一 七千三百七十九石八斗五升三合 同郡之内七ヶ村  
一 三千九百六十二石九斗八升八合 同郡之内八代村  
一 四千十七石七升二合 同郡之内六ヶ村  
一 四千五百七十一石六斗八升五合 薩摩郡之内入來内二ヶ村  
一 壹千八百八十八石八升 同郡之内中江村  
一 壹千九十八石九斗九升 同郡川内之内百次村  
合拾萬斛

此文書卜前ニ龍伯ノ知行方百餘アリ、右ノ十五行ヲ變リ返シ次ニ左ノ三行アリ

百歳人民無役令扶助記 全可廣知候也

文政四年六月廿九日 大隅御次第

龍伯一

羽柴薩摩侍從藏入分

一 壹萬三千五百四十五石五斗六升一合 薩摩鹿兒島郡之内鹿兒島

一 七千七百八十九石九斗五合 同郡之内 吉田村  
一 六千五十八石七升三合 同日置郡之内 市來村  
一 壹萬四千三百廿一石六升九合 同郡之内 伊集院村  
一 三千九百廿六石九斗一升九合 同郡之内 串木野村  
一 五千二百十三石四斗一升九合 同阿多郡之内 伊作村  
一 三千八百八十三石三斗九升三合 同谷山之郡 中村山田村  
一 壹萬六千八百五十七石六升二合 同指宿之郡 指宿之村  
一 壹萬四千九百三十九石三斗九升五合 同頴娃之郡 頴娃之村  
一 五百三十一石四升七合 薩摩郡之内 羽島村  
一 三千八百八十二石一斗五升一合 同隈城之内 西手村  
一 壹千八百八十二石三斗五升 同郡之内 山田村  
一 二千六百四十二石五斗九合 隅州始羅郡蒲生之内三ヶ村 帖佐村  
一 七千八百六十四石七斗五升四合 同郡 帖佐村  
一 壹千七百七十九石三斗四合 同郡 向之島

合拾萬斛

伊集院右衛門入道知行分

一 八千八百卅九石四斗七合 日向諸縣郡之内宮古城村  
一 四千一百九石一斗七升六合 同 三ヶ村  
一 三千一百二石二合 同 梶山村  
一 貳千二百卅九石七斗六升九合 同 山田村  
一 壹萬三百廿五石八斗五合 同 五ヶ村  
一 六千八百三十石七斗一升九合 同 安長  
一 壹千五百六十六石二斗四升六合 同 のゝみ谷  
一 九千七百廿石二斗八升九合 同 高城  
一 壹萬二千三百七十五石二斗一升 大隅之内 末吉  
一 貳千四百三石八斗一升三合 同 恒吉  
一 四千三百卅七石一斗一升九合 同 財部

事

一茶ふん之事年貢をもち申間敷候檢地仕候上は公用へ上り可申物に

あらず候 但ちやふん在之屋敷并畠檢地之時少心持あるへき事

一漆事は又其村々にて大形見斗米つもりに成候又は錢つもりに成候

但しうるし成に相定可書載 是は屋敷にて無之所在之うるしの事

に而候 畠に在之うるしも畠主進退たるへき地上○には成ましき

也 然はうるしの木立之屋敷并畠上畠にて可在之事

一寺社并侍之屋敷又は町屋敷之事檢地に相除候分書立を以相定上は

其外は何も檢地可仕事

一其むらゝにて庄屋肝煎此兩人居やしき斗可相除事

一樹木之類何も今迄之地主百姓進退たるへし 公用へ上り物にて在

之間しく候事

一川役之事其むらゝにて見斗年貢相定可申事

已上

文祿三年七月十六日

薩州奉行中

石 治 少 様 在判

### 一四九丙

薩摩國貳拾八萬三千四百八拾八石 大隅國拾七萬五千五拾七石 日

向國之内諸縣郡貳萬百八拾七石 合五拾七萬八千七百三拾三石

内今度以檢地之上壹萬石御藏入 六千貳百石石田治部少輔 三千石

幽齋 此方相除五拾五萬九千五百卅三石事 目録別紙在之 令扶助訖全可有領

知者也

文祿四六月廿九日 御朱印

羽柴薩摩侍從とのへ

### 一四九丁

知行方

大隅國 薩摩國 日向國内置縣郡

目錄帳

大隅權御藏入分

大隅國始羅郡加治木之内

一貳千三百五拾五石九斗六升八合

一貳百五十九石一斗六升五合

一六十六石八斗四斗二升五合

一貳百三十三石四斗五升八合

一壹千三百七十三石六斗四升七合

一九百拾壹石七斗二升四合

一七十七石九斗六升七合

一壹千六百七石二斗四升

一壹千三百拾五石一斗一升九合

一壹千九百拾四石四斗七升

合壹萬石

右御代官 石田治部少輔

石田治部少輔知行分

陽州曾於郡清水之内

一三千六百六十四石三斗八升八合

一壹千七百石九斗六升三合

一三百石

一五十五石五斗四升三合

一六十七石五斗四合

合六千三百貳拾八石四斗四升八合

幽齋知行分

木田村

高井田村

西別府村

日本山村

段土村

小山田村

佳例河村

竹子村

溝邊村

崎森村

富小川村

上小川之村

みなと村

船つみ

數里之むら

持富之村

一番

島津左衛門入道殿

肝付中將

新納武藏入道

孫子可有御上候

親類年寄之子二人

次郎四郎左京可被相替候

二番

島津又四郎殿

種子島左近大夫

入來院又六

實子可有御上候

親類并年寄子二人

親類年寄子二人

三番

島津圖書頭殿

根占七郎

喜入式部大輔

實子御上有へく候

親類年よりの子二人

實子可有御上候

已上

右三組之内へ本田下野入道 野田出羽守 平田左近將監三人も相加

四人つゝにて候雖然此三人は御役人に付而時に至而御用之仁等の内

一人宛京都に被召置度候由色々御理之儀候條如此候別に書付申候縱

雖爲御供三組之内へ可爲實入候 義久義弘久保御在國之時者如最前

に一人宛三組へ相加可有御在京候 右贊之日限は七ヶ月宛に相定上

は私之爲談合被相替事可爲停止候

已上

天正十九拾月二日

義久様 義弘様 參人々御中

石田治部少輔

三成判

一四九甲

〔要〕〔御朱印之寫五ヶ條〕

島津分國檢地御掟條々

一右就御檢地諸侍百姓以下他國へうせ走族於在之者先々相改擲取可

出之旨何方にても其領主々々に可申聞事

一田畠畝圖斗代已下之事禮物を出し用捨之儀於有之者雖爲後日聞付

次第出者取者共に可被加御成敗候之條兼おとな百姓肝煎に申付在

々儘に可相觸事

一檢地奉行人に對し慮外之仕立仕族有之者其人在所可被行罪科候事

一檢斷之奉行猥之儀於有之者其趣を不隱地下人百姓奉行物頭に可理

事

右條々若違犯之族於有之者其身事は不及申一類一在所共に可被加御

成敗之條堅可申付也

文祿三年七月十六日

一四九乙

〔要〕〔石田少輔御經之寫十ヶ條〕

覺

一今度就檢地浦役之事年貢つもりにもり付候歟不然者當座々々見斗

可申付候 其村浦之外により可申候之條何篇公用へ上り可申物之

分別帳に可書載事

一山役之儀右可爲同前事

一綿之事屯角公用へ上り可申物に候間米成よりも又綿に被成候百姓

も迷惑不仕様に又公用之失墜も不行様に其所之桑之有様跡見合つ

もり候て帳に可書載候然上者桑之在之屋敷并畠何も上畠には不可

在之事

一籤之事其籤々にてとし／＼に十分一きり十分一之内を籤主に十分

一可遣之候たとへは百本在之やふにて一年に竹拾本きり九本は公

用に上り一本は籤主とり九拾本は籤に立置事に相定可書付事

一くろかれの事は又見斗年貢つもりに成共米つもりに成共可仕候

公方へ上り物に候間但はり申者も迷惑不仕様に念を入つつもり可申

一御普請奉行四人 付衆十二人

一御膳奉行二人 付衆有之

一御手本道具十本

一御弓三帳

一御長刀二枝三人

一御野太刀二腰三人

一御打刀一腰三人

一御笠ノ臺持二人

一御杖持二人内御武者材登人 御應杖一人

一御鎧甲持三通九人

一御草履持三人

合五萬三千人 内物頭七十人

一御手本衆具足五百七十人 鹿兒島衆中皆内地頭

外城 又内外城地頭衆中有之

一御臺所代官二人 付衆三十五人 包丁三人 小番六人 火燒九人

御飯燒二人 御中間十五人 御馬屋付衆中間六人夫九人

御陣三

都合軍勢拾壹萬五千人之御賦也」

〔五〕「右御陣之事は肥後表江之下向ニ付海路迄ニ而ハ宇都殿城殿江

人數番手被遣事不自由ニ而候間陸路之道ニ口ヲ直ニ通シ被成

度由ヲ相良殿江兩使ヲ以被仰候左様ニ候ハ、自今以後和談候

由被仰越候處ニ會以成マジキ由返事ニ付而陸路を切通し宇都

殿城殿江番衆被遣由御座候而先々水俣江御陣ヲ三ツ御付水俣

貴取並蘆北七浦八代迄御知行被成候 肥後表江打入被成候御

手初之事ニ候」

副書

肥後合戰御陣立日記壹冊

右者御自分家之文書ニ而先年於御記錄所令模寫被納置候處本書雨漏

ニ而朽損 此節願之趣御家老衆被聞召通令一冊寫字盡見届之無相違

候條本書同前可有寄藏候 仍如件

御記錄方見習

與倉 直 介 守 咬

井 上 甚次郎 祐秋

有 馬 藤五郎 純貞

江馬五郎左衛門 國雅

黑 田 新之丞 清直

小 森 八左衛門 正名

御記錄方添役

相良八郎右衛門 長郷

得 能 大 助 通古

御記錄奉行

五代 孫次郎 友古

奈良原助左衛門殿」

一四八

人質番組

此外 北郷讀岐守 實人 實子

伊集院幸祝 實人

額納武藏守 實人

此三八ハ常駐也

都合三萬千人内 外城并 又地頭五十一人

御本陣 勝泉ヶ岡 出水上 トモ申也

太守義久公

御大將 宮之盛 島津左衛門督歳久

後陣大將 出水 薩州義虎

脇ノ將 串島津圖書頭忠長

同 佐多伯耆守久將

同 下大關 伊地知縫殿助重貞

同 根占 根占七郎重張

御役者 川田 川田駿河守義朗

老中 喜入地頭 喜入式部太輔久通

老中 高山地頭 伊集院右衛門大夫忠棟

老中 帖佐 平田美濃守光宗

老中 蒲生 村內越前守經貞

老中 伊集院 町田出羽守忠信

老中 谷山 川上左近將監久辰

老中 吉田 本田下野守親貞

御使衆 大崎 新納右衛門佐康久

同 阿多 吉田美作守

同 始良 伊地知伯耆守

同 加世田 本田因幡守

同 市來 比志島宮内少輔國貞

同 曾於郡 稅所新介

同 川内ノ山田 伊地知備前守

同 志布志 鐵田刑部左衛門

諸地頭衆

七八

關幸田 川上上野介信久

平佐 柱太郎兵衛忠助

永吉 川上十郎左衛門倍久

堀佐ノ山田 吉田若狹守

川邊 阿多掃部介

伊作 高崎大炊介

宮里 本多東市正

百六 佐多宮内少輔忠増

讓城 新納越後守孝久

御近所衆 二十人

保徳(惣衆) 阿多源七

同 田代甚助

吉岡小四郎

同名源六

鯨島平三郎

本田右衛門佐

長谷場織部佐

御納殿乗馬衆 六人

川上日向守

義輪丹波守

一鎗百本 但十本間ニ陸衆一人ツ、

一弓百張 右同

一鐵砲百挺 右同

合御前道具持三百三十人 内三十人ハ手替也

一御軍奉行三人 但一手ニ付衆三十人有之

一御旗奉行二人

一御旗指三人 付衆六十人

田布施 鯨島相月齋

高江 野村市右衛門清綱

大村 白濱次郎左衛門

日置 三原下總守

市來 村田雅樂助

加治木 平野丹後守

長野 遠矢信濃守

山崎 野村兵部少輔

龜佐 吉利刑部左衛門

同 平野新左衛門

野村民部少輔

三原平三郎

肥後興三郎

平田左馬介

村田右衛門佐

是枝存力坊

本田彌五郎

伊地知駿河守

伊地知治部少輔

鐵田加賀守

立山讃岐守

御鑑奉行二人



野尻 市來美作守

脇屋 井尻伊賀守

しらす崎 野村加賀守重綱

門川 伊地知丹後守

紙屋 米良右馬亮

羽月 猿渡掃部介信光

平和泉 伊地知民部少輔重康

湯尾 梅北宮内左衛門國兼

浦ノ名 福永丹後守

垂水 鎌田長門守

曾木 新納治部少輔忠誠

物頭衆合廿二人 直之御外城廿一人 外ニ衆中皆内 都合物頭衆五十三人

都合三萬千人内 諸外城并 又内地頭五十三人

二番 熊牟禮 錢龜力尾 八景力尾

御大將嶋津兵庫頭忠平 眞幸内地頭十人

嶋津豐後守朝久 平松内地頭二人

脇將 北郷讃岐守忠虎 庄内内地頭十二人

同 額姓左馬頭久虎 内地頭二人

同 大野駿河守忠宗 山田内地頭一人

同 加治木彈正忠兼寛 内物頭六人

同 敷根藤右衛門頼元 内物頭一人

御役者 岩切三河守信則

諸外城地頭衆

日向宮崎地頭上井伊勢守覺兼  
都於郡地頭 鎌田出雲守政近

曾井 比志嶋式部大輔義知

日向高城 山田新介有信

恒吉 新納勘解由忠宗

財部 鎌田筑後守政心

穗北 平田新左衛門景張

牛根 鎌田尾張守政年

松山 市來小四郎實親

串木野 宮原左近將監景時

兵庫頭殿内諸外城地頭 直ノ外城 合諸地頭十人并 衆中

飯野 有川雅樂頭

小林 上井次郎左衛門里兼

栗野 川上三河守忠智

馬關田五代右京亮友慶

馬越 伊東右衛門佐

吉田 白坂美濃守龜賴

北郷殿内地頭

小杉丹後守

堀山 北郷三河守

山田 北郷右衛門兵衛

勝岡 北郷大欣助

加治木殿内地頭

顯娃殿内地頭

指宿津曲掃部介

右馬頭殿内地頭

新殿町田周防介

加久藤南郷若狹守忠頼

米良駿河守

次木 村尾右衛門兵衛重候入道喜橋

吉松地頭代 曾木越中守

山口大藏

加例川 肝付淡路

清水 川上伸兵衛

候と有之候一町三拾五石に當り候 自尾氏名勝考に八町は今の高にして二百石に當ルと有之是は一町貳拾石之算に而候」

一四六乙

【朱】天正六年之比

軍役 賦

但人跡は可仁役候事

- 一 壹町衆者主從貳人
  - 一 貳町衆者主從三人
  - 一 三町衆者主從四人
  - 一 四町衆者主從五人
  - 一 五町衆者主從六人
  - 一 六町衆者主從七人
  - 一 七町衆者主從八人
  - 一 八町衆者主從九人
  - 一 九町衆者主從十人
  - 一 十町衆者主從十一人
- 右田方壹町に付賦十町より百町千町迄軍役壹町に付具足壹領つゝ爲賦算用を以其合點專用に候事  
以上

【朱】此軍役賦は右天正四年之御出陣賦ト相みへ候て本書御座候同時之賦之標に被存候難分ものに而御座候 併押而考申候得は天正四年之次ニのせ有之候時は天正六年日州目自坂へ御出陣之時之賦ニテハ御座有間敷哉」

一四七

コノ文書ハ諸御記位重第ハニニ通テ楊テ其ノ一ニハ朱ニテ付書ノ異義ヲ記人セリ、今案諸ヲ陰考シテ左ノ如ク一通ニ肩シ附ケス

「天正八年庚辰肥州廣北之郡水俣城主相良義陽御旗下不入故薩隅日三州之勢ヲ催同八月十九日御陣三ヶ所被相付間之頃ヲ結求摩八代之敵人七百餘被取籠候

一番先陣 號笠ノ陣 カル石力尾トモ

大將

- |               |          |
|---------------|----------|
| 嶋津中務太輔家久      | 佐土原内物頭四人 |
| 嶋津右馬頭征久       | 清水内物頭四人  |
| 脇將 樺山兵部太輔規久   | 穆 佐内物頭二人 |
| 同 新納近江守武久     | 富 多内物頭一人 |
| 同 吉利下總守忠澄     | 鹽 見内物頭三人 |
| 同 種子嶋左近大夫時堯   | 同 内物頭一人  |
| 同 東郷源七郎重虎     | 同 内物頭一人  |
| 同 入來院彈正忠重豐    | 同 内物頭四人  |
| 同 基刈伴右衛門      | 本 城内物頭一人 |
| 御役者伊集院三河守忠朗   |          |
| 諸外城地頭付衆中      |          |
| 櫛間地頭 伊集院下野守久治 |          |
| 飯肥地頭 上原長門守    |          |
| 清武 伊集院美作守久宣   |          |
| 逆谷 奈良原狩野助     |          |
| 田野 大寺大炊助      |          |
| 内山 野村備中守      |          |
| 倉岡 吉利山城守久金    |          |
| 大日 新納武藏守忠元    |          |
| 綾 新納縫殿助久時     |          |
| 八代 相良新助       |          |
| 木脇 平田狩野介宗應    |          |

之由忝奉存候永々此旨忘却申間布由被申候 將又山田天辰に當時罷在候人衆清色へ參候する事は難成候自爰打捨候するは餘迷惑に存候間人衆共に上候由被申候 此旨披露申上候 即上意に彼御返事候するか又人衆共に上候する之儀彼兩降老名敷衆相尋申候へと候まゝ則相尋申候 各御申には御返事之事此前入來方神判の時御返事候彼方は此度二心にてこそ又申上られ候へ此方よりは御替なき儀候者御無用之由御申候 又人衆共にと申され候は私に返事可申由候其趣は定而皆々年比之人衆に而候はん間此方へはとて參られましく候只そなたのことく可然由可申候 此通頓而申上候 又上意に向後之如證文血判以永々二心有間敷由被申候通以御狀被仰候て可然之由候 老中衆も乍勿論尤之由候而則長谷場織部佐へ可被認之由被仰下候

一此日從中書様御老中迄御内儀之御託言之御使は新武州拙者申候隈城西手名に四十町斗御格護候 就夫入亂候之間隈城と六ヶ敷事度々出來候笑止に被思召候 然者此度入來院殿山田天辰崎上之由候山田之事は三十町名にて候雖然此前方分之時半分は此方へ付候其殘三十町迄は有間敷候へとも三十町にめされ天辰崎彼十二町取合四十二町斗にて候是を隈城に御格護し所領に御くりかへ候得と被仰候二言とは仰有間敷にて候 次に入來院此方一ヶ條之儀中書様も御申之事共につき自然此所領御望ニ而ケ様之事共仰候なと世間咄申候而ハ御迷惑なるへく候爰も御老中御分別次第と仰候 御老中御返事には近比可然様に存候乍去御前之様を不存候間卒度御内儀請候する由候それも御分別次第と中書仰候

「一十八日入來院殿御返書此朝事成候間渡申候并御返事申候此分に而御暇申候而被歸候」

## 一四六甲

天正四年高原之城被攻時之衆盛

### 御出陣賦之事

一田方壹町衆一町ニ付一人ツ、主從二人自飯米外ニ詰夫壹人寺社より出送夫馬三ツ寺社中より出賦

#### 次ニ持具之事

一手かふし壹ツ 高三尺五寸 廣サ四尺五寸 一六尺ノ立木壹ツ

一鐵壹具 一よき壹ツ 一かま壹ツ

一のこ壹ツ 一のみ壹ツ 一なた壹ツ

一もつ、壹ツ 一なわ壹房

一貳町衆一町ニツキ一人ツ、

主從三人自飯米送夫馬二ツ寺社并後家中より出賦也

右之普請具は田方壹町ニ付算用を以持せ候而於陣中可被出候

但百町千町衆迄は田方壹町ニ付賦算用也

一無足衆中は貳人間ニ詰夫壹人寺社家并後家中より出賦也

但自飯米 送夫馬三ツ同寺社より出也 陣中三十日は自飯米三十

日過候は、公儀より飯米可被下事 五反衆より九反迄者自飯米

壹反よりの四反迄は公儀よりの飯米也

天正四年八月朔日

〔右ノ又なわ裏所ノ後ニ左ノ朱註ヲ行間ニ加ヘタリ、江戸時代ノ註ナリ〕

「壹町と申候者田方上中下押並申候得は只今之高三十五石程に而御座候由

吉田氏雜抄

一八千町高廿四萬石

右積に御座候得は千町三萬石百町三千石拾町三百石一町三十石

但御記録所從以前御來候は往昔之高積りに町積りに而候其時は

壹町三拾石と申事に而候得共夫に而は少し違目有之候

伊地知重英調書に一町三拾五石に當り候 彈正子正貞に日州田島

庄八十町今高にノ二千八百石程之地に而候右を拜領申候而號田島

宮前	二・廿中	天辰山	王田	〇・二廿中内侍
飯牟	〇・三〇門マワリ	天辰諏	方領	〇・一〇
牟類	〇・二〇久木崎	天辰權	現田	〇・六〇
上蘭	一・八廿	久木崎	大明神	一・六十高柳説
鷹子	〇・四廿	コナカ崎	權	〇・八廿
赤儀	〇・〇廿正座	追權	現	〇・二〇
大池	〇・一十	視彦	四郎	〇・九廿中
岩八幡	〇・一廿	五代	田	一・〇〇
大井神	〇・〇廿門マワリ	本村諏	方領	〇・二〇
新田	一・〇〇式田	村尾天	神領	二・六廿中
田中	〇・二〇	田田諏	方領	〇・二〇
千盛	〇・二廿			
天神	〇・二廿			
芝尾	〇・一十	別	當	〇・五廿
みふいくてん	一・三・廿中			

〔張紙朱書〕

「合田島五百六拾壹町五反三セツ  
穀大夕三萬二千八十七石二斗二升八合  
(但)壹畦ニ付貳斗掛リ  
高ニノ一萬千六百九拾八石六斗七升八合  
丙ノ正月十一日」

一四五

「如常出仕中候 入來院へ先月被仰出候其返事被申候 木田下野守殿  
伊地知勘解由殿拙者三人して承候 あなたよりは入來院殿山口筑後  
守東郷美作守意趣申候 於護摩所承候 其旨趣者先月祇候之砌野心

〔上野覺能日記〕 天正二年八月八日ノ條

之由被仰出候就其御一言迄にて身上落着申候畏入忝候由被申候隨而  
は諸人被申事に野心之人と肩ならへ候する事難成之由被申候歟爰  
元諸人の覺に成候する儀を分別被申候へと承候尤之至候就夫拜領之  
所を進上可有之中候 同は御老中何方を舉申せと承候へ分別可申由  
被申候 即村田殿平田殿へ申候 御前に披露之由候つれ共御氣色如  
何之間披露不申候」

〔八月十日披露ス〕

一上意には一兩日中御談合衆被參候する間御老中御  
談合候て可然之由候 乍去所領如何程候て召上候得は所領御望にて  
被仰出候に相似候十町は十町にかはらず候共形のことくりかへ候  
歟可然候すらんと御意候 神判之事是又文言を談儀所へと被申候只  
入來院殿分別以如何様にも被申候而可然候由彼彼方の年行共又は萩  
野采女なと申上候通はせまいり候する人衆も銘々に神判血判なとさ  
せられ候而可然之由仰候………

一十一日如常出仕候 今朝入來院殿より申され候儀於護摩所本野州  
伊勘もし拙者三人して承候 從入來院は本郷美作山口筑前使 申候  
意趣は前に申上候様に諸人野心之由御申候處御法度持被成候するを  
御一言迄にて身上御助候其上本領可被下之由候畏入候御老中御内儀  
次第拜領之所をは上可申由申候 然共又々申上候清色より外に四ヶ  
名格護申候由田天辰田崎寄田是四ヶ所拜領候皆進上之由被申候 即  
披露申候 御意には是を皆御請取候へは所領御望にて一ヶ條之儀被  
仰懸候に相似候如形うちかへを被下候すると上意候 寄田の事は伯  
國様以御分別海邊を少被持候はんはとて被下候在所候間別儀有間敷  
之由被仰候 此日入來院殿殿中へ出仕候」

〔十二日入來院ニ申渡ス〕

「十六日如常出仕候 入來院殿血判上候同内衆五人之血判もあかり  
候是は皆役人共に候 總て血判懸御目候 其意趣に尾より川内之  
方皆進上之由申上候處寄田如此内被下之由候此余は如形打替可被下

九郎右衛門	源五郎	新五郎	七郎	六郎	彌四郎	彦四郎	彌六郎	新三郎	とい三郎	十郎兵衛	十郎	七郎	八郎	助九郎	太郎三郎	三郎	孫五郎	彦二郎	橋口助四郎	田俣衛門七郎	源七郎	久住三郎四郎	又九郎	彌三郎	助三郎
〇・五・卅	〇・三・十	〇・八・卅中 <small>後屋敷ニ反在</small>	〇・七・〇	〇・五・卅中	〇・六・十	〇・四・〇	〇・五・卅		〇・五・十	〇・四・〇	〇・一・卅	〇・一・卅	〇・六・中	〇・五・〇	一・二・卅中	〇・一・卅	〇・一・十	〇・三・〇	〇・五・卅	〇・五・十	〇・三・卅	〇・六・〇	〇・四・〇	〇・三・〇	〇・五・卅

助七郎	右衛門七郎	十郎次郎	左衛門三郎	六郎二郎	平右衛門	左衛門二郎	與三郎	次郎五郎	三郎二郎	與八郎	房三郎	八郎三郎	孫七郎	彦三郎	六郎太郎	五郎三郎	太郎五郎	衛門三郎	彦三郎	原田九郎太郎	八郎四郎	かち六郎五郎	かち五郎左衛門	カチ十郎三郎	七郎右衛門
〇・八・卅	〇・七・卅	〇・五・卅	〇・七・〇	〇・五・七	〇・八・卅	〇・五・〇	〇・二・〇	二・二・卅	〇・三・〇	〇・二・〇	〇・三・〇	〇・五・〇	〇・三・十	屋敷斗	〇・三・卅	〇・六・十	〇・三・卅	〇・二・〇	〇・三・卅	〇・六・〇	〇・三・卅	〇・五・卅中	屋敷斗	〇・三・卅	〇・二・〇

なかの門主 左衛門四郎	カチ八郎二郎	七郎右衛門	〔二行餘白〕										壽昌寺	古春庵	旦泉過	徳雲寺	法雲寺	慈光寺	瑠璃光寺	西福寺	天福寺	玄豐寺	觀音寺	迎福寺	中福原	大知庵	松岳院	福泉庵	樺目庵	坂本坊	平徳寺	三光寺
〇・一・卅中	〇・八・十	〇・六・〇 <small>屋敷一ヶ所</small>											一・〇・五十	四・六・卅	一・三・〇	二・六・十	六・九・卅	三・三・卅中	四・二・十中 <small>福臨ニアリ</small>	五・二・〇	五・七・卅 <small>福臨ニアリ</small>	二・六・〇 <small>同上</small>	三・四・卅	一・八・卅中	一・四・卅 <small>福臨中村ニ跡アリ</small>	二・三・〇 <small>此内一反サ不</small>	〇・三・〇 <small>同上</small>	一・六・卅中	一・三・卅	一・六・〇	一・九・卅	〇・四・〇

御 岩 ハ クラ ヤ スノ	岩 戸	は や ま	倉 野 之 祝	天 シ ラ ノ 園	一 ノ 宮	中 島	さ や う	上 副 田	木 場	松 ノ	宮 脇	町 野	瑞 泉 庵	來 福 寺	大 安 寺	東 光 寺	滿 福 寺	勝 目	天 辰 諏 方	三 桃 庵	龍 興 寺	諏 方 坊	福 王 寺	平 安 寺
〇・六・〇	〇・一・廿中 三郎衛門	〇・二・〇 田中門主	〇・九・卅	三・〇・十中	一・二・卅中	二・一・〇	二・三・十	一・四・卅	〇・五・〇	一・一・〇	二・九・卅	一・八・〇	一・五・卅	一・一・十 又天辰二五反	一・五・〇	三・〇・廿 山田	二・七・卅 山田	二・四・卅	一・五・〇	〇・四・〇	一・〇・〇	三・七・卅	一・二・〇 又二反六辰ニ	一・〇・卅中



	〔田 畠〕	屋敷	畠
濱田 興二郎	丁反 二六・〇	一	丁反 〇・〇
山之口 平三郎	〇・三・廿	一	一・一・〇
同 平 六	〇・四・〇	一	〇・一・〇
完野 助右衛門尉	〇・八・〇	一	〇・二・廿
藤田 藤三郎	〇・六・〇		
種田 孫右衛門尉	〇・七・廿		〇・三・〇
田代 興三	一・二・〇	二	〇・三・〇
馬門 孫太郎	〇・六・〇		〇・一・〇
同名 孫十郎	〇・五・〇		〇・一・〇
島 源 五	〇・八・〇		〇・七・〇
今村 彌三郎	一・四・廿		〇・七・〇
下田 三郎九郎	一・三・廿	一	一・三・廿
山之口 平四郎	〇・八・廿	一	〇・二・〇
前田 彦三郎	〇・六・〇		〇・一・〇
富永	〇・二・〇		〇・八・〇
くほ田 三郎四郎	〇・四・〇		〇・一・〇 五勝右衛門
今村 又次郎	〇・六・廿		〇・二・〇
田中 六郎四郎	一・五・廿	一	〇・七・〇
恒吉 孫次郎	〇・八・廿		
切通 五郎三郎	〇・七・〇		〇・一・〇
濱田 孫三郎	〇・五・〇		
石淵 小三郎	〇・五・廿		
今村 助九郎	〇・五・〇		〇・一・〇
東 平 六	〇・五・廿		〇・一・〇
河西 孫九郎	〇・四・〇	一	〇・二・〇

	〔田 畠〕	屋敷	畠
今村 助七	丁反 一・二・廿		丁反 〇・三・廿
同名 助八	〇・四・〇		〇・一・廿
村尾 彌次郎	〇・七・〇		〇・一・〇
次目田 八郎三郎	〇・五・廿	一	〇・四・〇
今村 又九郎	〇・五・〇		〇・三・廿
種田 宮次郎	〇・四・廿中	一	〇・三・十
竹下 彦次郎	一・一・廿	一	〇・八・廿
木場田 新三郎	〇・五・中		〇・一・〇
濱田 彌太郎	〇・三・十中	三	〇・〇・廿 又一廿八升マキ
山之口 次郎太郎	〇・四・十		〇・三・十
上井 孫二郎	〇・三・廿		
餅田 次郎五郎	〇・三・廿		
溝口 平三郎	〇・三・廿		〇・三・廿中 二升マキ
尾方 助太郎	〇・三・廿		
田口 與三	〇・五・廿		

〔餘 頁 四 行〕  
以下二段ニ移ス、原文ニハ一段ナリ。毎頁ノ上段ヲ讀ミズリテ下段ヲ讀ムベシ

島本 尾張	一・〇・〇	島本四郎次郎	〇・四・廿
長田 新左衛門尉	一・七・廿	上井 二郎左衛門尉	〇・二・〇
蘭田 助七	〇・八・中	壽田 二郎左衛門尉	〇・五・〇
同 助九郎	〇・六・廿	六郎 兵衛	〇・四・〇 又一反
七郎	〇・一・廿	二行 餘白	
四郎左衛門尉	〇・五・〇	木 十郎	〇・五・廿

五十八町六反

(枚ノ破リハ餘白)

田	島	屋敷	田	島
			丁反	島
村尾三郎太郎	二・三・廿	二	丁反	
河西孫四郎	〇・六・〇			
木場太郎五郎	〇・八・廿			
種田次郎九郎	一・〇・十中	一		
長野助次郎	〇・七・廿	一		
上井彦三郎	一・〇・十			
内村助二郎	〇・五・〇			
市來崎彌三郎	〇・五・卅			
木場助七	〇・五・卅			
樋地岡左衛門太郎	〇・六・卅			
芳賀助四郎	〇・九・十			
春田八郎九郎	〇・四・〇			
有馬平次郎	〇・八・十			
田口次郎五郎	〇・九・〇			
芳賀三郎四郎	〇・六・卅			
小嶋左衛門五郎	〇・四・卅			
天野彦四郎	〇・四・〇			
前田五郎三郎	〇・五・〇			
山下助八	〇・四・〇			
池田小四郎	〇・六・卅			
向井助五郎	〇・六・〇			
遠矢助左衛門尉	〇・六・卅			
二本九郎次郎	二・七・廿中	四		

田	島	屋敷	田	島
			丁反	島
前田又十郎	〇・八・廿	一	丁反	
五藤彌太郎	〇・四・中			
蘭田助四郎	〇・三・〇			
上村又次郎	一・四・卅			
河崎孫次郎	〇・五・〇			
赤崎彌左衛門尉	〇・六・〇			
田代彦八郎	〇・四・十			
上川鶴乘	〇・三・廿			
岩木彦九郎	〇・五・十			
種田肥後守	〇・三・卅			
志賀助九郎	〇・五・卅			
西半田乙五	〇・五・〇			
松本助六	〇・四・〇			
(餘白二行)				
成枝六郎次郎	〇・九・〇			
同名次郎三郎	〇・九・卅			
今村四郎三郎	一・八・〇			
同名次郎太郎	〇・七・〇			
河原源次郎	一・四・卅	一		
谷津〇	一・〇・〇			
成枝七郎五郎	〇・五・卅			
赤坂大樂	二・三・〇	二		
東平五郎	〇・八・〇	一		
今村三郎太郎	一・三・卅	一		

〔田 畠〕				〔田 畠〕			
内、淨免		屋敷	畠	内、淨免		屋敷	畠
山口 典五郎	丁反 九六・十	四	丁反 〇・六廿	同名 源次郎	丁反 六〇〇〔？〕	丁反 六・五〇	丁反 二・五〇
馬場 新二郎	六二・十	六	〇・三廿	二百十六町四反廿			
樋脇 因幡守	二九・十	二	一・四廿	左 京 亮	八・六卅	二	二・五〇
西牟田 興次	七七・〇	二	〇・三・十	向 四郎左衛門尉	五・七卅	一	〇・一〇
水手次郎四郎	五・六廿		〇・三〇 三升まき	岩 出藤左衛門尉	五・三・十	二	〇・一・十
堀切 左馬助	五・五廿		〇・三・中	今村 尾張守	五・六・〇	二	〇・一・十
村尾 松龜丸	七六・〇		〇・四・廿 又よりわけ三升	横大路左衛門太郎	五・五卅	一	〇・二〇 二升まき
山口平右衛門尉	五・四卅	二	〇・六廿	白川 八郎次郎	四・三・中	一	〇・八・十
柳田三郎右衛門尉	五・〇・〇			原口 太郎三郎	三・三・卅中	一	一・五・十
田代 五郎二郎	四・五・十	一	〇・七・十	原 新次郎	三・六・卅中	一	〇・六・〇
樋脇 宗次郎	三・三・十	一	〇・三・〇	嫁 杖太郎次郎	三・五・卅中	二	〇・一・卅
嶋田 助五郎	四・三・十	一	〇・六・〇	上野 源次郎	一・八・卅	一	〇・六・十
村尾 又八	三・九・卅	五	〇・七・卅	田口 助太郎	一・六・卅中		〇・四・〇
種田 彦太郎	五・八・卅	一	〇・〇・卅	四十五町七反廿			
同名五郎左衛門尉	六・四・卅		〇・〇・卅	村尾次郎左衛門尉	七・五・〇	六	一・九・〇
邊牟木 孫六	三・二・〇		〇・六・〇	同名 將監助	八・九・〇	四	〇・六・〇
種田 源五郎	五・四・〇	一	〇・八・〇	水池七郎右衛門尉	一〇・四・〇	九	三・二・十
同名彦右衛門尉	四・六・卅中	三	〇・一・卅	谷 津 助	八・七・卅	三	〇・三・〇
瀬々十郎右衛門尉	三・一・十	一	〇・四・卅	飯保	七・〇・〇		〇・五・〇 五升まき
種田 又九郎	六・〇・〇		〇・九・卅	木場 三郎次郎	三・九・〇	二	〇・九・〇 四升まき
吉川 兵庫助	五・八・〇	二	〇・九・廿	村尾助左衛門尉	六・四・〇	一	一・四・〇
萩太郎左衛門尉	〇・四・卅中	一	〇・三・卅中	鬼原 助七郎	三・一・十	一	〇・七・〇 六升まき
勝田 九郎	三・六・十		〇・一・十	樋脇 彦左衛門尉	四・六・十	二	〇・七・〇
穆木孫左衛門尉	五・三・十		〇・〇・卅 二升まき				
田口 藤次郎	九・七・〇	一	〇・三・〇				

一 ねんくおなし くうしおなし

みや田  
一 なしもの 壹貫五百文 五百文はたいくわん分むかいなむら

一 なしもの 壹貫百五十

一 かとをおなし 一 きぬくたおなし 一 わたおなし

一 かとみのおなし

又みや田よりはあかれ なかむらよりはあけず候もの

一 いも壹斗五升 一 かとあい一斗 一 からを百五十め

一 むきのねんく五斗

此ふんにうきめんのはたけあいそへ候分

一 一反 いけつる

又みや田よりあげ候もの

一 あまくりのしろ百文 一 あかれのしろ五十文

一 糸りこのまゆ三升 銀なれば六百文

一 ないげんのふん五百文 此分むかいなむらにはなく候はとに二反をへ銀田の事

二 反まへ田

又たらためてたきのうちへ〇〇せし分

二 反まへ田 二 反いけつる

しざくものしろ以上に

延徳四年の三月一日 重とし(花押)

一四一

「薩摩國千臺郡之内百次城所領之事爲忠節之賞宛行處也早任此旨可被知行之狀如件

天文五年七月廿三日

入來院殿」

勝久 在判

一四二

「今度就入國之企一段入魂之奉公最神妙之至候仍爲此忠賞滿家院之内郡山之城并三十町之事所宛行也早任此旨可被知行之狀如件

天文六年三月十四日

入來院殿」

勝久 在判

一四三

「薩摩國鹿兒嶋之内犬迫名之事依奉公所宛行也早任此旨可被知行之狀如件

永祿貳年己未十月廿三日

入來院加賀守殿」

貴久(花押)

一四四

「此文書ハ鹿耳ノタメ表式ニ改寫シタリ、モシ之ヲ圓形ニ復セシトセバ、左ノ一頂ノ側ニ並ズベシ

屋敷三ヶ所

「美作守方

十一町六反卅中

此内うきめん二町六反中

同畠一町五反十」

「給地反別附帳」

	田	畠	内、浮免	屋敷	畠
美作守	丁反	二・六・卅中	丁反	三	丁反
岡本伊豫介		三・六・卅中		三	丁反
又		七・四・〇		一・〇・〇	
久富木利部		五・三・〇		一・〇・〇	
二階堂山城守		六・七・〇		一・四・〇	
		又二・中村三			

二反	同又山下	一ケ所一反卅
一反卅	同宮のわき	一ケ所畠地一反卅
五反	同大その	一ケ所畠地一反十
二反卅	同あせち	一ケ所ハカリ
卅	同田のうへ	
一反	同つる	
一反	同田しま	
一ケ所	同こきたの屋敷	
一ケ所	同久住 <small>もとは上屋敷 様持候也</small>	
四反	中村上つる	
三反十	同ふなかはら	
卅	くすもと堂のまへ	
一反卅	同くほその	
二反	天辰みたちその	
茶藨	たうの原しまゑん	
茶藨	くめかた	
大茶藨	くら野	
屋敷者		
三郎右衛門	田一反半	
八郎次郎	田二反卅	
太郎四郎	田一反十	
九郎太郎	田一反中	
助九郎	田二反卅	
勢三郎	田三反卅中	
助六	田一反卅	

一ケ所畠地二反  
一ケ所畠地一反十  
一ケ所ハカリ

同四郎五郎	一ケ所茶藨畠二反
同三郎四郎	一ケ所畠地六反
同孫平次	一ケ所畠地五反
同孫太郎	一ケ所畠地二反
同田	
同九郎四郎	
同六郎四郎	
同平五郎	
同二郎右衛門	
同山田作子	
同彦九郎	
同彦三郎	
同彦五郎	

畠地自作分副田

一反	同原口
二反	同森木の本
一反	同つふき田のうへ
卅	同升なりの前
茶藨	上副田之分如(件)し

「入來院正少卿重豊入道以心之傳二入  
重豊へ交繼元年辛酉閏六月二日卒」

一四〇

「たきのうちのしきく 六反卅にて候をなかむらにいまたてかへ候分  
四反下もさこ 二反卅かはち田 以上六反卅  
みや田のかとにむかいなかむらのかとかへ候



一所同草原名

一所同田崎村

一所同天辰村

一所羽嶋村

一所大隅蒲生之内平松村

一所同餅田之内森山之門 前原門

右各地頭職田品一所も不殘讓與所也

并任先例

一所筑前國柏原水田屋敷

一所筑後國永瀨屋敷 同國みな木屋敷

一所甲斐國西嶋内葦入在家田品

一所美作國河繪庄内下森上山大足

一所相模國澁谷會司郷ふちゝろの屋敷立野等之事

右於所領等者重豐重代相傳之所也仍重綱に相副次第調渡手繼證文等

限永代所讓與也於御公事者任先例可致支配者也 次

重豐以後所領之事雖有數輩兄弟守其器用「以下一一五甲ト同交ナリ」

一三九

一上原西之門

一西蘭之門

一下坂本之門

一諏訪蘭門夫足ハカリ年貢ハ神物ニ仕候

一田中門

一東門

御自作

永傳元年カノイヌ之年ノイヌカス

一原西之門

一田中之内

一上江河之門

一うへの蘭門

二反廿 みなを田つふき 百貳十畧は也

五反 くら野つゝみ田

五反 倉野のつる

一反廿中倉野さゝ田

四反廿 中村山本

四反 中村かはら田

四反十 同 まへ田

二反 くすもとのつく田

三反廿 くすもとの三反田

廿 同一せまち

一反廿中同くわはた

一反廿 同てらさと

二反 上副田原田

一反 同桑の木丸

六反 山田鳥越

一町二反同ちか田

四反 同みそら井

三反廿 同山した

五反 同ときてん

一反 同うちわき田

一町一反三町一反廿 天辰こなてしま

畠地自作分

五反 中村いけつる

廿 同山本のうち

廿 同なかれより

卅 倉野山下

中間十郎二郎 若次郎

一三六丙

「今度重而御懇に十郎左衛門所に承候 前々申承候以後少も等閑を不  
存候 於自今以後も無二心承候するには疎略を存ましき事  
此條偽候者

伊勢 天照大神 熊野三所大權現  
新田 八幡大菩薩 諏訪上下大明神  
正八幡 大菩薩 霧島三所權現  
可罷蒙御罰候

寛正七年卯月十六日

立久(花押)

入来院殿

「寛正七年なつのころ外よりわさんにかこし  
ことを仰かけへきなり申ちらし候時互可  
よりは千代松殿爲使山崎方面道仕取上  
下々申ちらし候くわうせつおの／＼せういんふ  
御形へはういんをひる返し河上十郎  
さて申候時の御返狀也」

一三七甲

請文

「一ヶ國如何様ニ 雖轉變如前々無二ニ 御屋形御用ニ 被立余儀を存ま  
しき事

「私之心中再三村田殿ニ 申入候其外之儀不可有候事

「若(和)譏凶害之時は乍憚被仰下私之懇意をも可申上候事  
有此餘々偽申候は、

神名

文明十三年 辛丑 六月二十三日

下野守重豊

謹上 村田肥前守殿

「八月日重綱ヨリ同人ニ同様ノ請文ヲ出ダス」

一三七乙

契狀

「一ヶ國如何様ニ 雖轉變無二ニ 可被成御志之由承候 我等も世中雖  
如何様之子細候無二ニ 可申談事

「一對我々彌御叮嚀之由承候如此之御心中之時者御大事を身之大事と  
存偏還被憑可申事

「一如此申談之處若和譏凶害出来候者互無覆藏可申承事  
若此條々偽候者

伊勢 天照大神 熊野三所權現  
正八幡 大菩薩 天満天神  
諏訪上下大明神 可罷蒙御罰候  
文明十三年 辛丑 六月廿三日 武久御判

入来院殿

「同年八月廿三日武久ヨリ」入来院又五郎殿「(重頼カヘノ狀モ同様ナリ)」

一三八

「讓與 所子息又五郎重綱

薩摩國入来院内村在家田畠至山野一所も不殘讓與所也

先々は京都直依有公促親類中にも依其思爲私領有閣護之所當代は守  
護促院内之田數不殘かゝり候上は前之私領も不可入各給分可同然者  
雖子多之有又者親類之者雖有條々忠節爲私領不可有遺事 若背此旨  
雖有讓者任彼證文惣領可知行  
一所薩摩郡之内永利名山田村

れより御意にかけられするにおゐて身として於後々も不可存等閑事

此條々僞候者

日本國中大小神祇祇而は

正八幡大菩薩

諏方上下大明神

鵜戸霧島大權現

天満天神

稻荷

祇園

罰不可蒙候

仍請文狀如件

應永卅年八月卅日

清色殿

沙彌存忠

(島津久豊花押)

### 一三三

〔應永三十年八月十六日〕「重長」ヨリ「子息初五郎丸」(後ニ重茂)ヘノ譯文一通、一一五

及ビ一二九ト同文ナリ、但シ柏島村ノ次ニ左ノ一行ヲ加フ

「一所 薩摩國薩摩郡内勸童永利」

〔嘉元二年二月廿七日〕「彈正少弼重長」ヨリ「孫菊五郎丸」(後ニ重豊)ヘノ譯文一通、

一一五及ビ一二九ト同文ナリ、但シ入來院ノ「清敷北方同南方」ヲ一行ニ記シ、「市

比野村」ノ下ノ「半分地頭職并下地」ヲ省キ、柏島村ノ次ニ左ノ一行ヲ加フ

「薩摩國薩摩郡内永利名 同地頭職」

### 一三四

「 澁谷四郎

平 重 位

永享三年十一月十五日

彈正少弼重長(花押)

澁谷四郎殿

### 一三五

「幼少之時親父諸重討死候によて諸重之所領等之讓狀もなく候と承候又妙勝以來の手續の狀ともうしなわれ候よし承候但此段存知之事候之間彼文書共はいつ方に候とも所領等之事は四郎重位知行あるへく候他之妨あるへからす候 田畠屋敷等之坪付別紙にあり 仍爲後證狀如件

永享九年<sup>丁巳</sup>二月廿八日

向四郎殿

重 長(花押)

### 一三六甲

「島津御庄薩摩方火同永利山田城之事宛行處也 早任先例領知之不可有相違之狀如件

寛正三年三月廿四日

入來院殿

立 久 御 判

### 一三六乙

契 狀

右世上如何様雖爲轉變無二可立用之由承候之間自是も於子々孫々偏可憑入候 於此中自然和譏凶害之人出來時者不殘心底可申承事

此條僞候者

伊勢天照大神宮

熊野三所大權現

新田八幡大菩薩

天満大自在天神

諏方上下大明神 之御罰可罷蒙候

寛正三年三月廿四日

立 久(花押)

入來院殿

一二七丁

「雖爲天下轉變就大小事可成一味同心之思事

一自然東鄉殿柏原殿我等同心之儀被申候時者東郷者(斧)淵井黒木見

成河柏原者湯田此外者當知行共可被置差事

一於三ヶ國中如何様雖不慮之子細候相互見次被見次可申事

一議者出來縱雖何事申候不可及信用之事

一今度申談候條々自今以後不可有相違事

若此條々(偽)申候者

正 八 幡 大 菩 薩 稻 荷 大 明 神

諏 訪 上 下 大 明 神 可 蒙 御 罰 候

應永十年十二月十三日 元 久(花押)

澁谷彈正少弼殿

一二八

「ロノウラ」「とまりのとつちやうたうしんの」

「とまりのゝ分

一所 こむかゑ 田四反四十

御ねんくのせに 八百文

くわ代 一貫

わたのせに 五十文

一所 きたのゝ分 田四反四十

御ねんくのせに 八百文

くわ代 七百文

わたのせに 五十文

一所 みや田に 一貫

くわ代 五十文

一所 いちのゝ田一反十

御ねんくのせに 二百五十文

くわ代 一くわん

わたのせに 五十文

應永十三年いぬの六月十二日

かわの分 五百文

一二九

「應永十三年十一月十五日」重頼 署名「子息菊五郎丸」(一譯文一通、同日同人署名)

「置文事」一通右ノ年月日ト人名トヲ除キテ一一五甲乙ト金ク同文ナリ

一三〇

薩摩國英禰院一曲之事依今度志被行宛所也致子々孫々無相違可有御

知行依狀如件

應永十八年九月十五日

兵衛尉久世(花押)

清色殿

一三一

奉宛行薩摩國滿家院内中俣同西俣谷山郡内山田村紙付別然者早任先

規知行不可有相違狀如件

應永廿四年九月廿日

道 應 (伊集院頼久 入道花押)

一三二

「廣説共度々候けるよし承及候山田之陣之後今日におゐて失申候す

るたくみを仕たる事なく候事

「まきれす恨申候する子細候はゝかくし申へき事にてもなく候 そ

うてんのしよりやうたるあいたたけ王丸にふいたいなかきりてゆつ  
りあたふる事しち也

うきめんの田の事

一所 かちやま二反

一所 てらまへ二反

一所 かうやのさかのした一反

一所 ゆに下

一所 かりあつまり二反

一所 やまみこのさかのした二反

一所 四丁田一反四十

一所 すへ田一反

一所 みしまのまゐのむた一反

一所 みしまのうしろ一反

一所 みそい一反

一所 のきりやま一反

そのほかたうけんちきやうの同ほりまち以下山野にいたるまでたけ  
王丸ちきやうすへきなり よて爲後日狀如件

おうふい二年八月三日

たうけん(花押)

## 一二五甲

「薩摩國入來院之内澁谷薩摩入道重佛跡本領地事  
右爲料所預申候也任先例可被致沙汰候仍狀如件

應永三年二月十八日

道 哲(島津伊久花押)

伊作大隅殿

## 一二五乙

「薩摩國入來院之内澁谷刑部少輔入道定順跡本領地事  
右爲料所預申候也任先例可被致沙汰候仍狀如件

應永三年二月十八日

道 哲(花押)

二階堂山城殿

## 一二六

「薩摩國之内谷山郡同國給黎院半分事  
右爲料所預申也任先例可被沙汰之狀如件

應永七年十二月十三日

久 哲(伊久花押)

澁谷彈正少弼殿

## 一二七甲

「薩摩國鹿兒島郡武之村并指宿内威河村事依有御志所進置也雖然申談  
候山北所領御知行之時者可返給候仍狀如件

應永十年十一月廿九日

元 久 御判

澁谷彈正少弼殿

## 一二七乙

「薩摩國山門院西方之事并薩摩郡之内荒皮羽嶋之事可有御忠節之由承  
候之間所置進候也任先例可有知行之狀如件

應永十年十二月七日

守 久(花押)

澁谷彈正少弼殿

## 一二七丙

「今度之刻依御志自播州方山門西方并荒河羽嶋被進之候 其旨存知仕  
候き 縱播州雖不慮之子細被申身之沙汰○○彼在所事共可申談候恐  
々謹言

十二月十三日

陸奥守元久(花押)

謹上 澁谷彈正少弼殿



仰執達如件

至德三年四月三日

澁谷薩摩守殿

沙 彌(了俊花押)

一一一丙

伊集院入道跡三分一事爲恩賞可令知行之狀如件

至德三年五月十三日

澁谷薩摩守殿

沙 彌(花押)

一一一丁

薩摩國島津伊集院大隅入道跡<sup>當知行</sup>三部一事爲<sup>所上</sup>者知行不可有相違之狀依仰執達如件

至德三年五月廿二日

澁谷左馬佐殿

宮内大輔守政<sup>判</sup>

一一一戊

薩摩國宮里鄉地頭職事依大忠所預置也 於御下文者可事行上者可令知行之狀如件

至德三年十月廿九日

澁谷左馬助殿

沙 彌(了俊花押)

一一一己

伊集院入道跡地頭職事任先立預置旨可令知行之狀如件

明德元年十一月十四日

澁谷清色殿

沙 彌(了俊花押)

一一一庚

島津伊集院入道跡事地頭同領家各半分事所預置也守先例可知行狀如件

明德二年四月十三日

澁谷清敷殿

沙 彌(了俊花押)

一一一辛

薩摩國知行分内國衙并領家來事爲兵糧料所可知行之狀如件

明德二年十月廿八日

澁谷清色殿

沙 彌(了俊花押)

一一一

肥前國三根西鄉内東津泉空閑兩村事任先度安堵之旨重可被沙汰付下地於澁谷岡本攝津守之狀如件

康永元年十二月十七日

中田民部太夫入道殿

散 位(花押)

齋藤左衛門太夫殿

一一一

去月五日於山門城自身太刀打凶徒打取云々殊感悅之至也上洛之上者此趣可注進之狀如件

明德五年四月廿五日

清色美濃守殿

沙 彌(了俊花押)

一一一

ゆつりあたふるしよりやうの事  
右さつまのくにいりきのぬんたうのはらのうちたうげんちうたいさ

一一八丙

「薩摩國河邊庄地頭職事雖預置谷山鯨島等爲恩賞地守護人代々安堵之上者任御下文旨澁谷車内相共令遵行伊久代可執進請取 至谷山鯨嶋等者以替地可事行上者先可去退之由可被仰也 仍事書一通遣之 狀如件

永德二年五月卅日

澁谷清敷殿

沙 彌(丁俊花押)

一一八丁

「自二見陣於佐敷令堪忍被致忠節候爲公私感入致候則京都令注進申候間定可有御感候様大將軍彌御扶持候者悦入候 依嶋津人々振舞追可申談候毎年連々可承候於今度一向うちたのみ申候上者無是非候恐々謹言

正月廿八日(至德二年九)

澁谷五郎殿

了 俊(花押)

一一八戊

「水俣城合力之由大將令注進之間所感悦也 向後堅被致合力者彌可爲忠節上者且所令執申京都也定可有御感歟 重尙依注進可被深候狀如件

至德二年二月七日

澁谷五郎殿

沙 彌(了俊花押)

一一九

「任御親父之讓旨御知行之事存知仕候了若於此内違亂妨之時者□不甲斐候可加扶持申候仍狀如件

永德三年十二月廿四日  
重 頼(花押)  
向彌太郎入道殿

一一〇甲

「ゆつりあたふるしそくいや太郎入道たうげんかところ  
せん日のゆつりしやうありといへともまこすはうのすけめうせうかしよりやうにわつらひをなすあいதாகされてしやうをしたゝめておく也せんしつのゆつりにまかせてちきやうすへし このすはうのすけにおきてはめうせうかなかくふけうのまこ也けようする事あるへからす よて後日ためにしやうくたんのことし

永德四年正月八日

めうせう(花押)

一一〇乙

「めうせうかちきやうのうちまへとこしもさいけの事しやうやとのにうりわたすといへともせんねん一そくしゆこたはかれよりめうせう三十よれんちきやうするうへはしやうやとのしそんとしてもしきを申さるゝともたつましく候 せんしつのゆつりの如くたうげんちきやうすへし よて後日のために狀如件

永德四年正月八日

めうせう(花押)

一一一甲

「筑前國比郷内本知行分事如元令遵行之狀如件  
至德三年正月六日 沙 彌(了俊花押)  
澁谷一族中

一一一乙

「筑前比郷地頭職事仕本知行所遵行也守先例庶子相共可令知行之狀依

澁谷虎王丸

可護置之也 若背此旨所領ヲ於分與數子之輩者不可有重門之子孫云々 如此定置上者若萬一ニモ所領ヲ雖分讓任此狀之旨於惣領一人之計押而可令知行之者也 仍爲後證置文之狀如件

建德二年十月十五日

彈正少弼重門(花押)

一一六乙

〔同年十二月廿五日同人同ノ文ヲ〕澁谷虎五郎殿 二下ス

一一六丙

むきふみ

一後家并帶刀左衛門尉事於虎五郎丸之計可加扶持也  
一かつしきの當知行藏野内山二ヶ村之事是又於虎五郎之志一期之分可有知行也

一女子長王ハ塔原内なへの村を可知行也同一期分

一同女子虎王には上副田村沙堂〇を可知行也同一期分

一同女子栗六ハ市比野内平野を可知行也此内除有作分 同一期分

一同上副田内濱田左衛太郎給分之事爲副田湯接待料足可寄進也限永代

有此條々爲後日所定如件

建德二年十月十五日

重門(花押)

一一七

〔薩州峰城合戰之時親父討死之條所被感恩食也可有抽賞之狀依仰執達如件

文中元年十二月廿一日

左少將(藤原親房花押)

澁谷虎五郎殿

一一八甲

〔氏久加凶徒上者別而被忠節者可被恩賞 仍一揆同心可被致忠節狀如件

永和元年九月十三日

沙彌(今川了俊花押)

澁谷虎五郎殿

〔包紙〕澁谷虎五郎殿 了俊

一一八乙

〔於肥後國八代堺致忠節云々尤以神妙也於國彌可抽之狀如件

永和元年十一月十日

沙彌(了俊花押)

澁谷虎五郎殿

一一六丙

參御方者本領不可有相違 有別功者可被抽賞之狀如件

應安五年十一月廿五日

沙彌(今川了俊花押)

右此之趣至子々孫々於青此之旨之輩者不可有重門之子孫之也 仍爲  
後日所定置如件

正平廿二年正月廿九日

重 門 在 判

## 一一四甲

「上又欠ケタルヲ補フ」

〔讓與 所子息松承丸

一所 薩摩國入來院内市比野名主職 四至碑可 任本證文者也

一所 美作國河繪庄内本郷下村西方

一所 相模國曾司郷内藤意田畠在家立野參町屋敷付荒野

一所 筑前國比伊郷修理免禪俊比丘尼跡

右所領等者重成重代相傳所領也 而子息松承丸ニ次第調渡<sup>〔渡〕</sup>相副

手繼證文御下文限永代讓與所也巨細之旨見置文有違亂妨時者任本證

文可知行者也 仍而後證讓狀如件

貞治七八月六日

刑部少輔重成 在判

## 一一四乙

〔讓與 所子息虎一丸

一所 薩摩國入來院内清色南方 四至碑可任本證文者也

一所 同入來院内清色南方内本村北方

一所 肥前國佐嘉下御領よしまつのありしけの内田地二町并屋敷壹

所とまりかそのかはり

同國佐嘉下御領よたかり壹町廿六つは かのへおほたかり八反

十二つは等事

右所領等者重成重代相傳所領也 而子息虎一丸ニ次第<sup>〔以下前ト同文〕</sup>

## 一一五甲

〔讓與 所子息虎五郎丸

一所 薩摩國入來院内清色北方

一所 北方内上副田村

一所 市比野村半分地頭職 并下地

一所 南方内清色村

一所 塔原村

一所 中村

一所 楠本村

一所 倉野村

一所 久中村

一所 柏島村

一所 筑前國柏原水田屋敷

一所 筑後國永瀬屋敷 同<sup>〔渡〕</sup>みな木の屋敷

一所 甲斐國西嶋内葦入在家田畠

一所 美作國河繪庄内下森上山大足

一所 相模國澁谷曾司郷内ふちころの屋敷立野等

右於所領等者重門重代相傳所領也 仍虎五郎丸ニ相副次第調度手繼

證文等限永代所讓與也 於公事者任先例可致支配者也 次重門以後

所領之事雖有數輩之兄弟守其器用惣領一人ニ一處ヲモ不殘可讓與之

也若背此旨所領ヲ於分與數子之輩者不可有重門之子孫云々如此定置

上者若萬一ニモ所領ヲ雖分讓任此狀之旨於惣領一人之計押而可令知

行者也 且爲後證所書載置文之趣也 仍讓狀如件

建德二年十月十五日

彈正少弼重門〔花押〕

## 一一五乙

置 文 事

右重門以後所領事雖有數輩之兄弟守其器用惣領一人ニ一所ヲモ不殘

一〇九己

「たげつるまるかゆつりのあん  
ゆつりわたす まこたげつる丸か所  
すいてんの事

- 一所 三反 てらまへ
  - 一所 二反 かりあつまり
  - 一所 一反 四十た
  - 一所 三反 みしまの御うしろ
  - 一所 一反 ほりくちのまへ 上下わせたともに
  - 一所 一反 みつち
- 右すいてんはうきめんたるあいたつほつけをしてゆつりわたすと、  
る也

延文五年かのへのとし 八月四日

沙彌妙勝

一一〇

「去年二月以來薩州合戰致忠節之由先立所注申也尤神妙向後彌可抽戰  
功之狀如件

康安二年九月六日

(足利義詮花押)

澁谷九郎左衛門入道殿

一一一

「薩摩國入來院中村之内永野世與宇禮兩村事 自定關被讓與候事承候  
畢隨而至子々孫々無他妨可有知行候仍爲後日狀之如件

貞治二年五月八日

左衛門尉重門(花押)

一一二甲

「參御方相語一族至軍忠者於本領不可有子細至忠節者恩賞之事者不可  
有子細也 天氣如此悉之以狀

正平十九年二月一日

左 中 將 藏人頭藤原  
實秀花押

澁谷能登守館

一一二乙

「爲鎮西因徒退治所發向也 於御方致忠節云々 彌被抽戰功者可注申  
之狀如件

貞治四年潤九月十七日

武 藏 守(花押)

澁谷彈正少弼殿

一一二丙

「致軍忠之由被聞食了尤以神妙者 天氣如此悉之以狀  
正平二十二年二月十日

右衛門權(花押)

澁谷彈正少弼館

一一三

置 文 定

依合戰忠節料所可沙汰條々

- 一 其忠有抽出事者可有常一倍之沙汰也
- 一 討死跡事有子息者本知行之上重料所出來之時可有其沙汰也 次於  
女子者本知行半分事一後 (期) 之間不可有子細之也 次於後家者可  
爲女子同篇之沙汰 但別男衆相具者不可有行之也
- 一 其跡無子孫者田地反 永代可有寄進寺家也



一所 まへとこのさこかやしき  
一所 ひせんの國さかの御りやうしものしやうのうちすらう丸みや

う一ちやう六たん

ふたつほんゆつりしやうなそへてゆつるところ也

右さいけすいてんはめうしやうちうたいさうてんの所りやうなるところ也御くしはせんれいにまかせきんしすへしよてのちのためしひんつのゆつり如件

ゑんふん五年ねのとし 八月九日

めうしやう(花押)

### 一〇九乙

「ゆつりわたすしそくのいや太郎かところ  
すいてんの事

一所 三たん 系のきた

一所 二たん つゝみ

一所 二たん おきのた

一所 一たん のきりやま

一所 二たん さかのした

一所 一たん かわや

右すいてんはうきめんたるあいだつほつけをすてゆつりわたすと、  
る也

延文五年ねのとし 八月九日

めうしやう(花押)

### 一〇九丙

「めうしやういちこのうち

さいくわんつくり二たん

まつのさこ二たん

ゆわなの口一たん

この五たんの(田)はめうしやう一このほとは御ちきやうあるへく候  
二月九日  
めうしやう(花押)

### 一〇九丁

「ゆつりわたす 所りやうの事 まこたけつる丸か所

さつまのくにいりきねんたうのはらのうち

一所 かはめの四太郎のさいけ おなしきすいてん四たん

一所 やけはらの二太郎かさいけ おなしきすいてん一丁

一所 中その北ははしのなみき ひかしはよこみちをきる

一所 ほりくちのさいけ おなしきすいてん三たん

一うきめん一ちやう一たん つほつけへつしにあり

右さいけすいてんはめうしやうちうたいさうてんの所りやうなるあ  
いたまこたけつるにゑいたいをかきりゆつりわたすところ也御くし  
はせんれいにまかせてきんしすへしよてのちのためしひんつのゆつ  
り如件

ゑんふん五年ねのとし 八月九日

さみめうしやう

### 一〇九戊

「ゆつりわたす 所りやうの事 まこたけつる丸か所

さつまのくにたきのこほりのうち

一所 そりやう一ちやうのうち五たん

一所 たしりのむた一ちやうのうち五たん

一所 やたかたのはらのやしき

一所 たくまのかくきやうのやしき

右すいてんやしきはたい／＼のゆつりしやうをあいそへてまこたけ  
つるにゑいたいをかきりてゆつりわたすところ也(以下前ト同シ)

ゑんふん五年ねのとし 八月九日

さみめうしやう

應永十三年 丙戌 六月一日

一〇五

小五郎讓狀

薩摩國入來院清色名内南方祖父致重跡所々所領平五郎重繼亡所讓與悉皆也 雖然當院之惣領清色卿與令申之間南方内本村彌(藤)四郎入道在家於清色云也此村爲惣領名字間彌藤四郎入道居住屋敷より上ノ小蘭副田渡瀬乃口道兩方島南ハ道覺給分のくれをすくニ切河上ハ塚をつきて廟を立タル所より河へよこさまに切河ハ上のきしのまゝ坂の上あかりを小蘭へすくに切田水ハ清色前田内屋脇山作の田壹段廿河より東屋脇山の左の道口上下水田參段まで野と云也此外山野は南方也 仍重勝重代相傳之所領也當所爲惣領之間南方の内をぬきて限永代子息將重所讓與也 爲後證讓狀如件

文和四年乙未 四月八日

美濃守重勝「花押」

一〇六

「馳參御方可致軍忠之由被聞食之狀如件

正平十三年三月六日

修理權大夫(花押)

澁谷九郎左衛門尉館一

一〇七甲

「薩摩國薩摩郡内勸童永利兩名地頭職道鑑雖爲重代所領永利又太郎友秀亡限永代所避渡也若於道鑑跡此處に於致違亂輩者不可爲子孫儀勸童永利兩名地頭職事落居之上者日次公事止之畢 仍狀如件

正平十三年八月十二日

師久在判

一〇七乙

「凶徒國分平次郎友重同永利又太郎入道祖性兩人跡田園事善惡共令中分半分所去申候也 迄于御子々孫々聊不可成違亂之煩候 此上者於公方可舉申候恐々謹言

二月十九日

左衛門少尉師久(花押)

謹上澁谷美濃五郎左衛門尉殿一

一〇八

「いりきのぬんくずもとの大そのゝさいほうか一るぬ七人むかへとの御うちにはひきふみ申候ところしち也このうちに太郎二郎おとこはゑいたいをかきりてまいらせおくもし御うちをまかりいて候はん時は一るぬ七人いかなるげもんせいかしんしやふつしの御りやうにまかりいて候とも此狀のむれにまかせてさうてんの御との人とめしとられまいらせ候へく候神人みやふのかうをかり一ちんのしさいお申ましく候仍狀如件

えんふん四年八月十日

くずもとの大そのゝさいほうありはん

一〇九甲

「ゆつりわたす 所りやうの事 いや太郎か所

さつまのくにいりきぬんたうのはら

一所かわやさきのその おなしきすいてん

一所まへとこの四郎二郎その 同き

一所 いやしき

一所 たきの郡たしものむた一ちや(う)のうち五たん

一所 同しきたきの内そうりやう一ちやうのうち五たん

ヲクノ商  
五反 四百文  
島中  
五反 四百文  
四反 三百三十二文  
三貫九百七十八文

一〇四乙

鳥丸村檢注取帳

大クラ  
一丁二反 一石九斗二升  
中蘭  
八反 一石一斗六升  
タラ  
五反 七斗二升  
平野  
五反 七斗二升  
島中  
八反 一石三升  
上龍  
六反 八斗六升  
五反 六斗七升  
都合七石一斗

伴三郎  
藤五  
孫六  
四郎三郎  
彌渾二  
藤太郎  
與一四郎

延文二年十月四日

二反 鳥丸  
六反 かぜはき  
五反 内野之門  
七反 中郷ノ門  
已上二町  
給分日記

一〇四丙

鳥丸村御年貢取帳日記事

一所大クラ 田一丁七反 畠六反廿  
御年貢 三石二斗三升  
春成物一貫二百廿文  
麥八斗三升  
總錢一百文  
臺代一貫七百五十文  
さしなは二すち

一所中蘭 田六反 畠三反十  
御年貢一石五斗  
春成物四百十五文  
麥四斗一升  
總錢五十文  
臺代五百文  
さしなは一すち  
此内田一反分年貢なし物へ取らす餘五分取て候

一所タヲノ蘭 田六反廿  
御年貢一石六斗三升  
春成物五百十文  
總錢五十文  
廿五文孫半次分  
二百五十五文孫半次分  
八斗一升五合孫半次分  
臺代五百文  
さしなは一すち

一所ヲクノ蘭 田五反廿 畠五反十  
御年貢一石三斗七升  
春成物四百十五文  
麥六斗七升  
總錢五十文  
臺代二百八十文  
又八十五文  
さしなは一すち

一所ヲカノ蘭 田六反  
御年貢一石三斗  
春成物五百四文  
麥七斗八升  
總錢五十文  
臺代八百文  
さしなは一すち

一所ハ(タケ)中 田五反 畠四反  
御年貢一石三斗  
春成物四百十五文  
麥五斗二升  
總錢五十文  
臺代三百文  
さしなは一すち

一所ウエコモリ 田六反廿 畠三反  
御年貢一石四斗  
春成物六百十九反  
總錢五十文  
臺代三百文  
さしなは一すち

一〇〇

薩摩國新田宮前執印友雄代申同國市比野村内原田壹町參段府宿園壹ヶ所事 件田箇者時友無違亂之儀以上者押領之條不實候此上者時友安堵申任先御沙汰旨可蒙御成敗候以此旨可有御披露恐惶謹言  
觀應二年七月廿四日 惟宗 時友(裏判)

一〇一

「可參御方之由聞食了 早屬征西將軍宮可致軍忠有殊功者可有其實者天氣如此悉之以狀  
正平六年八月三日 左中辨(花押)」

澁谷美濃守館

同日同一ノ趣旨ヲ「澁谷九郎左衛門尉館」ニ賜フ

一〇二

「令一見了(三條泰季花押)」

「澁谷九郎左衛門尉重興申軍忠事 薩摩國東郷藏人城押寄今月五日拙忠節之條大將御目前合戰之間無其隠候者也然早爲預御注進言上如件  
正平六年十二月廿三日」

一〇三

「筑前國早良郡比伊郷下永尾事 亡父定圓存生之時重勝安堵申給畢任定圓顯心讓狀拾町分内陸町所避渡也仍爲後日狀如件  
觀應三年四月十九日 重勝(花押)」

澁谷九郎左衛門尉殿

一〇四甲

鳥丸 田地坪付

一所 一町二段 此内二反荒 一反「被召」炭浦殿了

伴三郎

一所 九反 此内一反被召炭浦殿了 此内一反堂田

彌太郎

一所 五反 此内一反荒

孫六

一所 五反

四郎三郎

一所 六反 一反荒

藤六郎

一所 五反 此内二反「被召」炭浦殿了

與一四郎

一所 五反 此内三反荒

彌平次

一所 七反 此内三反御田 一反荒

彌平次

一所 池セマチ三段

一所 四段廿 此内一反丁權遺察田

一所 黒山廿 炭浦殿御用件

一所 武段

以上陸町四反十

文和三年十月十四日

成物分あひあかれかとかわすいしうこんして候

一丁二反 九百九十六文

伴三郎

九反 此内一反 常田 六百文

彌太郎

五段 四百文

孫六

五反 四百文

四郎三郎

六反 四百五十反

藤太郎

九七丁

「讓與 所子息虎松丸

一所 美作國河繪庄内下森上山大足此内一期分所僧二人跡靜重後家分金子村

一所 薩摩國入來院内一野河床等事

右任親父重知讓狀舍弟九郎重興與子息虎松丸半分津々可令知行 而

於定圖重知跡嗣所者一向虎松丸可知行 仍巨細見置文 爲後證讓狀

如件

貞和五年閏六月廿三日

平重勝 在判

九七戊

「一所 入來院内市比野地頭職

一所 入來院内倉野村

一所 同九重村

一所 入來院内柏島四分壹

重勝 在判

九七己

置文 條々

「子息虎松丸舍弟虎一丸兩人讓與所領事四至堺見本證文矣

「諸公事任先例そのきたをいたすへし云々

一定圖顯心のおきふみにまかせてそのむねをそんちすへし 次庶子

等事北方におきては虎松かはからひたるへし南方におきては虎一

かはからひたるへし矣

「虎松無子孫者虎一につくへし虎一無子孫者可持虎松云々 女子仁

おいては壹町壹箇所一期分もつへし 兩人分同前

「於養子者少分もゆつるへからず

一雖有帶重勝讓狀族惣領并二郎北南於面々ゆつりあたふるもの也於

此内有對論族者重勝跡於不可知行云々

右於二人跡者守器用仁壹人仁ゆつるへし其外者一期分たるへし 至

子々孫々守此旨可令知行 若背此旨輩者重勝(跡)於不可知行 仍置

文狀如件

平重勝 在判

九八

「爲奉息兩殿御意所打立也 急速馳參可致忠節之狀如件

貞和六年十一月廿日

(足利直冬花押)

澁谷九郎殿

九九甲

「薩摩國入來院地領澁谷九郎重興申 馳參太宰府致宿直誓固付御着到

候上者賜御證判可備後證龜鏡候 以此旨可有御披露 恐惶謹言

貞和七年卯月 日

進上 御奉行所

「承了(花押)」

九九乙

「薩摩國入來院倉野地頭豐田長壽丸代中木庭五郎次郎貞清申

同文 承了同上

九九丙

「於國致忠節之上馳參之條尤神妙也 彌可抽戰之狀如件

貞和七年五月廿五日

(足利直冬花押)

澁谷九郎殿



海陸共寄來之間雖爲無勢捨身命防戰刻凶徒等數輩令打取追返了 仍  
即徒藤四郎（可被執畢）此等子細御祇人野木孫七同時合戰之間令  
存知者也 次日九日相向紫原後卷一族相共及散々合戰畢 然早預御  
一見狀爲備後證恐々言上如件

承了（花押）

九五乙

澁谷彌四郎重名軍忠事

以下同文、但シ仍歸徒……被獲畢ノ句ナシ

九六甲

薩摩國凶徒

（事近日々）

殊蜂起云々（日）嚴密致軍忠（日）可有池邊城之合力也  
仍執達如件

貞和四年二月九日

澁谷九郎殿

沙彌（色願花押）

九六乙

薩摩國凶徒事可寄來池邊城之由依有其間可合力之旨先度被仰處不事  
行云々何様事候哉急速馳向可被對治仍執達如件

貞和四年八月十七日

澁谷九郎殿

宮内少輔（色願氏花押）

九七甲

讓與所子息松承丸

- 一所 薩摩國入來院内市比野名主職
- 一所 美作國河江庄内本郷下村西方
- 一所 相模國澁谷曾司郷内藤意田在家立野參町屋敷付荒野
- 一所 筑前國比伊郷修理免禪俊比丘尼跡

右所領等者母堂顯心重代相傳所領也而重勝所讓得也 仍子息虎（四卷）一丸  
ニ限永代相副手繼證文御下文讓與者也 巨細之旨見置文 不可有違  
亂妨 仍爲後證讓狀如件  
貞和五年閏六月廿三日

平重勝在判

九七乙

讓與所子息松承丸

一所 薩摩國入來院内清色南方

四至堺

一所 ひせんの國佐加下御領よしまつのありしけ内田地貳町并屋敷

一所 （よりり、そのいかり）同國さかの下御領中 （よりり、丁廿六つは）かのへ

おほたかり八反十二丁等事

右所領等者祖父宗眞并母堂尼宗如か永代相傳之所領也而重勝か讓得  
之間仍虎一丸ゆつりあたふところ也爲後日讓狀如件

貞和五年閏六月廿三日

平重勝在判

九七丙

讓與所子息虎松丸

一所 薩摩國入來院清色北方 四至堺可任本讓狀

一所 筑前國柏原水田屋敷

一所 筑後國永淵屋敷

同國みな木の屋敷

一所 相模國澁谷曾司郷ふちこゝろの屋敷立野等事  
右於所領等者親父定圓重代さうてんの所領也而重勝ゆつりうると、  
ろなり仍子息虎松丸にゑいたをかきりて相副定圓重知手繼證文等  
ゆつりあたふる者也守此狀可令知行仍讓狀如件

貞和五年閏六月廿三日

平重勝（花押）

九三甲

「讓與 所領等事」

平次五郎重勝所

一所 相模國澁谷庄内清太入道西在家壹宇 同藤意内立野伍町

但四至碑者見本證文

一所 美作國河會郷内下森上山村

一所 筑前國佐波良郡長尾 并比伊郷内柏原雨村定圓知行分

一所 筑前國長湍庄島地

一所 薩摩國入來院内清色郷五分三 北方

右於所々者定圓重代相傳所領也 然間相副御下文并次第手續證文等

限永代重勝所讓與也 於有限御公事者守先例可致沙汰 仍讓狀如件

貞和貳年十一月廿六日

沙彌定圓(花押)「

九三乙

「證文」

「讓與 所領等事」

所平次五郎重勝

一所 相模國吉田庄内澁谷曾司郷 同藤心屋敷田島立野等

一所 上野國大(類)田島在家等

一所 美作國河江庄内安岐尾田島屋敷山野荒野等

一所 薩摩國市比野屋敷田島山野荒野 同大根田屋敷田島山野荒野

等

右所々者亡父靜圓重代相傳之所領也 而惣領長德丸死去之後者任靜

圓之置文之旨定圓所令知行之處舍弟次郎三郎入道定重不慮外令押領

間屬先御代關東右馬頭殿御手番申訖 而去年<sup>三</sup>明<sup>三</sup>永<sup>三</sup>五月六日定重令死

去之間任靜圓置文定圓所令知行也 仍任正慶二年閏二月十五日定圓

讓狀并此狀重勝可令領知者也 至諸公事者任先例可令勤仕 聊不可

令違代々置文 仍讓狀如件

貞和貳年十一月廿六日

沙彌定圓 在判「

九三丙

「下 澁谷平次五郎重勝

可令早領知美作國河會郷下村 薩摩國入來院清色郷五分貳半分

筑前國下長尾田島屋敷地頭職事

右任亡母尼顯心康永三年三月十八日亡父重基法師<sup>法名</sup>定圓貞和二年十一

月廿六日讓狀等可令領掌之狀如件

觀應二年七月卅日

源朝臣(首冬花押)「

九四

「讓與 所領事」

若王丸所

筑前國相良郡内下長尾水田貳町漆段 同刑部次郎屋敷云々

右所領者依爲弘安合戰勳功令相傳之間養子若王丸所讓與也至諸公事

者任先例可令勤仕之狀如件

貞和三年三月六日

平重勝(花押)

尼顯心

沙彌定圓(花押)「

九五甲

「澁谷九郎重興中軍忠事

於貞和三年五月廿九日夜薩州鹿兒島院御敵等忍取濱崎城之間六月三

日最初馳越東福寺相待御方軍勢之處同六日卯<sup>卯</sup>就燕野海賊以下數千人

九〇

「澁谷九郎重興申」事

去八月廿七日同廿八日於薩摩國鹿兒嶋谷峰城致御目前合戰忠節上者  
預御一見爲備後訴龜鏡判言上如件

「承了」(信山直路花押)

「承了」(信山直路花押)

九一

ゆつりわたすしよりやうの事

一さつまのくにいりきぬんのうちたうのはらのうちまへのまふしあ  
つきあな おなしきかうのうちなへの五郎三郎かさいけ三つの事  
しげひろちうたいさうてんのしよりやうたる間えいたいを限てし  
そくくまわうにゆつりわたすところ也 いさゝかもこのところ  
いらんをもいたさんものはふけうのものたるへき也しげひろかあ  
とをちさやうすへからす よてのちの爲にしひつのゆつりしやう  
如件

ちやうは二年六月三日

重 廣(花押)

九二甲

注進

大隅助三郎入道々忍下向之間又成御敵押寄當國日置若松城致合戦之  
刻若松之親類若黨等數輩被討八月廿七日夜落城候畢 同廿八日道惠  
日置所領押取打塞路次之間難通大將在所候 次澁谷一族等此間爲當  
城合力構行仲領内野崎村に要害橋梁處凶徒等率大勢去七月三日襲取  
彼城近所貝柄崎に向城今月四日即 澁谷一族等不殘一人棄城引歸候  
畢 依之當城爲無勢之間駿島彦次郎入道助三郎入道以下御敵等來六

日大勢可寄來彼城之由必定云々 而澁谷一族等棄城條頗不少不審雖  
然可合力之由嚴重可被成下御教書候哉 將又澁谷下總六郎不可隨石  
見權守所勘之由令申之間可被成各別御教書候哉 次大隅國平山左近  
將監號社家仁不向谷山城上者可合池部城之由同欲被仰下 而如先々  
言上於山西諸方御敵等中「爲當城一所之間彼城令没落者依可及御大  
事所令言上也 而當時國合戰之勢曾不可靜謐候其故者兩大將以三ヶ  
國勢〇而方々被責者不可有子細之處被寄一方之間西方御敵等任雅意  
令峰起者也 所詮被替當時之勢被分所々城擲一勢者不可有幾候 就  
中當城御上洛以後永々數輩御敵等中既迄于十ヶ年橋籠之間於于今者  
失兵狼術計之間近日苟取作毛候て可致合戦之由治定之上者討死之條  
勿論也 然則國退治之段ハ不及申先當城合力事急速被成下御教書欲  
成軍忠勇 路次難儀之間以切紙令言上候 以此旨可有御披露候恐惶  
謹言

紀伊權守行仲上 裏判

沙 彌 道 惠上 裏判

進上 御奉行所

九二乙

「薩摩國合戰事度々注進狀披見畢 大隅助三郎入道々忍駿島彦次郎入  
道連道以下與同子凶徒云々不日可加對治 次澁谷一族以下捨軍陣歸  
宅云々爲事實者太不可然重可致嚴密催促尙以不承引者就重注進可收  
公所帶 此外一向不應催促族子細同前 將又谷山城所々合戦先懸輩  
等軍功事同開食畢先以神妙 凡向後鎮西事所被少輔太郎入道道猷也  
存其旨急速可對治之狀如件

貞和二年十一月廿一日

島津上總入道殿

「直義」  
御判

八六丁

「檜籠庭山城被致軍忠候之段神妙之間雖被預置富里六郎次郎入道跡田蘭爲小所之間關所之地出來者追可有計沙汰旨可令披露候 仍執達如件

曆應二年八月六日

久景在判

「權執印三郎次郎殿」

八七

「讓與 所領等事

所子息平次五郎重勝

一所 相模國吉田庄内藤意村藤次在家同屋敷付 田島荒野自道西仁立野有之嗣立

一所 薩摩國入來院内清色北方

一所 筑前國柏原内惣檢校屋敷田島

一所 筑後國長瀬屋敷地頭職

右於彼所領等者爲定國重代相傳所領之間子息平次五郎重勝仁相副手繼證文安堵御下文所讓與也 於諸御公事等者任先例可令勤仕 至子々孫々不可有違亂妨之 仍讓狀如件

康永貳年二月四日

沙 彌 定 圓 在判

八八

「參御方可致軍忠之狀如件

康永二年四月十二日

「澁谷孫次郎殿」

（直義花押）

八九甲

「讓與 所領事

孫子九郎重興所分

在筑前國驛家村内光清名號 地頭職

一所 肥前國三根西郷のうち東津泉空閑三分一 但件三分一者母壹宗

如存生間は知行すへし一期の後は永代預知すへき也

右ところへは勳功賞として拜領之間孫子重興を養子として永代所讓與也 奉公のあとをおひて知行を全くすへき也若跡をつくへき子孫なくは（宗）眞か子孫中に志あらん仁にゆつるへし 仍後證讓狀如件

康永參年二月三日

沙 彌（花押）

八九乙

「ゆつりあたふ所領の事

女子平氏法名 如名ところへに

一所 さつまのくにたきのこほりの内田地壹町あさなゆへた 又貳段 同郷并

屋敷壹所きちやう二 耶かその 也矣

一所 肥前國佐嘉下領内興賀里貳坪壹丁 同十壹坪壹丁 石取里廿

貳坪壹丁 蘇宜里九坪壹丁 吉田里廿陸坪壹丁 庚太田貳坪七

段三丈 ゆひり廿四坪壹丁 庚太田里拾貳坪八段 并屋敷壹所

號 大石 伊賀新（橋）本限也

一所 同國三根南郷内ひんかし津ならひにいつみの空閑事 抑當郷

におきては一期知行の後は三分にわけて一分をは子息九郎重興

に讓候へく候 壹分をは女子王壽にゆつり給へきなり のころ

一分と兩郷の田地屋敷等は且おきふみなまほり且代々のいまし

めを存知して宗如か心にまかせてゆつるへき也矣

右のところへ永代ゆつりわたすところもおきふみなまほりて知行

相違あるへからず仍讓狀如件

康永三年二月三日

沙 彌（花押）

此正文持參京都之處有長途之佈長校正之案文封裏可備後證之旨澁谷  
新平次入道定圓依申之所有其沙汰也

曆應四年二月廿二日

沙 彌 (貞久花押)

### 八三戊

(綠氏花押)

澁谷九郎重興軍忠神妙可有恩賞之狀如件

建武三年九月三日

### 八四

薩摩國凶徒等蜂起事於國致軍忠之由有其間殊神妙 所詮所差遣軍勢  
也 重令發向彌可抽忠節之狀如件

建武四年卯月廿七日

御 判

澁谷一族等申

### 八五

兼重以下凶徒爲謀伐發向三侯院之處薩州御敵等可致後卷之由依有其  
間先度被成御教書畢 急馳向彼等城郡可被致忠勤也仍執達如件

建武五年後七月二日

源 (島山義顯花押)

澁谷彌四郎殿

### 八六甲

薩摩國宮里鄉一分領主權執印良遷代子息三郎次郎俊正中軍忠事  
今年六月十八日當國南方凶徒等可寄來之由依有其間自同日權籠碓山  
城請取水手矢倉所致警固也 同十九日爲對治御敵式部藤三郎被遣御  
方勢之間俊正自身令發向燒拂藤三郎宿所畢 同月廿日凶徒等押寄碓  
山城致合戰之間俊正於水手致軍忠者也 同廿二日南方凶徒并澁谷孫

二郎同小四郎入道同平次五郎以下御敵等押卷當城致散々合戰之間俊  
正爲水手致合戰之處同日 御敵打破城大手之由承及之間走向大手致  
軍忠追歸御敵之條酒勾兵衛四郎高城彦六爲同所令見畢 同廿五日夜  
合戰之時御敵欲破水手之間自水手之小城戶被出御方之勢令追拂御敵  
之間俊正爲彼人數打出城之外追歸御敵之條當御奉行御見知畢 同廿  
九日凶徒等引退碓山城權籠入來院淵上城之間即時馳向彼戰場欲致合  
戰之處域內無人數也可警固由被仰之間致警固畢 然早任軍忠之預預  
御注進且爲給御證判粗言上如件

曆應二年七月 日

酒勾殿承了左判

### 八六乙

薩州凶徒等寄來守護御方并蒔山城及令致合戰由承同國比志島彦一丸  
代權原次郎惟種爲後卷御方 馳參刻同國入來院於淵上々原去六月廿  
九日令致散々懸合々戰條且同時合戰輩薩州東鄉次郎三郎并隅州蒲生  
太郎等見知訖 此等次第爲預御注進言上如件

曆應二年七月 日

「承了 (酒勾久義花押)」

### 八六丙

爲御方權籠碓山城被致軍忠之狀神妙之間嗣所薩摩國宮里六郎次郎入  
道跡田地事所被預置也可被知行候 且此子細可令注進京都候 仍狀  
如件

曆應二年六月廿三日

久 景 在判  
道 顯 在判

權執印三郎次郎殿



八〇乙

右中辨 藤原朝臣在判

「内裡大番從來三月朔日可致勤仕薩摩國地頭御家人交名事 次第不

同但當番分鑑甲直垂てうつかいあるへく候以上

大隅次郎三郎 式部孫五郎 周防藏人

澁谷新平入道 澁谷小次郎 矢神左衛門五郎

澁谷彌次郎 澁谷彦三郎入道 知覽四郎

光富又五郎 指宿郡司入道 朝岡孫三郎

建武二年二月晦日

八〇丙

「薩摩國役所二條萬里路商額里大番事

自今年三月一日至同七月一日山門院内針原横峯内野分所被勤仕也仍  
狀如件

建武二年七月六日

本田孫二郎殿

沙彌(花押)

八一

「雜訴決斷所 牒 美作國衙

當國林野保内平野村一分地頭平氏女中四郎左衛門尉當村内色

田壹町濫妨事具書調申狀

牒無所申相違者止其妨可令知行 若有子細者宜被注進者 牒送如件  
以牒

建武二年五月七日

按察使藤原朝臣 在判

正二位藤原朝臣

從二位藤原朝臣 在判

左兵衛尉源

右大史安倍 在判

左衛門少尉田使宿禰 在判

右衛門少尉中原朝臣 在判

八二

「可誅伐新田右衛門佐義貞也 相繼一族不日可馳參之狀如件

建武二年十一月二日

澁谷新平二入道殿

左馬頭 在判

八三甲

「御判

下澁谷河内入道

可令早領知肥前國三根西郷地頭職事

右此人爲勳功之賞所補任也任先例可令領掌狀如件

建武三年四月二日

八三乙

「澁谷河内入道宗真中肥前國三根(西)郷地頭職事任御下文沙汰付候也

依仰執達如件

建武四年七月十三日

宮内少輔太郎入道殿

武藏權守 在判

八三丙

御判

澁谷新平次郎五郎重勝軍忠神妙可有恩賞之狀如件

建武三年八月十七日

八三丁

「八三丙ノ裏書ナシ」

正二位藤原朝臣(花押)  
從三位平 朝臣(花押)  
式部權大輔藤原朝臣(花押)  
前丹後守大江朝臣(花押)  
明法博士兼右衛門大尉中朝臣(花押)  
右中辨藤原朝臣(花押)

七八

甲戌としき殿よりわたわれのとくふんちうもん  
ふたむれの六郎二郎入道のさいけの一年中のとくふんちうも  
んのこと

ちとう

一七石七斗  
延米とかきの定

一壹貫三百文  
糸代

一五百文  
あいあかれの代

一三百九拾五文  
ふようとう

一壹貫文  
くうしれう

一三百文  
かうをのしう

一一百文  
とりこのいと

一三百文  
そのくはたのそたうのい

一七反延米一石五斗五升のいれのはら  
れのはらのさいげそたう也

せに三貫八百九拾五文

よれ九石二斗五升

けんむくわんねん九月八日  
御大くわん淨慶(花押)

七九

和興

澁谷平六重氏死今昔女子等與同重躬子息彦次郎重時死今昔舍弟鬼

益丸相論重氏跡所領等  
相模國吉田庄内上深屋北尾屋敷田畠

立野 美作國河江庄内龜石土師谷田畠山野 阿波國大野新庄  
内八分事 薩摩國入來院内下副田村田畠在家山野等事  
右所々者爲重氏死去之跡間鬼益丸拜帶大塔宮令旨并吉田一位御牒所  
詮以和興之儀至永代子々孫々止彼所々望上裁遣亂付女子方畢此上爲  
後證一族等所令加連署之判形也 隨而重躬子息鬼益丸所令拜領令旨  
御牒等正文一通不殘女子方令渡進畢 若猶以後日云重躬子息等余流  
於致沙汰者以一族一同之儀被經上裁畢科可被行中者也 仍爲後代龜  
鏡和興之狀如件

建武元年十二月十九日

鬼益丸代藤原家綱(花押)

沙 彌 定 重(花押)

平 重 文(花押)

平 重 親(花押)

平 重 躬(花押)

平 重 房(花押)

沙 彌 定 圓(花押)

八〇甲

内裏大番前日三月 可致勤仕薩摩國地頭御家人交名事大第不同 但當參分 鑑直垂  
てうつかけ有へし

大隅二郎三郎 式部孫五郎入道

周防藏人三郎 澁谷小四郎入道

澁谷新平二入道 澁谷彌次郎

矢上左衛門二郎 智覽四郎

澁谷彦三郎入道 光富又五郎入道

指宿郡司入道 朝(丘)孫三郎

比志島彦太郎

建武二年二月三十日

北限大道を符宿河のほりニ切

右所者定圖相傳所領北方内也 爰松壽丸依爲幼少養子限于永代所讓與也 但爲方々御○御公事物代米參斗毎年ニ惣領方可辨也其外色々齋物等所令停止也 然早至後々將○無他妨可令知行領掌 仍讓狀如件

元弘元年<sup>末</sup> 九月十一日

沙彌定圖<sup>御判</sup>

## 七四

澁谷九郎平典重謹言上

欲早且依傍例且任忠功申賜身暇令參洛言上子細今年五月廿五日合戰拙忠勤子細事

右合戰之時於所々戰場勵隨分忠節之條武藤筑後孫次郎并對馬左近將監見被見知畢 仍雖可令參訴 當所御下向之間爲令言上事由參洛于今所令延引也 早任傍例任忠功下賜身暇爲令上洛恐々言上如件

元弘三年八月 日

## 七五

澁谷新平二入道定(圖)當知行地不可有相違者 天氣如此悉之以狀

元弘三年十一月九日 式部大丞(花押)

「同日同書名ヲ以テ「當知行地不可有相違」ノ同文ノ輪行ヲ左ノ五人ニ下ス」

澁谷平二五郎重勝<sup>以下同文</sup>

澁谷平二重宗後家祖舜<sup>以下同文</sup>

平氏女寅三<sup>以下同文</sup>

澁谷九郎典重<sup>以下同文</sup>

澁谷彌三郎入道後家舜阿<sup>以下同文</sup>

## 七六

「包紙」「いちのかわとこ」

中こはけたういん  
入來院さかいの事  
並ろち中津河  
判形

## 去渡

薩摩國祁答院興入來院堺一野河床中木庭村等事

右所者以去正安三年十二月廿五日重利曾祖父澁谷次郎太郎入道妙行預鑑西御下知訖仍相傳當知行之地也 而澁谷六郎房靜重<sup>死去</sup>捧越訴狀致訴該多年雖及其沙汰所詮一族相論事非本意之間於彼一野河床中木庭村者相副妙行所給御下知永代所去渡澁谷平二郎重勝也 且爲後證澁谷左衛門尉重棟加判刑訖 向後不可有違亂變改之儀仍去狀如件

元弘三年十一月十日

平 重利(花押)  
左衛門尉重棟(花押)

## 七七甲

雜訴決斷所

相模國吉田上庄上深谷村內北尾屋敷田畠在家立野 美作國河會庄十町南村內土志谷村田畠在家 薩摩國入來院中村內副田

村田畠在家等事

右當知行不可有相違者以牒

建武元年六月三日

少判事中原朝臣(花押)

左中辨藤原朝臣(花押)

## 七七乙

「雜訴決斷所」平氏女字寅三所

美作國平野村內色田壹町事

牒當知行不可有相違者牒送如件以牒

建武元年十月十八日

右大史安倍(花押)

正二位藤原朝臣(花押)

少判事兼左衛門少尉中朝臣(花押)

段別四拾文宛 運結解狀事

合

一本 一紀藤三 不二反 一丁六反十中内<sup>三反引田</sup>半反<sup>反中</sup>中

定田四反廿給分を加定

一本 一柿木原 四反廿

一本 一塚原 七反廿中内<sup>一反引田</sup>

定田六反廿中

一師太郎 一反卅<sup>不丁中</sup>

〇〇〇 一十郎太夫 六反廿<sup>不四反丁中</sup>

一彌五郎檢校 七反卅中内<sup>不二反卅</sup>引田<sup>三反御用作に召</sup>

定田五反廿中給分を加也

一本 一富留家園 一丁卅中<sup>引田半反中</sup>

定田九段十

一前田 三反中

一六牟禮 五反廿<sup>不二反丁</sup>

一本 一田代矢三郎 一丁反卅中<sup>不三反卅中</sup>

〇 一同所熊鶴 八段

一本 一法智之跡 七段十中

一本 一窪田 六反卅

〇 一淵脇 五反中

一本 一河屋 二町五反

一本 一内野 八反

〇 一木場 一丁一反卅

〇 一峯越 五反半分のそへ

定田二反廿中

〇<sup>全所</sup> 一草藤別當之跡 八段卅中

一本 一藤九郎入道 七反半分

〇 一角岡 七反廿<sup>不三反</sup>

一本 一中里次郎太郎 一丁三反

〇 一田平三之跡 一丁廿

一本 一阿波多入道 一丁三反

一本 一新平三入道之跡 二町

一本 一孫四郎 七反

一本 一下大蘭 七反

一本 一上大蘭 七反

一本<sup>本かりやき</sup> 一田藤太入道之跡 一丁二反卅

〇 一松丸 三反

〇 一刑部次郎 六反卅

〇<sup>本</sup> 一橋口入道之跡 六反廿中<sup>不四反</sup>

〇 一前床藤七 六反<sup>心野三反餘</sup>

〇 一師次郎 一丁四反

〔下欠〕

七三

「讓與」松壽丸所

薩摩國入來院清敷北方内村尾

四至東限河床渡瀬上小谷河のほりニ切

南限あつきのさきをつはきはゑのさかい切

西限大野田とつはきはゑのさかい

可令早平重廣領知相模國澁谷庄寺尾村內田肆段在家貳宇薩摩國入來院內塔原鄉田陸町在家拾貳宇呼付見事 配分狀事

七一丙

可令早別當三郎九領知薩摩國入來院內塔原鄉田貳町玖段在家右以亡祖父澁谷呼付見事 配分狀事以下前文下同

七一丁

可令早平重名領知薩摩國入來院內塔原鄉內田貳町玖段在家玖宇呼付見事 配分狀事右以亡父澁谷以下前文下同

七一戊

可令早平內重領知薩摩國入來院內塔原鄉內田壹町捌段在家參宇呼付見事 配分狀事右以亡父澁谷以下前文下同

七一己

可令早平重見領知薩摩國入來院內塔原鄉田壹町在家貳宇呼付見事 配分狀事右以亡父澁谷以下前文下同

七一庚

可令早鶴王丸領知薩摩國入來院內塔原鄉田伍段半在家壹宇呼付見事 配分狀事右以亡父澁谷以下前文下同

七一辛

可早以平氏宇領知薩摩國入來院內塔原鄉田參段在家壹宇呼付見事 配分狀事右以亡父澁谷以下前文下同

七一甲

入來院塔原國方御年貢支配事合

- 一御米拾壹石貳斗漆升陸合八才內
  - 壹石漆斗捌升玖合四勺 彌四郎殿分
  - 壹石四斗陸升七合 次郎三郎殿分
  - 陸斗伍升七合 彌三郎殿分
  - 參斗四升 六郎三郎殿分
  - 壹斗捌升五合壹勺 女子分
  - 貳斗四升四合 內野河北又三郎殿跡分
  - 五石四斗七升四合 惣領分
- 一輕物用途漆百文 初任召物四貫四百四十九文 內
  - 初任漆百玖拾文 輕物百十五文 彌四郎殿分
  - 初任陸百捌拾七文 輕物九十九文 後家分
  - 初任四百九十文 輕物六十七文 次郎三郎殿
  - 初任貳百七十貳文 輕物四十文 彌三郎殿
  - 初任百四十文 輕物貳拾五文 六郎三郎殿
  - 初任捌拾參文 輕物拾貳文 女子分
  - 初任百貳十壹文 輕物拾六文 內野
  - 初任貳貫百六十六文 輕物貳百四十五文 惣領分

七一乙



一所 地頭堀内上

四ヶ所 城鏡村上

一字 瀨脇中 此内毗沙門堂并十二宮同敷地免田在之

二字 借屋崎上 當所仁有市庭是則有得分之地也尤欲有御

配分

一字 藤九郎入道中

(一)字 大藁中

此内 天神敷地免田在之

三ヶ所 中里内中

一字 宗萬房一期分也未來仁可被定之

三ヶ所 古家蘭内下

一字 重名當住 此内ニ藥師堂并三嶋社同敷地免田在之

一字 權目下 此内阿彌陀堂同敷地免田在之

一字 中塚上 此内若宮敷地免田在之

一字 横枕下

一字 久目方上上

四字 宇津木浪上上 此内權現堂同敷地免田在之

一字 塚原下

一字 皮屋中

三字 田代中

一字 木葉中

二字 金家上

二字 橋口中

一字 樋脇下

三字 村子田下

二字 前土口下

一字 柿木原下下

一字 峰越下

一字 松丸中

重廣一向令隱昌分

一字 藤次下 一字 永吉入道下 一字 五郎太郎入道下

一字 赤崎入道下 一字 皆原下

榆木田

正作分

玖段内 一段井尻上 二段月方中 三段櫻本中

三段權目上

一町 口町上 一町中 頭田 此内神田在之

此外山野河莫大在之就子分限可被分付歟

又在之 號榆木田名主押領之間相論最中也

一筑前國早良郡下長尾庄内

田地二丁 畠二段 屋敷一所

一筑後國三奈木庄内下

畠一丁

一伊勢國大工田内上 田一丁

右注進如件

嘉曆四年五月 日 平 重 名 一

七一甲

可早以尼妙智領知薩摩國入來院内塔原郷田貳町伍段在家伍宇

配分狀事

右以亡夫澁谷孫三郎惟重跡所被配分也者早守先例可令領掌之狀依仰

下知如件

元德元年十月廿日 相模守 平朝臣

七一乙

淵脇村 壹宇 無作人

借屋崎村 貳宇內 山口二郎 刑部入道

大蘭村 貳宇 又二郎入道 一字無作人

藤九郎入道跡 壹宇 無作人

中里々 參宇 六郎四郎 又二郎 岡六 是者屋萬房一朝知行

古家蘭 參宇 後藤六入道跡 皮作入道跡 土器作

加波目 壹宇 彌藤太入道

中塚 壹宇 紀四郎入道

横枕 壹宇 定使

久目方 壹宇 源太郎入道

宇津木浪 四宇 平入道 平太夫入道 太郎太夫入道

塚原 壹宇 藤三郎 西原無作人

皮屋 壹宇 四郎入道

田代 參宇 三郎太夫跡 道法跡 無作人

水葉 壹宇 又五郎

金家 壹宇 彌三郎太夫入道半 四分一藤次 四分一六郎二郎

橋口 貳宇 九郎二郎 左近入道

樋脇 壹宇 後藤太夫入道

村古田 參宇 二字無作人 一字五郎太郎入道

柿木原 壹宇 彌四郎

峯越 壹宇 石王

松丸 壹宇 皮細工又太郎入道

當正作分

攻段內 井尻一段 櫻木三段 地頭屋敷付

口町 壹町

頭田 壹町

一筑前國早良郡下長尾庄

田地拾町內 貳町當知行分

昌貳段當知行分

屋敷四ヶ所內 當知行分 一所 檢按次郎

一筑後國三奈木庄富永名內

及杖河原昌壹町 名主目

一伊勢國大工田內 在美田 田地壹町

右注進如件

嘉曆三年十二月廿一日

七〇乙

〔勘返〕

一澁谷孫三郎惟重遺領等勘返事

一相模國澁谷上庄寺尾村內

田地肆段

在家貳宇內 一字中三郎入道屋敷上 一字後藤太郎屋敷下

而如重廣注文者二字內一字地頭屋敷云々無跡形不實也二

字共往代百姓屋敷也

同山野立野壹町

在家伍宇 付山野在之 是者法普寺院主宗萬房押領之

一薩摩國入來院內塔原鄉

公田拾八町七反半

是者公田許也 莫大餘剩雖在之不持下地取帳之間不備進之

於重廣注者雖令所持之狹好心不進取帳之上者被配分公田至下

地餘剩者就于分限可被領之由可被仰下于鎮西探題御方歟

者迄于万雜公事臨時役自元不相懸之上者爲一圓不輸之地可被知行之  
若又此田地不慮之外相違出來時者本錢以一倍可令糺返也 仍爲後日  
賣券之狀如件

嘉曆二年十月八日

沙彌 敦忍  
沙彌 道惠

六九

注進 於新田宮

上宣奉國分助二耶入道々然

所持之間自社可買之由令申之條聞及否可有御尋人

合

一澁谷人々 新平次入道 彌平三入道 車内又二耶入道

副田(北尾) 寺尾 中村地頭 副田山口 楠本地頭代

一當國守護代酒匂平内兵衛入道子息兵庫允

一高城郡

地頭代大藏左衛門入道 溫田地頭代衛門次郎入道

觀若丸地頭代青砥 收納使太郎兵衛入道

在國司兄弟等 武光孫三郎入道 舍弟伴三郎入道

上村六郎入道 舍弟三郎入道

一薩摩郡内

一分地頭本田民部入道 一分地頭小田原彌三郎入道

郡司吉富又太郎入道 成枝領主上野四郎太郎 舍弟三郎四郎

成富太郎 同舍弟彦二郎 山田九郎入道 延時富長

赤佐木性仙 光富又二郎入道 白濱三郎入道 同五郎入道

同孫六入道

一富里鄉 地頭式部孫七 三分二地頭高崎二耶入道 郡司九郎

入道 益富松木入道 彌五郎入道 又三郎入道 又太郎入道

又二耶入道 彌四郎入道 三郎二耶 彌六入道 禪理房 安養

寺院主  
鶴王丸性仙

高江石塚三郎入道 同又太郎入道 同平七入道 同小四郎入道

同三郎四郎 又四郎入道 大三郎入道 五郎太郎入道

紀平三入道 紀藤五入道 長崎寺淨觀房 源朝房 正末三郎五

郎入道 堀切六郎太郎入道 了性房 六郎二郎入道

一市來孫太郎

一東郷三郎左衛門入道 子息左衛門入道

烏丸在國司四郎入道

有爲有御尋交名人注文暫言上如件

嘉曆三年

(櫻 署名一筆)

七〇甲

注進

澁谷孫三郎惟重跡所領事

合

一相模國澁谷上庄寺尾村内

田地肆段

在家貳字内

壹字地頭屋敷 同山野壹町

在家五字 付山野在之 是者法恩寺院主宗萬房押妨之

一薩摩國入來院内塔原鄉

公田拾八町漆段半内 付山河荒野

地頭屋敷壹所 赤崎宮内入道了禪 永吉仲入道觀勝 五郎

入道西念等居住之 權日田三段有此内

在家四拾貳字

城籠村 在家四宇 河緣入道 彌四郎入道 平四郎 彦三郎入道

下領候別當次郎丸進進狀加一見謹以返

凡相究訴陳於三問答可備盡文書於二問

以前旨御式日嚴重之處限此一事被召下同篇狀之條御沙汰延引之其候歟加之如所進具書者雖相貽所存候大略本

訴同篇問不能言上子細候別當次郎丸不帶讓(狀)之子細彌以令露顯候畢如裁先陳等

重名自本無愆領職望義候之上者堅固枝葉於未分段者云本訴云追進別當丸所進狀等眼前之間又以無異論候歟

重名爲惟重之次男有思無咎之處舍兄重(廣扶)一人管領之所存立幼稚子息於面背一門輩計并自身契約及種々狼藉結句爲違旨科以子息

令致訴訟之間任傍例可預未分御配分之令言上計候而追進具書之趣曾以不違本訴之上者不及巨細候

次他人養子由事號澁谷次郎左衛門尉之仁不存知候若左衛門次郎賴重事候歟彼妻女者爲廣化惟

姉之間爲重名重廣伯母也雖然養子之段無跡形不實候實子現在之上者何故可養重名哉可足御還述候好訴之餘依無爲方如此之遺意自然令露顯候

者哉抑迄于惟重逝去之刻片時無斷絕都鄙隨條任別當次郎丸中請之旨有御御尋一族并他人曰眞僞忽可露顯候

次御事書由事背明文令引申之條不可說次第候歟況重名非他人養子上者非御沙汰(之)限候歟

所詮今所進狀本訴同篇具書也他人養子事又以爲不實之上者任傍例於惟重遺領相模國吉田庄寺尾村伊勢國美田大工田筑前國早良郡

長尾鄉內田畠屋敷筑後國永瀨庄內畠地并薩摩國入來院內塔原者急速可蒙御裁許候

以此旨可有御披露候恐惶謹言

正申二年七月日

平重名(在判)

澁谷彌四郎重名代祈信申薩摩國伊力院內答原南方田畠在家等事重申狀如此

澁谷次郎三郎違背召文之間可加催促之旨先度被御畢不日可被申左右也

仍執達如件

嘉曆二年後九月廿八日

修理亮(花押)

莫彌郡司殿

### 六七

塔原之間事面々依口入申候悉屬無爲之上者向後就當知行被成違亂之時者捨條事理運之方人可申候

八幡も御照覽候へ聊不可有違變之儀候恐々謹言

十二月六日

眞宗(花押)

向殿

### 六八甲

奉寶渡

薩摩國八幡新田宮常見免田代引田永利名内土穴壹町并入來院內楠木免田五段事

右件免田等者知行無相違者也而依有要用代錢參拾五貫文限永代東鄉尼御前奉寶渡畢

然者爲一圓不輸之地可有知行候仍爲後日之賣券狀如件

嘉曆貳年七月廿日

惟宗友(雄在判)

沙彌道嚴(在判)

### 六八乙

寶渡

薩摩國新田宮執印職知行内同國入來院中村内字會越壹町事

右田地之事爲重代相傳道惠知行無相違者也而依有要用代錢肆拾貫文仁限永代東鄉尼御前

所奉寶渡也但彼水田事聊依有子細舍見執印入道々嚴并子息友包

法名等兩方出契狀者也隨而敦忍令沽却于同心之間加列形於彼狀畢

且爲不審親父道敦讓狀并道嚴敦忍相傳之狀等於正文者爲連券之間案文封裏所副渡也任彼狀等可被知行也

預家督分御計云々此條無謂申狀也號別當次郎所得之狀等者重慶安女  
 腹上先立儲男女數子之間別當次郎丸者一門灘谷河内太郎女子腹之子  
 實妻女腹之由所見也然者重慶限子可知行分定置事歟以惟重之跡既爲  
 未分之由被仰出之上者被書札狀等今更爲枝葉歟但上裁若以件書札狀  
 等號本主之素意可被立別當次郎於嫡子者重慶不可有嫡子之望將又任  
 生得可被立重慶於嫡子者別當次郎全難被入于得分親本主未分死去之  
 時其子爭父子相並而可有家督之望哉父子之間於一人二箇所被除得分  
 親之條勿論也重名爲生得次男之上如所得惟重白筆（平賀三郎）和字之狀  
 者何に天死に候（重名）孫次郎（重名）分に和於登羅須思（宛天）滿伊羅世候  
 也云々嫡子孫次郎（重名）分に不可思落之由白筆狀明白之上者御沙汰雖不  
 可有異儀重名者帶亡父恩勲狀畢重慶不帶一紙之狀胸臆興嚴父水父之  
 相論也於次男分者不可有繼繼之處如重慶支申者重名者伯母十町尼之  
 （義）子也非實父跡得分親云々此條殊以奸曲之申詞也謂十町尼者惟重  
 之姉也老妹之間惟重一向令扶持之處從違于伊勢所領之時爲寄置留置  
 重名於薩州十町尼許弟彌三郎重見（明應寺）亦副置于重名之間如同狀者一  
 事（仁天）十丁殿御命於背（重名）候者在家乃一母宛天滿伊羅世候事（重名）阿  
 留（重名）候云々同雖爲姉弟惟重以彼姉大事に思存之間依爲老妹女性爲  
 見繼之留置重名之許也惟重若令存他人養子之由者於書札宛所者十町  
 彌四郎（重名）可書之歟曾不存其儀之圖至狀之宛所者寺尾彌四郎云々謂寺  
 尾者惟重假名也背眼前亡父自筆之狀爲他人養子之由拉申之條頗以重  
 廣非背父命哉加之就于一且在所可號他人養子者別當次郎丸屬于外祖  
 父薩州澁郡に令居住之處重名妹尼明言房別當次郎同家止住之刻于明  
 言許如書遣惟重書札等者或別當御前（重名）思過（重名）候加懷仁思過  
 進（重名）候此様於大上藤（重名）御方江申（重名）可給候云々捧彼狀等可爲嫡子  
 之由重慶望申之上者不可依于在所可爲本主素意之條重慶先立自稱畢  
 然早重名所得狀何可有要捨哉爲未分可有御配分之由被仰出之今捧彼  
 狀難被超越于重慶之旨令申之條其理差掌畢若猶有御不審者十丁尼現

存也有御尋之日非養子之條可露顯之者也 云生得甲子之道理云本主  
 自筆歷然也重名分全不可被減于重豐分急速爲預御配分恐々（下六）

六四

（上六）

以重真知行之北方號惣領以惟重分領之南方稱庶子經知行年序之後廣  
 化義渡惣領職於舍弟惟重畢仍惟重庶子惣領兼帶知行之間以根本之庶  
 子分南方者義與當腹子息次郎三郎內重至惣領職者相副次第重書等讓  
 給嫡孫別當次郎丸之條先進之狀明白也將又以同所内野在家田蘭者惟  
 重讓男河北又三郎信重（死）之間是又一分庶子也爭不可有惣領庶子號  
 之由可拉申之哉就中遺于下繼權守之許惟重之狀者へんたう御せんに  
 こそかいしからぬかたはらいたく候へともこれしかあとのそ  
 うりやうしたいてうつのせうもんなもとらせ候（重名）又同書追書に云  
 このそりやうにて候へはさつものたうのはらの事きこしめしつかれ  
 候はん事かしこまり入候河内殿にも御心へ候て申させ給へく候  
 惟重自筆數通狀文炳焉也別當次郎丸之外誰人歟可成競望於彼遺領哉  
 而重名乍稱未分之跡或令押領當郷内數箇所田蘭或可預配分御裁許之  
 由重雨端之條無理所致也 次於重名者自瀧澤之中被取養澁谷次郎左  
 衛門尉賴重後家字竹鶴女（今重名）尼之間相續養母名字童名號竹王之條一門  
 肯以所存知也爭可（希）望實父遺領哉且如元亨元年御事書者被養他人  
 之族者縱雖望申實父之遺領無讓狀者不及沙汰云々御事書嚴重之上者  
 雖未分重名不能競望何況於處分之地哉 且任新法且任別當次郎丸相  
 傳欲早被停止重名押領 仍追進言上如件

正申二年六月一

六五

（上六）



津留新開分

マ三反 彌源太 マ五反 道念 マ五反 左近入道

マ二反 源八入道 但本田所寄加筆 マ二反 安三郎 マ三 彌太郎

マ四反 安次郎 マ四反 右衛門尉

以上二丁七反十束所寄米加

惣都合三十三丁八段中十五分内

神田 寺田 井料 用作 給分 百姓分サ加定

六〇

〔讓與 (所領事)〕

尼 敦 阿 所

在阿波國大野新庄立江内 〔地頭職事〕

〔至據者孔子第三分配分狀にみえたり〕

右所者後家分として知行すへし但一期之後者重知重文乙童女三人等  
分ニ限永代無相違可令領知者也 若新田出來之時者重知三分二重文  
三分一を分領すへし 仍佛神事關東御公事等先例にまかせて其沙汰  
をいたすへき狀爲後狀如件

元亨二年八月十八日

靜 重 (花押)

一乙童女期之程は岡の菅三郎入道在家田島等を領知すへき者也

同月日 (同花押)

六一

「たきのへんたう御せんにこそかひ／＼しからぬかたはらいなく候へ  
ともこれしけあとのそうりやうしたいてうつのしやうもんもとらせ  
候よしとしさいをは申て候へ このやうたきの大かたとのへ申入候  
神も御せうらん候へ いさゝか所存候てこのふんちのいましてかま  
くらにてあんと給申てとらせ候へく候 恐々謹言

六月一日

平 惟 重 在判

謹上下をさとのへ

返て申候 河内とのにも御心へ候て申させ給へく候 自余略之

へんたう御せんの事さつまをたち候し日もたきへまいり候て大か

た殿へこゝやうは申入て候へともな〇〇よを御申候は、かしこま

り入候この所りやうにて候へは薩摩の塔原の事きこしめしつかれ

候はん事畏入候恐々謹言

六一

〔澁谷別當次郎丸代惟朝謹言上〕

伯父彌四郎重經背兩度御教書不及參陳上者任定法欲被經御沙汰

薩摩國入來院塔原郷内田蘭事

副進

二通 御教書案 一通先進畢

右當郷者別當次郎丸自祖父惟重手相傳知行之處重經不帶一紙狀令押  
領當郷内田蘭及蒔田狼藉之間兩度難申下御教書願自科令難澁之上者  
急速被經御沙汰爲蒙御成敗重言上如件

元亨三年六月 日

六三

〔上六〕

右惟重去元亨

處孫次郎重廣等不帶一紙之

狀以嫡子之號令押領處々遺領等述自科立子息別當次郎丸於面捧惟

〔狀等以重名〕爲〔命知行分塔原〕之〔之〕〔濫訴〕

之間於鎮西番干訴陳就御注進被經御沙汰爲未分之地可有御配分之旨  
被仰出之上者所達所存也而重廣〔如令申者於別當次郎者可爲嫡子之  
由〕等分明之間不可有子細至重廣者爲生得嫡子之間分限亦

以上丁六反冊中 分米五石三斗六升二合內 但三斗六升二合免

一長野分刑部

マ三反七斗五升  
マ三反同上下廿内不州  
マ反ウエの力カ廿三斗八升

マ反マ廿中 四斗七升  
二合五勺

マ廿一廿二升

マ反マ 二斗

マサ 一斗二升  
マサ中 二斗六升  
マサ中 二斗

マ  
一斗  
マ三反廿一石四斗四升  
マ廿  
七升

新  
マ反廿中分米三斗七升五

以上丁六反卅中 四石九斗六升二合五勺内

長野内都合三丁三反卅 分米十石三斗二升四合五勺

井料一反廿

以上拾四町三反卅中十分内 (損) 丁三反十中十分内  
(得) 十三丁卅内 三十石六斗一升内

人  
給  
分

マ三反卅  
マ二反  
マ一反十  
マ卅

マ三反廿  
マ一反

平木場加定丁三反

助  
房

マ反 中九  
マ二反 山口  
マ三反十 下の  
新マ反十

マ反廿  
マ廿  
マ三反卅

以上丁三反內  
寺二反計  
皮籠加定

泉彦四郎

マ三反 こかわう  
マ四反 へつしん 川成中  
マ六反 中尾 但南方也

以上丁三反内

飛(駄)左衛門五郎

マ反そのた  
マ反しもつか内川成廿  
マ廿たかこは

三ヶ所マ三反廿

以上六反十内つはきはへ加定

安次郎

マニ反マニ反  
マサマサ  
マニ反マニ反  
マニ反マニ反

ふのとまり  
マニ反  
マサ  
ふのとまり  
マニ反

以上三反内 新四反加定

マ反十 十方  
マ反 彌七  
マ反卅 四郎太郎

マ三反十 橋本  
マ反 十五らう  
マ二反廿 小次郎

マとくほし経「二丁五反」興次

丁反内里手 船澳 五郎四郎殿

丁九反内辰力寒 木場 彌五郎殿

二反 森 二

丁酉反内本因加定 用佳

以上拾伍圓反廿

示

利マ反  
マニ反  
マ反  
マ反

寺  
長持  
藥師堂  
若宮廻田

マ反  
寺田  
二反  
マ反  
廿

以上八段廿內神田六反廿

小竹御目  
一七反  
但かひの上しの御方

マ卅

以上反卅中五分内 (損) 廿五分  
(得) 反卅中 分米四斗五升

一德法師分

マ一反

マ卅

マ反十

マ卅

マ卅

マ一反

マ一反

マ卅

マ反十

マ一反

マ一反

マ卅

マ卅

以上丁十内 (損) 二反十  
(得) 八反内 四分 分米一石二斗六升  
三反 分米一石一斗四升 彌十郎  
新平三

一前床分

新マ三反

マ中

マ十

マ十

マ七分

マ三分

マ十

マ十

以上三反卅内 (損) 十  
(得) 三反十 分米九斗六升

一小牟禮分

マ一反

マ十

マ二反十

マ二反

マ一反

マ三反

マ二反

マ二反

以上丁三反卅内 (損) 一  
(得) 丁反卅 代絹四 殘分米三斗五升

一長野分

一小豆崎分

マ卅

マ卅

マ十中

マ十中

マ卅

マ卅

マ二反

以上七反卅中内 (損) 六反  
(得) 六反 代絹二 米二斗

一平木場分

マ十中

マ卅

マ二反卅

マ二反卅

マ反卅

マ二反卅

マ卅

マ卅

マ反十

マ反

マ反卅

マ卅

以上丁五反中内 (損) 二反中  
(得) 丁三反 分米貳石九斗

一平(嶽)分

マ卅

マ中

マ三反卅

マ卅

以上四反卅中内 (損) 卅中  
(得) 三反卅 分米九斗

一方賀野分

マ二反

マ四反卅

マ一反

マ十

マ二反

マ反卅中

マ一反

マ卅中

マ一反卅

マ中

マ十中

マ十中

以上丁五反十内 九反内 (損) 卅  
(得) 八反卅 代絹三 殘卅中分米二斗七升

六反十 (損) 五反 代絹二

一中山分

マ二反内 免

マ卅中

マ卅

マ卅

マ十中

マ反中

マ反

マ五分

マ卅中

マ二反十

マ二反

マ五分

マ反卅分米二斗五升 合

マ卅中分米一斗三升

マ二反米二斗八升

マ十中分米七升

マ反卅分米四斗四升

マ反卅米二斗八升

マ反十分米四斗三升

マ十中分米七升

マ卅米二斗

マ五反卅 分米二石二斗四升

マ卅一斗三升

マ反十分米三斗九升

マ五反卅 分米二石二斗四升

マ卅一斗三升

マ反十分米三斗九升

マ五反卅 分米二石二斗四升

マ卅一斗三升

マ反十分米三斗九升

マ五反卅 分米二石二斗四升

マ卅一斗三升

マ反十分米三斗九升

マ五反卅 分米二石二斗四升

マ卅一斗三升

新すは之まう一反廿」

五九乙

「清敷北方水田檢注帳事 元亨 戊午年三月十三日

合

一竹 原 田 分

一所一反廿

マ卅

新マ卅中

マ卅中

みなわた

マ一反十

マ一反廿

新マ卅

みなわた

マ一反十

マ三反廿中

新マ卅

へつしんのせへ

新マ卅

かひちと馬殿加定

マ二反十

本一石四斗六升

三郎太郎

新卅中 分米二斗一升

以上丁七反卅内

新(三)反卅 一石四升

源八入道

本一石三斗八升

新卅 二斗八升

又六 本八斗七升七合

一符 宿 分

丁二反十中 分米三石九斗九升

以上七反卅内 (損)反卅 五分

一野 平分 以上七反卅内 (得)六反 代絹二 米二斗五升

マ五分

マ十

マ中

マ卅前

右衛門太郎

かよな  
マ一反  
マ二反  
マ一反  
マ卅

以上四反廿内 (損)十

中  
中尾了性間四反

マ六反 泉彦四郎

しらのうつる  
マ一反 安次郎

をこし  
マ三反十新卅 いや六

かこのはら  
マ十中 十郎

マ卅中 めういの御はう

一用 作 分

マ二反卅

寺

ふなせ  
マ卅

神

くろむしや  
マ一反

經

マ三反

不マ一反

久 木 字 作

定得 丁五反卅定

惣都合水田二十七町四段卅九分内

寺田 神田 用作

人給分 百姓分 不作 井料 久木字津

加定

新塔下一反廿

妙塔開三反

三三



五九甲

五九甲乙共ニ原文ニ細事各項ノ上ニ朱ノ斜線ヲ施セリ今皆之ヲ省ク  
清敷南方水田檢注帳事 元亨三<sub>壬戌</sub>三月十三日

一石塔分  
 たかや  
 マー一反  
 かきさ  
 マ三反  
 せのくち  
 新マ中  
 イテノホ  
 マ廿  
 みやたのそい  
 マ廿分  
 そのた  
 マ一反十  
 むかへ  
 新マ一反十  
 なつ  
 マ四十分  
 同行  
 マ廿中  
 柿木田  
 マ五反廿  
 おまこへ  
 マ廿  
 ゐてのはら  
 マ十  
 つかせ  
 マ一反  
 そのたのみなくち  
 マ廿  
 ひのくち  
 マ一反十  
 松道  
 マ一反廿中  
 くりのさこ  
 マ廿  
 馬こま  
 マ反  
 うつ  
 新マ一反  
 なはのくち  
 マ廿  
 たうしの  
 マ三反  
 ひのはら  
 マ廿中  
 松泊庵  
 マ廿  
 てらこ  
 マ廿中  
 周こま  
 新マ廿  
 みやた  
 マ廿  
 雪免  
 マ十中  
 新マ一反十  
 ひのはら  
 マ十五郎

神  
寺十  
園三反  
新園田二反

才一反世

かりあつなり  
 マ卅  
 しのまこ  
 坂下  
 マ卅  
 おりをのくち  
 マ卅  
 かわのさこ  
 マ一反廿  
 大九  
 マ三反卅内不廿  
 マ三反廿  
 かのこた  
 かのこた  
 西木  
 マ三反

不計（損）一反  
新一反計分  
分米二斗八升

一  
中  
野  
彌  
三  
郎  
分

かのこたマ廿 いてのくち  
マ十中 こはた  
マ十 かわこのみのもと  
マ十 いてのうは

マ廿中  
上丸  
マ二反  
マ一反十  
マ二反

マ十中 はまな  
マ卅 さうの  
マ二反内 一畝半免  
マ二反十 しんさかの

マ一反しらさかの  
マ一廿ふるの  
マ一反十まの

以上丁四反中內堂免一反  
(得)九反廿內(損)卅  
新一反卅中分米三斗八升

一山口紀藤太郎分

すはのみち  
マ三又  
なとつくり  
マ一又廿  
ちうた  
マ卅

マ  
一  
反

マ  
一  
反

マ  
一  
反

すはのまぢ  
マ一又不  
すはの  
マ計り  
馬わたり  
マ十

まへた  
ア  
十  
内  
不  
中  
ゆ  
あ  
な  
の  
く  
ち  
ア  
十  
下  
も  
り  
た  
ア  
十

すはの  
マ一反  
中野内すはの  
馬わたり  
マ十分

マ一反十中  
新マ十分  
マ二十

平七作あふみ加定  
マ一反廿  
山口尊前  
マ一反  
すはのまちのかしら  
マ十

應長二年六月十七日

法 忍(花押)

五六

「りやうけの御うけとり」

納 薩摩國入來院塔原領家方元應元年夏物御年貢色々事

合

一綿伍拾四兩壹分之内當違肆兩貳分者未違肆兩貳分則

一太糸拾肆兩之内當違肆兩云々但精合糸未違肆兩

一花紙伍帖之内當違貳帖未違貳帖

一亭伍拾兩之内當違貳兩未違貳兩

一麥代少袖絹壹全未違

一白布壹切全未違

右且所納之狀如件

元應元年十一月十四日

尼 眞 理(花押)

五七

「澁谷與一入道善阿申相模國寺尾村内田畠在家以下之事御教書案并相副訴狀令進候任被仰下旨候語文○可令(進)覽候恐々謹言」

元應元年十二月廿五日

源 貞 綱(花押)

謹上澁谷孫三郎殿」

五八

「上狀」

堵申之間支申云々取證

此條就甥廣化自筆避狀令知行之間令申安堵之處惟重撰支申安堵之間於當町奉行被經御沙汰之處構成今案之由載陳狀之餘不足言也廣化自筆顯然之上者爭今案之由可掠申哉是 三

如同狀者文保元年以來於押領之段者善阿自稱之上者尤欲被行其咎云々取證

此條如先段言上就廣阿自筆避狀令知行之處何押領之由可掠申哉而彼避狀之内薩摩國入來院塔原前土古仲三郎跡田畠在家等廣化死去正和四年七月以後惟重於押領之段者承伏之上者云下地云々得分物欲糾給是 四

如同狀者於善阿備進廣化去狀者眼前奸曲也云々取證

此條於避狀者惟重不及一口論令承伏畢爲自筆顯然之上者蒙御成敗之後於惟重押領之罪科者任被定置之旨欲被行罪科是 五如同狀者善阿者爲亡父澁谷四郎次郎入道定佛不孝之仁於彼跡者雖爲段步不可知行肯本主素意可置與之哉(況)於他人所帶地哉云々取證

此條亡父定佛不孝由事無跡形不實也爰定佛爲善阿雖認置讓狀繼母令抑留之間先日令言上畢繼母抑留之條一門他門皆以令存知者也而彼跡段步不可知行之由爲申之條眼前虛言也 次本主素意中事素意何事哉胸臆申狀非御沙汰之限 次他人所帶地事先段言上之間不能重說是 六

如同狀者善阿備進狀條々違目多之云々取證

此條條々違目不差申色目任雅意違目由申之條眼前奸謀也是 七如同狀者以他人知行之内去與之由云々取證

此條載先段之間不能重說是 八

一惟重不可知行廣化之跡事

惟重爲訴人於廣化之跡(等)致非據訴訟令和與以彼和與狀於當御奉行可下給御下知之由雖申之不<sub>レ</sub>及御許容之上者爭可令知行廣化跡哉而次第相承文書令知行之由令爲陳之條奸謀也 廣化子息僧明一房舍弟僧眞良房亡父跡田在家等當知行之上者閤子息等次第相承文書舍弟惟重爭可帶哉尤欲被召出是 九

一惟重奸謀事

入來院塔原內南部村并彌毛原村

但此南部彌毛原兩村後二ハ可歸給三郎太郎也

吉枝名惣領職

宮里之內正岡田地參町并堂蘭壹曲

在御下知

一三 耶次 耶師 藤分

万德名內 又五郎居蘭壹曲 源藤次郎蘭壹曲 源藤太郎蘭壹曲

山門尼御前木蘭壹曲 藤四郎安元蘭壹曲

以上五ヶ所分計三宛子加辨濟使所務

水田宇津木並八段 溝越四段同加辨濟使所務

吉枝名內 西町壹町 小六本三段十坪 保佐田五段付下 同四郎

入道契約田蘭等壹曲 在廳給一町元五町內 新五郎蘭一曲 西尾

寺院主職并加田蘭等定

勳功御領筑前國七隈鄉內淵田壹町 同長淵畠地一所

入來院塔原大狩倉請絹拾伍內絹陸兩

一伴 三兼 治分

万德名內 石走五段 西部貳段 原田(角)一反卅坪

此等計宛子加辨濟使所務定

八講田三反 軍原一曲

加前願定此分計三宛子加辨濟使所務定

吉枝名內 櫃丸六反 保佐田五反付上 牧崎當時細工作蘭一處

入來院塔原內大狩倉請絹拾伍內絹五兩

在廳給五反元五町內

勳功御領筑前國七隈鄉內袴田五反

件田者舊曆六月十七日議決之御重所置也(注刃花押)

一又 三郎 兼正分

万德名內 彌二郎入道蘭一曲 當時居蘭

此分宛子加辨濟使所務定

前小蘭一曲 此等雖爲小太郎之面後實主生之時止歸入親望司令實知也此等屬於子孫等者

可爲小孝仁也

字水田三段坪 深町卅代坪同加辨濟使所務

宮里鄉內 志奈尾田六段坪 ○フクロ三段坪 大野本三段坪 平

藤二田二反卅坪

止一向地頭所務證文在之

正富內元小田五段內

二段ハ地頭叔國降之證文在之

三大院若吉內 柳田八反 小樋口二反

三本反

新田富荒野一曲

限軍主御作田限西大良田溝限北毛吉田限南成德縣

吉枝名內 松本四段 樋口八段 長蘭一曲

勳功御領筑前國橋爪四段大六十四步

在廳給五段元五町內

入來院內塔原內大狩倉請絹拾伍內絹四兩

一女 子乙 鶴御前分

萬德名內 (榎)木町蘭一曲

加辨濟使所務定

五大院若吉名惣領職

但柳田八段 小樋口二段

本說三反

又三郎讓與也 此外ハ可令知行之

坪付ハ見本證文

一三 耶太 耶兼 長所

萬德名內 當時居蘭

加辨濟使所務

水田武津町一町

但法夏命後ハ可令知行也

牧崎舟太郎蘭堺河緣蘭一曲

入來院塔原內 南部村 彌毛原村

此兩村者藤範命之後ハ可知行也

一後 家分 萬德名內 當時居蘭一處 中津牟禮坪

吉枝名內 打開四段 本錢返田蘭并沽却田畠等

但舊曆正安三年三月十三日於田蘭等者家內資財物并所從下人等一期之後者可被付子惣領也

一鶴 石分

萬德名內 中津牟禮坪

加辨濟使所務定

一土 用御前所

阿久利 御前所

平四郎蘭一處

但一期之後者可被還付子惣領也

右件所職田蘭等者守面々讓狀等可令知行之狀如件

文無未進解意者不可有改替者依領家仰執達如件

正安二年八月十七日

左衛門尉奉在判一

## 五

「入來院書生得分事背先例抑留之由雖及上訴於塔原分者以和與之儀每年貳石伍斗可致沙汰之由治定候畢此上者不可依自余村々沙汰之是非候仍和與狀如件

乾元貳年八月十日

大前則道（花押）

## 五二

和與

「和與狀下村邊縣御公事はいふん的事 徳治三正月日

入來院清數南方色々御公事配分事十分分

一國衙御米三石七斗八升九合一勺三才八分内

三斗七升九合 清數御分

一宮寺免田四反中分米二石五斗内

田二（丈） 分米二斗五升 清數御分

一楠木免田ほんくやくの米三斗五合五勺内

三升五勺一才 清數御分

一國司領家御年貢錢二貫百廿一文内

一貫九百一十一文 領家御方

二百一十文 國司御方

一領家御米三石七斗三升五合七勺三才八分内

三斗七升三合五勺八才 清數御分

一わた 十六匁一分内 一兩二分半中 同御分

一ふと糸四兩 せに三文目 せいかう二文目内

一分三文目せいかうあり 同御分

一麥代錢四百八十文 内四十五文 同御分  
一嘉元四年三月十日より書生米七斗五升内

七升五合 同御分

右色々御公事等<sub>和與之義</sub>をもて所定如件

徳治三年正月 日

平氏（花押）  
平氏（花押）

## 五三

「二月中ニ國方へ御沙汰候伍拾貫文用途内

合貳拾九貫四百六十五文 塔原分

預置候無相違國方仁被請取候者請取を可取進候若異儀候者此用途を  
任員數可返進候仍狀如件

延慶四年二月廿日

道弘（花押）

## 五四

「入來院領家文書代用途内塔原御分四十五貫余別以御志奉免許候畢若  
自余村無沙汰者各別之契約を可申候仍狀如件

延慶四年三月四日

法忍（花押）

## 五五

讓與

先祖相傳所職并所領田品等事

一彌三郎 經 兼 分

本万徳惣領職 加辨濟使所務定

上村給乃辨濟使職

清水寺院主職并田品等

在廳職 牛屎院書生職 南郷書生職

色々公事に二

以上十かた／＼内四かた／＼御免

定六

一田平三跡

桑代二兩八文目 畠地二反廿 分麥三斗六升

代ノきぬ一 八文目殘

田一丁廿内(損)五反廿 分米四石

代のきぬ六かた／＼米一斗殘

以上十一片方内四片方御免

桑代八兩卅二文目 畠地二丁中 分麥三石一升五合

代ノきぬ四 卅二文目殘

田二丁一反十中内(損)一丁廿中 分米八石六斗四升

代のきぬ十四 米二斗四升殘

色々公事に三かた／＼

以上廿四内十片方御免

定十三かた／＼

一太次郎

桑代八兩卅二文目 畠地一丁三反 分麥二石四斗

代ノきぬ四 卅二文目殘

田三丁八反十中内(損)一丁九反中 分米十五石三斗六升

代ノきぬ廿五片方 米六升殘

色々公事に三かた／＼

以上三十四かた／＼内十八御免

定十六片方

一藤太入道分

田七反卅(損)四反 分米三石四斗  
桑代八兩 代ノきぬ四 畠地五反 分麥七斗五升

米麥加定「五」片方

色々公事に一

以上十かた／＼

一中八分

田四丁七反廿中内(損)二丁四反廿中 分米十八石四斗

代ノきぬ三十かた／＼ 米一斗殘

桑代十三兩八文目 畠地九反廿 分麥一石四斗四升

代ノきぬ六かた／＼八文目殘 麥米八文目加定一

色々公事に二

一一つの四郎跡

田六反卅内(損)三反卅 分米二石四斗

代ノきぬ四

桑代一兩卅二文目 畠地一反 分麥一斗五升

代ノきぬかた／＼卅二文目殘 麥卅二文目加定片方

色々公事に三かた／＼

以上五内一片方御免

定三かた／＼

〔花押〕

五〇

正安元年十月 日

薩摩國新田宮領内市比野村并散在田畠事  
兼又去年之冬又二郎  
就關東御教書任重代被還補國分治部房宗海畢  
友家掠給御下文致濫妨之間於鎮西有其沙汰蒙御下知云々此上不及子  
細歟向後於友家一族者齋望當村事永所被停止也 然者御年貢捌拾貫



廿四文目殘  
以上十八 廿四文目殘

一紀四郎跡

田一丁七反廿内(損)九反廿 分米六石四斗  
代のきぬ十かた(得)八反 米一升殘

桑代二兩八文目 畠地二反 分麥三斗

代ノきぬ一 八文目殘 八文目米一斗加定片方

色々公事に一

以上十三

一ゆき三郎平入道跡

田五反十中(損)二反廿中 分米二石

定五かた(ツギメ)

一河やめ又六跡

桑代三兩廿四文目 畠地二反廿中 分麥四斗五合

代のきぬ一かた(損)廿四文目殘

田三丁十内(損)一丁五反 分米十二石一斗六升

代のきぬ廿 一斗六升殘

色々公事に三かた(ツギメ)

以上廿九かた(損)内廿四御免 但神田筆跡定

定五片方

一内野彌三郎

桑代七兩八文目 畠地二反十 分麥三斗三升

代のきぬ三かた(損)八文目殘

田八反十内(損)四反 分米三石三斗六升

代のきぬ(五)かた(損)米六升殘

色々公事に一

以上十二内五かた(損)御免  
定六かた(ツギメ)

一まいのまふしの藤太郎跡

桑代二兩十六文目 畠地一反廿 分麥二斗一升

代のきぬ一 十六文目殘

田一丁卅中内(損)五反廿 分米四石四斗

代のきぬ七 米二斗殘

色々公事に一かた(ツギメ)

以上十一かた(損)内五御免

定六かた(ツギメ)

一同處又次郎跡 二兩太郎

桑代三兩廿四文目 畠地三反 分麥四斗五升

代のきぬ一かた(損)廿四文目殘

田九反中内(損)四反廿中 分米三石六斗八升

代のきぬ六 米八升殘

色々公事に一かた(ツギメ)

以上十一内五かた(損)御免

代のきぬ四かた(ツギメ)

色々公事に一

以上七かた(損)内五御免

定二かた(ツギメ)

一太郎太夫入道跡

桑代十六文目 畠地四反 分麥六斗五升

十六文目麥六斗五升加定片方

田一丁三反内(損)七反 分米四石八斗

代のきぬ八

以上七内三かた／＼御免

定三かた／＼

一あつきあなの彌次郎

桑代二兩十六文目 畠地九反 分麥一石三斗五升

代のきぬ一 十六文目殘

田一丁三反廿中内(損)六反廿中(得)六反廿中 分米五石四斗四升

代のきぬ三 米麥加定片方

色々公事に／＼

以上六内三御免

定三

一草藤別當跡

桑代卅二文目 畠地一反廿 分麥二斗一升

田八反廿中内(損)四反廿中(得)四反 分米三石二斗

代のきぬ五 米二斗一升殘

色々公事に一

以上八かた／＼内五かた／＼御免

定三

一了信跡

桑代卅二文目 畠地二反 分麥三斗

田五反内(損)二反廿中(得)二反廿中 分米二石

代のきぬ三 米二斗殘

色々公事に一

以上四かた／＼内一かた／＼御免

定三

一なへの太郎貫首

一この次郎太郎

桑代六兩八文目 畠地九反 分麥一石三斗五升

代のきぬ三 八文目殘

田一丁一反卅内(損)六反(得)五反卅 分米四石六斗四升

代のきぬ七片方 米一斗四升殘

色々公事に三かた／＼

以上十六片方内九御免

定七かた／＼

一中、はの六郎はうり

桑代十六文目 畠地二反 分麥三斗

田三反内(損)一反廿中(得)一反廿中 分米一石二斗

色々公事に／＼

以上三かた／＼内一かた／＼御免

定二

一みねこみの六郎次郎

桑代二兩 畠地一反十 分麥一斗八升

代のきぬ一

田五反内(損)二反廿中(得)二反廿中 分米二石

定七

一御代官分

田二丁三反内(損)一丁二反廿中(得)一丁廿中 分米八石四斗

代のきぬ十四

桑代七兩廿四文目 畠地六反 分麥九斗

代ノきぬ三片方 代ノきぬかた／＼

四六

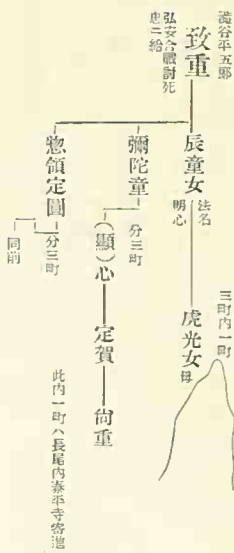
澁谷平五郎致重女子辰童與同妹彌陀童相論亡父致重遺領相模國吉田庄内藤意立野 美作國河會郷内下村半分 薩摩國清色村 筑前國下長尾田地事

右就去年十二月十一日宰府注進欲有其沙汰之處去二日兩方令和瑞畢然者守彼狀向後無違亂可令領掌之狀依鎌倉殿仰下知如件

正應四年八月廿八日

陸奥守 平朝臣御判  
相模守 平朝臣御判

「筑前國下長尾田地十町相傳系圖」



四七

「奉讓與」

薩摩國入來院水田畠地村藺山野江河等辨濟使職事

有於件所職者割分當院五分壹自本主種副手限永代被讓與師員學而師員分内又割分貳拾壹種副讓狀寫案加裏列限永代所奉讓與讀師弘範也於色々御年貢者隨分限可被進濟也然者至于後々將來無他妨可被相傳領掌之狀如件

正應五年三月十四日

伴師員(花押)

四八

「讓りまいらせ候しよりやうの事」

一所 澁谷の屋敷田畠たてのゝ事

しゝさい本しやうもんにみえて候

一所 みまさかの國かはゑ十丁南内かめいしはににしたにの村

しゝさい本しやうもんにみえて候

一所 あわの國大野新庄北方内六分重世ちきやうのふん

しゝさい本わけ狀にみえて候

一所 さつまの國入きのぬんの内下そゑたの村

みえて候

右の所々は御一このほとはいかう御進退あるへく候御一このゝちは御はからひととしてしよけしそくにたふへく候下人めらか事もつておなし事たるへく候よて狀如件

正安元年八月十七日

平重世<sup>上</sup>在判

ひたし殿

申させ給候へ」

「任此狀可令領掌之由依仰下知如件」

元應二年十二月廿日

相模守 御判  
前武藏守 御判

四九

「(正安)元年塔原請地目録事

合きぬ一畧六斗 粟は二石八斗  
とく田一反は延米八斗二定

一ふちわき

桑代四兩代きぬ二 畠地二反廿 分麥三斗六升

田五反中内(損)三反廿中 不一反卅加定

代きぬ三 米一斗二升殘

色々公事に一

西牟田

一所 三反

寮田

一所 三反

柳田

一所 八反半内二反三百步 東依

屋敷四ヶ所

行武名内

一字惣檢校入道

一字六郎

長淵庄内

彌藤三

一字末光名

一字自名

畠地一所八段

若國名内

中島

一所 四反

十力タ力浦

一所 二反

長淵庄内

南田

一所七反一丈 元八反内 西依 金丸

一所四反四丈 元四反内 東依 元下河原

右就孔子配分如此有限佛神事本所年貢守先例不可有懈怠之狀如件

正應元年十月三日

沙彌 (花押)

沙彌 (花押)

四五乙

弘安四年蒙古合戰勳功賞筑前國早良郡七隈郷地頭職配分事

一人薩摩國武光三郎師兼

田地參町

當郷内

下ハカマ

一所 七段大 内六段西依

橋爪

一所 八段半

一所 丁

一所 八段小 内五段半東依

屋敷二ヶ所

比伊郷上乙王丸名内一字 蓮成房

三奈木庄井上名内一字 彌平三

畠地六段

七隈郷内

武清

一所 三段二丈

長淵内庄

セト口

一所 一段 安興

上座町

一所 一段三丈 元三段四六内 南依 富光

右就孔子配分如此有限佛神事本所年貢守先例不可存懈怠狀如件

正應元年十月三日

沙彌 (花押)

沙彌 (花押)

一所 三反  
 下河原田  
 一所 二反大  
 柿田  
 一所 一丁一反  
 坂本  
 一所 五反半  
 タウシタ  
 一所 二反大  
 打越北  
 一所 半  
 打越  
 一所 三反  
 月上  
 一所 五十歩  
 今山入道園  
 一所 六十歩  
 若國名内  
 打越  
 一所 三反  
 同  
 一所 三百歩  
 フル  
 一所 小  
 ヤカタ力浦  
 一所 四反  
 同上

一所 一反小  
 ナソエ  
 一所 半  
 キハナ  
 一所 二反  
 カキノイ  
 一所 半  
 門田  
 一所 二反  
 河原田  
 一所 三反  
 坂本  
 一所 六反  
 フル河  
 一所 小  
 フツ原  
 一所 六十歩  
 (奥)本  
 一所 一反小  
 ツカミカ下  
 一所 一丁三反  
 中ヲサ田  
 一所 八反  
 石崎  
 一所 三反  
 春田  
 一所 二反小



重押入重道等所領致濫妨之上彼詞難處惡日之間非沙汰之限者 依鎌倉殿仰下知如件

弘安二年十二月廿二日

相模守 平朝臣在朝判

四二

「讓與 所領等事

初童丸所

一所 相模國吉田上庄澁谷内清太入道西在家亭宇 同藤意内立野

佐町 但四至地者見本證文

一所 美作國河會郷内下森自上山宮西 但四至地者見本證文

一所 薩摩國入來院内清色郷五分三北方

右於所々者正善重代相傳所領也 雖爲甥依有志初童丸相副御下文并次第手繼所永代讓與也 於諸御公事者守先例可致其沙汰也 仍讓狀如件

弘安三年五月九日

沙彌 正善(花押)

四三

「可令早平重村領知相模國吉田(上庄)深谷郷内田在家 美作國河會郷内龜石土師各雨村 薩摩國入來院内副田村已上名字 實錄歌事

右任舍兄重繼弘安九年六月八日遊狀可令領掌之狀依仰下知如件

正應元年六月廿七日

前武藏守 平朝臣(花押)  
相模守 平朝臣(花押)

四四

臣壽阿彌陀佛 取妻 弘安十一年 正應元十月日 平四郎入道 跡

「平四郎入道之あとの所りやう御公事等はいふんをきふみの事

一河會郷内本郷中村上山下村

公田四丁八段大十九歩内

平次入道一丁一反三百十分

せうくわん房一丁 三百九分

おくのこせん一丁二反

たきのこせん一丁四反

自承贈之 取妻

一入來院内きよしきの北方は平次入道平三郎入道せうくわん房ちき

やうすへし さかいはゆつり狀に見ふたり

取妻 自承條々略之

正應元年十月日

壽阿彌陀佛在判

「別紙置文安養寺寄進内

いちのゝはせうくわん房のふんにて候へしかの所のとくふんのきぬいつゝはこれの御堂分也よてしやうくたんのことし

弘安十年正月廿五日

母 尼判

四五甲

「弘安四年蒙古合戰勳功賞筑前國早良郡比伊郷地頭職配分事

一人澁谷平四郎有重法師跡 孫子龜上爲職跡 平次公重法師在案

田地拾町

行武名

葛枕

一所 反半

根本

一所 九反

圖

一所 九十歩

月田

副進

一通 定佛遺詔方入道直性許狀案

一通 定佛自筆狀案

二通 重員惡行事代官等注文

件條度々令言上畢 而如陳狀者爲定佛雖被不審武藏入道殿御中祇候之間以木嶋右衛門入道々覺被觸仰之刻被赦免之後不及子細一門存知之云々此條彼御使以後定佛自筆狀進覽之子細具狀爰被赦免之由令拉申之條極不實也且被許義絕無別子細者定佛最期所勞之時尤可家中之處一切無其儀所詮如自筆狀者不許<sup>利</sup>多<sup>利</sup>土<sup>申</sup>佐<sup>被</sup>上<sup>江</sup>申<sup>天</sup>湯黃嶋哉我嶋江可流云々就父祖誠狀有御沙汰者傍例也如重員陳詞者豈既非招其咎哉次一門令存知由事自筆狀明白之上者不足證人存外之申狀也 是 一

次如同狀者任定佛自筆讓狀云澁谷屋敷云自餘所領令知行之處被押領澁谷屋敷云々 此條義絕之段子細同前若義絕以前之狀歟不足證據

次澁谷屋敷事任讓狀并御下文所被沙汰也於自余所領者重員亂入致狼藉之間可被停止之旨所令許申也彼惡行之次第代官等注文進上之古今無比類之所行也爲向後傍輩尤欲被加(懲)肅矣 是 二

次妙蓮等給安堵御下文由事爲令停止後日之煩定佛存生之時屬伊勢入道行願令言上畢以彼申狀經御沙汰所下預也何可有別子細哉抑重員御下文事乍令存知之云美作所領云薩州所領令押領之條自爾既畢御下文違背之條罪科殊重早被糾返押領物等之後任傍例欲被行御下知違背罪科 是 三

次妻女爲女性之間不及所務可付正員之由令返答云々 載正員字於狀之上者妻女爲代官致沙汰之條可足御邊逆賊不寄付重道代官令張行之間就令訴申其子細自關東被成御教書畢仍自六波羅繼有御催促之處被妻女更不拘符剩令破却御教書打擲又傷同使者藤五郎男令折左右指畢此條御使江見三郎入道々阿皆以所被見知也相貽御不審者有御尋不

可有其隱爰彼妻女當參也早被尋究之欲行罪科 是 四

次代官景奉申狀事自關東度々被下妙蓮等訴狀畢而閣本解就景泰催促狀陳狀進覽之條如何更非普通之儀是偏一旦爲奉掠政道也所詮重員惡行過法事載代官等注文畢景泰催促爲惡口否謹上裁

次爲嫡子由事又以虛誕也縱雖爲嫡子爲父被義絕畢不足言之申狀也此外條々事爲枝葉歟不能陳答早被召決兩方且被停止惡行狼藉且欲行旁罪科欲慰慈(念) 仍重言上如件 一年月六

#### 四

澁谷五郎四郎重經法師<sup>法名</sup>後家尼妙蓮同子息彌四郎重道并女子竹鶴等與余一爲重<sup>木名</sup>相論美作國河會鄉內拾町北村薩摩國入來院內塔原事

右訴陳之趣子細雖多所詮定佛所領者建治三年讓與重道等畢於爲重者令義絕之條定佛自筆狀等明白也 而亂入拾町北村并塔原致狼藉之條甚無謂爰云澁谷屋敷云自余所領等任定佛自筆讓狀爲重令知行之間下向美作所領之刻妙蓮等押領澁谷屋敷之由爲重雖申之件讓者義絕以前狀者就後狀并安堵御下文致沙汰旨重道等令申之處爲重無陳(辭) 又爲重帶讓狀者尤可訴申重道等之處就重道等之訴訟書載陳狀之上度々被下召符之後適雖參上不遂問答逃下奥州之條無理之至顯然也 (次)重道等弘安元年五月十九日申給召符之處同六月三日掠給安堵御下文之條變々猛惡之由爲重雖申之定佛存生之時令申狀於奉行人伊勢入道行願之間經御沙汰成給之旨重道等陳答之刻爲重不論申然則於件所領者任定佛讓狀并安堵御下文重道等可令領掌也 次爲重自六波羅被催促之處不拘召符剩破却御教書打擲又傷同使者令折左右指之間可被行其科之由重道等雖申之爲重論申之上自六波羅不注進之間當時不及其沙汰歟 如妙蓮等代景泰訴狀者夜討強盜山賊海賊者世常事也被定罪科畢爲重之企者無双猛惡之由令書載間可被行惡口科之旨爲重雖訴之爲

進彼妻女等之旨爲被仰下恐々重言上如件」（年月欠）

### 三八

澁谷四郎入道定佛後家尼妙蓮同子息重道（中）餘一重員狼藉事重訴狀如此爲有其沙汰於重員者可被召進之由被仰下畢而彼妻女并代官於美作國河會鄉內致惡行云々甚不穩便云重員云同妻女等早速可被召進之狀依仰報達如件

弘安元年八月十四日

陸奥守殿

相模守在判

越後左近大夫將監殿」

### 三九

平爲重詳辨中

爲繼母妙蓮子息彌四郎重道等閑亡父定佛自筆讓狀申付不孝無實於爲重年申下日限召符於薩州居住重道經中十二箇日掠給安堵御下文罪科難通事

右訴狀云重員本爲重爲親父定佛爲義絕不孝之身企惡行狼藉難澁谷下向美作國十丁北村致狼藉又逃下薩州塔原企惡行不應召符原意此條以外申狀也爲重全非不孝之仁聊依繼母妙蓮等之讒言爲定佛雖被不審爲重祇候武藏入道殿御中之間被聞食無誤子細以木嶋右衛門入道々覺爲御使被觸仰定佛之刻隨彼使令赦免之後又不及子細一門傍輩皆以所令存知也仍任定佛自筆讓狀之旨云澁谷屋敷云云余所領等爲重令知行之間先令下向美作所領之刻妙蓮等令押領澁谷屋敷之條依難通罪科擬申子細處遮及濫訴之條所應幾也是一不應召文由事此條爲重令下向美作所領數箇月妙蓮等敢無申旨下向薩州所領之跡申付御教書於庭弱妻女之間女性之習一切不及政務之繕可付正員爲重之由令返答云々凡御教書一箇度薩州江申付之間即應召符令馳參上學豈可違背哉尤可

足高察矣是二次夜討強盜山賊海賊者世常事也被定罪科舉爲重等之企者無雙之猛惡也云々此條無術之次第也如中先段帶亡父定佛自筆之讓狀令知行之上者何可有狼藉儀哉而超過六賊之由企讒訴之條言語道斷之次第也六賊者國々仇人々敵法令之制禁式目之所藏如載訴狀罪名既炳焉也惡口亦聖代之禁遏眼前之傍例也爰爲重之所行超六賊之由景泰爲重道等代官之身苟引懸觸子爲重吐惡口之條希代申條也彼者重道代官也此者正員嫡子也普通之過言猶以其咎不輕況於見在無實之惡口哉早任被定置之旨欲預御裁許是三次號召符副給予訴狀御教書者弘安元年五月十九日也稱安堵令備進者同年六月三日也中間僅十二箇日歟爲重致惡行狼藉之由妙蓮等構偽訴申給召符之上者謂訴陳參對之後可被札明之歟而關東與薩州海路往反不輒行程數箇月之處被下召符之後經十二箇日宛給安堵御下文之由令言上備進之條妙蓮所行之企尤難存知者也無左右可被下安堵者何可被成召文哉可被待召符之左右者何十餘日之中可中安堵哉挾奸曲申付無實於爲重構謀案掠給安堵於未斷前歟兩樣變々之猛惡爭無御炳誠哉謹以所仰上裁也是四凡讓狀等者以自筆書置之旨定佛定置畢被召妙蓮等所帶讓狀等可申子細者也是五又如訴狀者可被斷罪爲重云々此條斷罪文者刑法至極之時斬罪以下事歟爲重者得定佛自筆讓狀令知行之處恣同下向之際押取澁谷屋敷刺可被斷罪之由令申之餘無術次第也所詮於惡口之段者在狀分明之上者任被定置之旨被處罪科至御教書安堵之違目并讓狀疑貽者條々被札明之任自身讓狀之旨爲重欲蒙安堵御成敗矣仍恐々粗技陳言上如件」（年月欠）

### 四〇

四月二日上（二）もんのかしやう」

澁谷五郎四郎入道定佛後家尼妙蓮同子息平重道并孫女竹鶴等重言上余一重員惡行狼藉問事

るほとにふたうなるあひたかれてかやうに申をく也

けんち三ねん十月廿一日

ありはん

### 三三

「定佛所りやうはせうふんまこたけつるにわけてのこりは重道に譲りて候へともよ一七郎人めをもつゝますわつらひないたさんと定佛かいたたるときたにもくるうやつはならぬすまれもうはいもとられたらんときは女子にてもいきのこりて候は「ん」ものらよりあひて定佛かあとの所りやうはしるへしよ一七郎しゝそんゝゝいくらありとも定佛かあときまうあるへからずよつて後の證文のためにかやうに申をく也

建治三年十二月一日

定佛  
ありはん

「きやうにちやう也」

### 三四

「將軍家政所下

可令早平重通領知相模國澁谷上庄寺尾村餘孫子同國大上郷内

田在家名字具載同國四宮郷内屋敷伊勢國箕田大功田餘加高柳

薩摩國入來院内塔原郷等地頭職事

右人任亡父澁谷五郎四郎重經法師定佛名建治三年九月十三日讓狀爲彼

職守先例可致沙汰之狀所仰如件以下

弘安元年六月三日

案主菅野

令左衛門少尉藤原

知家事

別當相模國平朝臣御判」

### 三五

「可早以平氏字竹鶴領知相模國澁谷上庄寺尾村内田在家門至碑石

員職讓讓狀字

美作國河會郷内十町村河北事

右任祖父澁谷五郎四郎重經定佛名建治三年九月十三日讓狀可令領掌之

狀依鎌倉殿仰下知如件

弘安元年六月三日

相模守平朝臣御判

### 三六

「上六」

「院内塔原領家方御米船令付備前國方上之日重(員)聞及之則差遣下人等令奪取代官所持物貳拾余貫文之由承及之存外之次第也凡其身既被義絶畢爲佗際身之間任雅意亂入遺領如此致狼籍之餘顯然也爲世爲( )爭無御誠哉且爲勸農最中之處不堪彼譴責士民等難安堵云々就公私尤可被御沙汰歟所詮巨細先( )了於今者早仰守護御代官可令召進件重(員)於關東之旨被仰下且被糺返押領物且欲被(懲)肅仍恐々重言上如件

弘安元年五月十八日

### 三七

「上六」

件重員爲親父定佛乍爲義絶之身狼藉惡行之企前々具令言上畢仍不能巨細所詮就去五月御教書可令召進重員之由仰當國守護

「之處兼日依令傳聞之歟到來以前重員令逃下同遺領薩摩

國入來院内塔原畢就令言上其子細猶仰彼國守護大隅修理亮被下召

文之間所相待左右也爰重員十町北村下向砌歸令舊妻居置當村令付

置左近入道於代官之間雖爲鎮西下向跡當村押領之重道等不及取一塵

得分且當關東六波羅御教書於○使者雖罷下忽被追出畢希代之惡行

也宗土之土民等者重員召具鎮西跡仁被妻女張行之旁以無遁此事就

御教書使者今度始承之間所令言上也然則早任先度御教書同可被召

也

けんち三ねん九月十三日

定 佛ありはん

のちのしやうもんのためにしひちのしやう也たひちのゆつりしやうもういへからす

## 二九

かもとにねうし一人は居也

こけいちこりやうちすへき所りやうきうてんの事

一たけつるにゆつるりやうとん二所

一いせのたいくてんうちに大十加へて二丁大上たやしき同た

一たうのはらのうちにやけはら

これらはこけいちこりやうしてのちはゆつりしやうにまかせておのくちきやうすへし のちのしやうもんのためにしひちのしやうくたんのことし

けんち三ねん九月十三日

ちやうふつありはん

一てらをのほりのうちにうまやのひかしのみちをひかしに候んするやしきなくして又のたけのとなりをみるくきたのほりのとなりまていちこしるへし

## 三〇

ゆつりわたすまこたけつるかところ

一さかみのくにしふやのかみのしやうのてらをのむらのうちけん五郎もりすへかさいけ 同しきさいけつきのな きうてん境 やすきよなうしかみなみのさかい にしはやなかのみそのなかれみなみはほりをほりてなみきをうえたり つきにひかしはらなけりやうみつにわけてうち十丁はたけつるかふん也 ほうしをうちてきためたり

一八

一みまさかのくにかは糸のかうのうち十丁のきたのむら さかいはんゆつりしやうにみへたり

みきくたんの所々はちやうふつちうたいの所りやうたるあひたまこのれうしたけつるにゑいたいをかきりてゆつりわたすところなり

けんち三ねん九月十三日

ちやうふつありはん

のちのしやうもんのためにしひちにてかき畢

## 三一

一つくしよりもみまさかよりもおのつからとしまへよ一かもとへもはくのもとへ所りやうにつけてしやうをやりたることありとんおやをもすてかうのとのもすてまいらせよの御かたへまいるものなれはもしいかなるしさいありとんそれをはみなほんくにてあるへし一又五郎入道 みなはう ふびんにしてめしつかふへし よへやうにはしまきぬすみたりなと申かくること返々いつれの下人にあるへからす

けんち三ねん十月廿一日

ありはん

てらをのいや四郎殿

## 三二

一七郎ふけうのくちふくきをいたす間いよくいんまきるところにきしまのにふ道の御つかひの時ゆるさぬをもゆりたりとはやすめかいへにうちいりてらうせきとんをし候ものなれば定佛かりんすのちからん時きたりてかんたうゆりたりと申すさうのもの也さやうの時きたらはそのれたさにちこくにをちうこと疑なしさやうならはありのまにかみに申てゆはなのしまゑそかしまへなかつへし

一十丁の御たうによせき候するなをはんふんわけとりて人にとらす



大別當大法師慶地

讀 師大法師有範

權譯師法眼和尚(位)融(嚴)

留守散位惟宗朝臣友貞

〔實名者御署名〕

## 二六

「畏申上候且如被思食候子息三人被奉公候之由申上候之處與一重員七郎頼重背定佛命參他御方之間永不幸仕畢 自今以後不可有父子之儀 爲御意得申入候且便宜之時可有御披露候 恐惶謹言

四月五日

定 佛 在 判

## 諏 方 入 道 殿

## 二七

「よ一かぞせうかによりてむさしのにふたう殿よりきしまのゑもん入道を御つかひとして<sup>十五日</sup>よ一かかんたうゆるすへきよしの事おほせくたされて候しな相模のかうのとよ一御かたへよ一七郎定佛にあんないを申さすしてよの御かたへまゐる間不げうの由をすはとのにつき奉りて申上て候かいた御かへり事をうけたまはらず候この御下やういかゝ仕候へきと申候しとこに御つかひ申さるゝやうかやうの事はおほせについてさうけ給はりぬと申させ給へくるしからぬことにて候由候ひしかはかしこまりてうけたまはり候ぬと申候ところにて御使さらはよ一とのよひ候はんと申されしをそれはかなひ候はしとてけいのはうにいりて候しのちよ一ていまでおしいりてかんだうゆりたるよしをひろうす(返々)いはれなき事也 あまさははやすめかいへにいきてさくもうちをかりとること(返々)いこんにありよ一としまにありし時おのつから所領の事につけてふみなんと遣し

たる事ありとんかやうにおやをすてゝめいをそむく上はせんはんみなほんくにてあるへし 子息まことらするゆつりしやうはみなしびち也せんするところちやうふつかあとにおきてはたんふにてもよ一七郎にいろはすへからす きやうていなれはとてい(ぬ)もかよはさんになきてはくさのかけにてもふしきに思ふへき也 あまりわひしくて讀まれぬへしとんおはぬとんかやうに申なく也  
けんち 三ねん六月廿四日  
ありはん  
てらなのいや四郎殿

## 二八

「相模守平朝臣御判

ゆつりわたす所りやうの事

ちやくしいや四郎しげみちかところ

一さかみのくにしふやのかみのしやうのうちてらなのむらたけつるかふんをのそきてそのほかはそうりやうふんたるへし 四しさいほんゆつりしやうにみへたり

一いせのくにみたのたいくてん たかやなきのあまのふんこれなくはへたり

一さつまのくにいりきのおんのうちたうのはらのむら 四しさいほんゆつりしやうにみへたり

一さかみのくににおかみのかうのうちはんとう二かさいけならびにた一丁しふやのさゑもん二郎三郎入道みやうれんかうりけんあとの御下文これをそへたり

一さかみのくに四のみやのすきかさうちしのみやのさゑもん二郎すへむらかうりけんあんとの御下文をへたり

みきくたんのところへはちやうふつかさうてんのしよりやうたるあひたちやくししけみちにえいたいなかきりてゆつりわたすところ

此外雖多數通上宣等且備進之

一天滿宮并國分寺往古子細當時(次第)事

右謹考舊規當 富者 天滿大自在天神垂跡之地也天曆皇朝被下官符號分補 安樂寺應和年中始○苗基爲興樂○鎮護國家之仁祠事祈天長地久御願自爾以降耀神威漸送數百載之光陰加尊禮早配七社之扮摘塔婆之基(堂舍)(二十)余宇連軒日祀月祭之勤數百餘度有增無減然則代々賢王寄田園任々國吏添寺領爲神領之地不隨他所役不動大小勅院事者也 國分寺又奉建立養老元年○及六百餘歲泰奉安置大聖觀世音菩薩爲奉祈御願之清淨○地尼寺奉安置(藥)師如來并十二神將奉祈御願事以同前 然問文治承久大亂者前代未聞之重事也然而不被(准他)社被免除兵糧之催促被停止(武士狼籍)之條關東代々御下知炳焉也如此每有兵革必先被尊崇 聖廟者我朝之故實武家嘉猷也如文治年中關東御下知者當寺者天滿天神御在所也不可准他社仍爲宗佛神事之由自鎌倉殿所御下也然者停止武士違亂全安塔所司神人等加寺家修理可勤修佛事也云々又承久年中如所被成下之關東御教書者右件天滿宮并寺領等不可有武士狼籍又遼遠之境如此之事寄事於左右結構新儀之濫妨對捍有限之所當濫行非法之者自出來歟若然者可注進之可處罪科也沙汰人右近將監友久以下司神人等更不可有事妨之狀如件云々 因茲於傳多津石築地并警固役者不嫌神社佛寺權門勢家之領雖被催促之至當寺社御領等者併被免除畢是則天下無雙之御廟國中第一大社故也就中異國御祈禱事致精精可勤行之由就被下度々院宣於安樂云當社云安樂寺雖異名異依爲一體分身之異神當社祠官等抽無二丹誠依奉祈請去文永年中蒙古凶賊雖令襲來鎮西依不堪神戰或捨乘船沈海底希令存命雖有凶賊之終不遂合戰之本意空逃歸畢 其後又可致慇懃御祈禱之由依被成下關東御教書於當社令致丁寧御祈禱之處去弘安四年凶徒等令來着之刻令對治事非神慮之征伐者更難及人力 諸人仰天之處

同年七月一日神風吹荒賊船漂沒賊徒一時滅亡是則天滿大自在天神御征伐也此等子細見聞之輩莫不貴御廟之威德 爰當宮并國分寺堂塔等者自往昔爲國(衙)之所役加修理小破及大破之時者令造營之條先例炳(焉)也而或依國司意(慢)或任(々)目代改替不加修理經年序之問寺社佛殿以下廻(廊)等悉令破損畢然問佛像忽爲雨霖令朽損之間如形以土木云當宮正殿并拜殿廻廊等云國分寺尼寺泰平寺木堂勵寺家○分造萱葺之假殿而奉尊崇當寺社每年恆例不退月並御神事數百餘度(式)日不怠勤行之併奉祈無疆之寶祚然而祠官等舊案舊規之例往古次第與當時作法相違歟而有(餘仍勒)此(等)子細(去)建保年中令言上之時仰官(使)雖被注損色急速不及御沙汰之被閣之間以建治元年重經奏聞之時可造營天滿宮國分寺之(由)添被下院宣之間領掌畢(仍)被寄(附)料所六ヶ所(門南加豐田)於寺家之間祠官等(開)喜悅之眉譽其節之處彼料所地頭名主等募武威有限不辨正稅間僅所(苛)出之以所當等且令探要御殿以下材木之刻無程被妨國司料所之間不終造營却希所令探要之材木等徒令朽損(畢)且爲公損且爲神愁(念役是)愁歎無極難押悲淚之處幸今如承及者可被興行諸國々分寺等之由被行御德政旨風聞是則天滿大自在天神并大聖觀世音菩薩御威光斯朝家安穩御祈禱令成就故也望請恩裁早被經御 奏聞且依先例且任興行法當宮并國分寺以下(堂)塔(等)任損(色)(注)文旨被造畢日祀月祭之勤式日無懈怠彌振神威吾朝鎮護之 不○異國自歸皇化三韓貢獻跡無絕 仍(注)狀以解

元亨元年七月 日

執行 貫 首大藏

(都維)那大法師澄範

寺主 大法師嚴種

大檢校 大法師

少別當 大法師

權(讀)師大法師

上座 大法師妙(嚴)

「可令早釋童丸領知美作國河會鄉內大足村并東木屋事  
右任亡父明重法師弘長三年正月廿三日讓狀可令領掌之狀依仰下知如  
件

文永四年六月十六日

相模守平 朝臣(花押)  
左京權太夫平 朝臣(花押)

二四甲

讓與 所領等事

平四郎有重所

一所 吉田上庄內清太入道西在家壹宇

在四至 東限屋中清 南西北見古原

同藤意內立野伍町 據見繪圖

一所 美作國河會鄉內下森自上山宮西

在四至 東限屋野谷西尾通 自今路西尾トヲリ六足へ  
南限備前界 西限佐備塔毛 谷流知切西河へ

北限飯田界

一所 薩摩國入來院內清色鄉五分三

右於所々者任讓狀之旨守先例可令知行之狀如件

文永二年八月三日

沙彌善心 在制

二四乙

可令早平有重領知相模國吉田庄內清太入道西在家壹宇 藤意村

內立野伍町 美作國河會鄉內下森自上山宮西 薩摩國入來院內

清色鄉五分參事

右任亡父明重法師<sup>法名</sup>文永二年八月三日讓狀可令領掌之狀依仰下知  
如件

文永四年六月十六日

相模守平 朝臣(花押)

二五

左京權太夫平 朝臣(花押)

「薩摩國天滿宮國分寺所司神官等謹解 申進申請 殊早被經御 奏聞  
且任先例且○○御德政法被造(營)當宮并國分寺堂塔等彌羅神威奉  
祈天長地久○○願子細狀

副進

一通宣旨 建治元年十二月三日可達當寺社由事

三通院宣 建治八付建治一付

二通國宣

一通大府宣 建治二年正月日常寺社造營事

三通關東御下知 文治二年十二月七日 承久三年八月廿八日 文應元年十月五日

一通關東御教書 弘安七年五月三日 國分寺往古子細當時次第并管領仁及色田等分明

可注

一通鎮西御施行 永仁七年二月十四日 任關東御事番旨九州六社以下修造相問掃御事

等可御行由事

一通守護人廻文 同年同月一日 皇國降伏可致祈禱事

一通關東御教書 正安二年七月十三日

一通守護人催促狀 同三年正月十日 任關東御事番旨可致星出

一通鎮西御施行 正安三年八月廿三日

一通守護人催促狀 同年八月廿五日 可致皇國防禦祈禱由事

一通關東御教書 嘉元元年十二月十日

一通鎮西御施行 同二年正月四日

一通守護代催促狀 同二年正月廿三日

一通關東御教書 延慶三年二月廿九日可致

一卷年中御神事注文

一卷損色去建保二年仰官使被注之

十六丁二反十中はいちぬのゝとくてんニふんのちとう米十六石二斗三升

一りやうけの御米七十石 こくしの御米九十二石  
一ちとう御とくふん こくしの御米あまりくはへたる定

已上七拾貳石九斗一升三合

建長二年十二月 日一

一九

議典 薩摩國入來院内

四郎重經所

塔ノ原郷 於四至堺者御使等之別文狀明鑑也者

右無他人妨可令知行仍而後日證文讀狀如件

建長三年八月廿四日

僧 在判

二〇

「四郎重經にゆつりわたすところの所りやう

一所てらをの村

一所いぜの大きくてん

一所河會郷十丁北

一所入來塔原

四至堺ゆつり狀見たり

としないてもうゝなるによりてこの狀よりさきにいかなる狀あり

といふとも又このうちも別狀いてくといふとも重經か所りやうには

いさゝかのわつらひあるましき也

一女子三人やしききうてんは重經かりやうのうち也 大番時はふけ

んにしたかはん公事をあひかくへし のちのそうもんのために狀

如件

平 明重 在判

建長五年十一月廿九日

僧 在判

二一

「將軍家政所下 平重經可令早領知相模國吉田上庄蓋谷内寺尾村伊

勢國箕田大功田兼女子分番町美作國河會郷十町村河北 薩摩國入來院

内塔原郷以上四至堺等地頭職事

右任亡父五郎房定心寛元四年三月廿九日建長三年八月廿四日議狀爲

彼職守先例可致沙汰之狀所仰如件以下

建長七年六月五日

家主 清原 知家事清原

令 左衛門少尉藤原

別當 陸奥守平朝臣御判

相模守平朝臣御判

二二

廳宣 留守所

可早以地頭平重經同重賢字荒六等沙汰進入來院半分所當米事

國定肆拾漆石壹斗肆升伍合陸奥郡十町餘石 陸奥郡升定

除藥校宮立用田二町五段所當米拾石國定

右郷半分内容原重經中村庄麓下副田等重賢柏島水田半分荒六爲請所

有限佛神事管府沒倒立用田外不論旱水不熟損亡任請文員數可沙汰進

若背請文狀致未進對捍者可停止請所之狀所宣如件留守所宜承知不可

違失以宣

正嘉二年九月 日

大介藤原朝臣

二三

たゝしそへた たうのはら ひさくゝちをわけてく  
はへたる定

已上四(十三)丁廿中内 三丁三反くわう 六反卅かいそん

一反御つくた 六反寺田 三反神田 四反さうしきのめん

三反くつさいくのめん

のこる田三十丁三反卅中内そん廿一丁  
とくてん十六丁四反

めんでん三丁四反ニふんのとくてん一丁三反卅 四反廿御しやうつ  
くた

二丁いや四郎殿へきうてん 二反かはらげのめん 廿ちすてん

二反廿中ひめこせんの御きうてん 一丁ちとう代きうてん

のこる定とくてん十一丁一反中内ニふんのちとう米十一石一斗一升  
しん一しき(九)反廿中 くにかた一石四斗三升

(三)

(四)

已上六十一丁三反十内 二丁八反卅はくわう 七反十さうしきの  
八反卅かいそん

めん

二反御つくた 七反かみすきのめん 一反廿いちぬのゝ神田

一反廿中そへたの寺田

のこる田五十五丁六反卅中内そん廿八丁  
とくてん廿七丁六反廿中内

十六丁二反十中はいちぬのゝとくてんふんのちとう米十六石二斗三  
升

のこる定とくてん十一丁四反十内めんでん三丁四反ニふんのとくて

ん一丁三反卅 一丁ちとう代きうてん 一丁平三郎のきうてん

二反廿中ひめこせんの御きうてん 四反廿御しやうつくた 一

反十神田 廿なかのゝ寺田

のこる定とくてん七丁二反中ニふんのちとう米七石二斗一升

しん一しき二丁四反卅中ニくにかた三石七斗三升五合

一反別ニ二斗二升代一丁九反卅中ニくにかた四石三斗五升六合

又たんへちニ二斗三升代一丁十ニくにかた二石三斗四升六合

又反別ニ二斗代九反卅中ニくにかた一石九斗四升

のこる本てん七反廿中ニくにかた一石八斗七升五合

已上くにかた十六石七斗一升二合

そへたきよしきの分ニきたずへきりやりけこくしの御米事

りやうげの御米十二石四斗九升 又こくしの御米十五石三斗六升

三合

一ちとう御とくふん くにかたの御米のあまりくはへたる定 十七  
石六斗三升九合

(四)

(五)

入來院内村々田いちぬのを加へたる定

合已上百九十三丁八反卅中内 十五丁八反はくわう  
三丁二反中はいそん

一丁四反廿は寺田

九反御つくた

七反かみすきのめん

五反かちのめん

七反卅は神田

一丁七反さうしきのめん

三反くつさいくのめん

四丁はかしはしまのふんにわり當

したちにのそく田

已上廿九丁五反廿中

のこる田已上百六十四丁三反十内そん八十八丁  
とくてん七十六丁八反中

十三丁六反ニふんのとくてん(五)丁四反廿はつれみ宮とみのれいり

うようのめんでんのとくてん也

とくてん一丁七反卅は御しやうつくた 得田二反廿はちすてん

とくてん廿はてらた とくてん十二丁四反は人々のきうてん

已上のそくとくてん十九丁八反卅

のこる定とくてん五十六丁九反十内



二合

一 二合  
二 二合

〔ツギメ〕

たへちニ二斗二升代二丁二反十中ニくにかた四石九斗六合  
又たんへちニ二斗一升代一丁四反廿中ニくにかた三石四斗五升  
のこるほんた六丁四反卅ニくにかた十六石二斗

已上くにかた卅石九斗八升六合

一 中村しやうこもりのふんにきたすへきりやうこくしの御米の事

一 一くしかたの御米二十八石一斗五升 一 二くしかたの御米二十石三斗  
六升五合

一 ちとうたんとくふんこくしの御米のあまりくはへたる定十六石四  
斗七升一合

たりのはらの村ニ

已上四十二丁九反卅内 六丁廿くわう 一丁四反卅かいそん

三反十さうしきのめん 二反御つくた

五反かちのめん

のこる田三十四丁四反十内とくてん三十九丁八反卅内  
めんてん三丁四反ニふんのとくてん一丁三反卅

五丁ニそん二丁八反ちとう代きうてん  
とくてん二丁二反

一丁いや五郎のきうてん 一丁いや二郎のきうてん

二反廿ひめこせんのきうてん 廿ちすてん 四反廿御しやうつくた  
のこる定とくてん八丁二反卅中ニちとうまい八石二斗九升

しん一しき一丁五反ニくにかた二石二斗五升たし一反へちニ

ちとう米一斗 一斗はくにかた也

たへちニ二斗三升代三丁八反ニくにかた八石七斗四升

又たんへちニ二斗二升代一丁一反廿中ニくにかた二石五斗三升

又段別ニ二斗一升代三反卅ニくにかた七斗五升六合

又段別二斗代一丁中くにかた二石二升

のこる本田四反卅中ニくにかた一石一斗七升五合

已上廿五石四斗七升一合 たしきうてんのくにかた加定

一 塔のはらの村にきたすへきりやうけこくしの御米事

一 一やうけの御米十七石六斗四升四合 又こくしかた十八石八斗四  
升五合

一 ちとう御とくふん十八石八斗六升六合 くにかたのあまりを加定

そへた きよしさ いちゐの村ニ

〔二〕  
〔三〕

くらの村ニ

已上二十一丁廿内 一丁九反はくわう 二反御つくた  
三反十神田

のこる田十八丁五反中内とくてん九丁五反卅内

めんてん一丁七反ニふんのとくてん六反卅 五反ちとう代きうてん

一反十中ひめこせんの御きうてん 二反十御しやうつくた

のこるちやうとくてん七丁四反十ニふんのちとう米七石四斗二升

一しん一しき一丁卅中内分のこくしかた一石六斗五升

反別ニ二斗二升代二丁一反十ニふんの米四石六斗六升六合くにかた

又たへちニ二斗代三丁四反十中ニふんの米六石八斗六升くにかた也

殘本田八反ニ分米二石くにかた たし本田は二斗五升代也

已上こくしかたの御米十五石一斗二升九合

一 入來院内ニ國司御米九十二石 領家御米七十石 内

一 くらの一村ニきたすへきりやうけこくしの御米の事

一 一くしの御米十四石五斗一升四合 又りやうけの御米九石三斗六  
升七合

一 ちとう御とくふん こくしの御米のあまりくはへたる定八石六斗

一 升

中村 しやうこもり

肆町 河會 十捌町七段半 入來

但公事定田參町

一次郎三郎分

漆町五段 河會 參町 打(銀)

十町四段大三十歩 入來

但公事定田參町壹段

一六郎次郎分

捌町貳段大三十歩 入來

但公事定田壹町貳段

一あら六分

貳町<sup>田也</sup> 但除十九町四段御公事田數定也

右各隨田數色々御公事京都大雷可令勤仕也

一於領家國司兩方御公事者以入來院七拾五町田數可令勤仕也

一子息等中自此所領得替事出來者勘合殘田數就于得田於三郎明重之

沙汰御公事可令支配 於得替所者不可勤者也

一鎌倉御神事之時舍人出立事一向に三郎かいとなみにてあるへし

一鎌倉より人夫をめさるゝ時 〔下略。寛元三年の同項と同じ〕

一大ゆかの番 〔下略。前年の同項と同じ。〔粟はら〕は「廢屋」と改む〕

一大庭御まきなひかん時 〔下略。前年の同項と同じ〕

一五所の宮 〔下略。前年の同項と同じ〕

一かまくらのやち 〔下略。前年の同項と同じ〕

一下人らのあひた 〔下略。前年の同項と同じ〕

一女子にゆつる 〔下略。前年の同項と同じ〕

一わやのためにほうこう 〔下略。前年の同項と同じ〕

一わやのために佛事 〔下略。前年の同項と同じ〕

一子息同まゝらか中に 〔中略。前年の同項と同じ〕

右この上には 〔下略。前年の結文と同じ〕

建長二年 庚戌 十月廿日

僧 在判

# 一八

「入來院建長二年の村々の地もくろく

又りやうけこくしの御米のはいふんの事

合

くすもと ひざくしちニ

已上二十五丁四反卅内<sup>四丁はかしはしなにいよりわら</sup>

のこる田廿一丁四反卅内 卅<sup>ア</sup>はかいそん 二反はかんちくはかり

一丁六反卅はくわう

二反御つくた 三反さうしきのめん 六反卅中てらた

のこる田十八丁三反十中内<sup>北ん九丁時ちう</sup>とくてん<sup>九丁三反卅内</sup>

五反ちとう代きうてん 一反十ひめこせんの御きうてん

とく一丁中九郎きうてん

めんてん一丁七反ふんのとくてん六反卅二反十御しやうつくた

廿ちすてん

のこる定とくてん六丁八反十<sup>ハニ</sup>内ふんのちとう米六石六斗八升

又三斗八升五合はちとう御とくふん

一くにかたの所たうしん一しき七反卅中ニ分米一石一斗五升五合

太別二斗二升代 三反ニくにかた六斗六升

のこる本田五丁七反卅ニくにかた十四石三斗<sup>たし二斗五升代也</sup>

已上くにかたの所たう十八石七斗一升

入來院内ニこくしの御米九十二石 りやうけの御米七十石内

くすもとひざくしちの分ニ

一りやうけの御米十石一斗三升四合

一こくしの御米十五石一斗二升八合

一ちとう御とくふんこくしの御米のあまりくはへたる定十一石八斗

たつし申きしやうもんの事

右件元はいぢきのぬんのちとう御とくふんの中にすいてんはたち  
おたつくりしろかりおかしのなかにいちふん十たいにいたるまでち  
とう殿の御ためにへんはいつはりなも申おやけわたくししたいしせう  
しにいたるまでへんはなもし候ひ御ためにうしろつたなくも候ひ又  
かやうに給宛て候うへにちとう殿をはなれまいらせてかみにしさい  
を申候ものならはかのたうのはらめされ候へしもしこの申しや  
ういつはぬをも申候物ならはにんのちん所はつはん大ほさつこと  
にはいつはこれみしま大みやうしんそうしては六十よしのしんき  
みやうたうの御はつおのふとしのふたゝのふすけまかりかふり候へ  
し

寶治元年八月五日

伴 信資(花押)  
伴 信忠(花押)  
大目伴 信俊(花押)

一六

薩摩國入來院內塔原名主寄田彌太郎信忠與地頭澁谷五郎房定心  
相論名主職事

右對決之處如信忠申者當職者父信俊重代職也當國御家人雖不帶御下  
文知行所領之條爲傍例之間故右大將家御時千葉介雖給惣地頭至名主  
職者無相違之處寬元四年上總介秀胤蒙御勸氣之刻名主等爲訪下向之  
時信忠稱不訪被押領所職畢仍欲言上事由之處當地頭定心可和與之由  
依令申書與起請文畢而定心變和與令濫妨云々如定心中者伴名主職  
者爲地頭進止之間秀胤之時信忠自代官之手雖令補任之同時又被改易  
畢爰定心拜領件院之日信忠出來書起請文之間令還補畢而依成向背令  
改易畢云々爰如定心所進寶治元年八月五日信忠起請文者入來院  
地頭得分不可對捍又如此宛給之上背地頭不申子細於上云々者非地頭

進止之由信忠雖申之秀胤押領之時不致訴訟沒收之後書與起請文於當  
地頭定心令還補之間可爲地頭進止之由定心之所申有其謂歟然則於  
彼名主職者且任秀胤時例且依信忠起請文可爲地頭進退之狀依鎌倉殿  
仰下知如件

建長二年四月廿八日

相模守平朝臣(花押)  
陸奥守平朝臣(花押)

一七

一 定置 就于公事并諸事可存知子息等子細狀

一 公事田數事

御公事本田十九町肆段雖爲伊勢大類之分相具今所領令配分畢

十町四段 大功田

九町 大類

參十一町貳段河會

漆拾五町 入來

陸町 打(鑲)

已上百參拾壹町陸段  
以之勘定拾九町肆段

一 三郎分

九町 大類 十漆町四段 河會

參町 打(鑲) 十捌町七段半 入來

但公事定田七町四段

一 四郎分

十町四段 大功田 貳町參段 河會

十捌町七段半 入來

但公事定田肆町七段半

一 五郎分

であるへし

一 鎌倉より人夫をめさるゝ時うちもちりふかやふちこゝろやしきたはたけのほとをはからひてあつへし 人夫あまたあらん時は女子のふんにもきたすへし 三度に二とはうちもちりよりまいらすへし

一 大ゆかの番は五に二をは三郎つとむへし いま三をは三人してつとむへし おちあひの衆はらよりあふ事也

一 大庭御まきをひかん時はふかやふち心のさいけにしたかひて一人もちらす百文のせにはからひあてゝおちあひしもふかやの二百文のせにいくして三百文にて人夫のいとまをはうげとむるなりそのむねを存すへし

一 五所宮御まつりの時もしは御すりのあらん時はせんれいをたつねてほとにしたかひてそのやくをつとむへしたいこんすへからす

一 かまぐらのやちは三郎にとらす たゝしぬこなからんをとゝにはすくせさすへし他人をはやとせとをゝにはかさぬ事多くみるところ也なやのめいゐをそむく事也きひしくせいせば上に申すへし

一 下人らのあひたの事かれて申つけた 又せけむのくそくせうゝあらんをはこけあまに申あはせてそのはからひにしたかふへし

一 女子にゆつるさいけ田畠は件女子はうにすきたるふたうあらん時は子息よりあひてこのことは一定かとよくゝたつねてもし一定ならは件やしきを上まで申さすとおしとりて子息等はいふんしてしるへし件女子のこなんとにとらすことあるへからす

一 子息等中にいかなる事ありともよるましき人のもとへよりはちをかへりみずふるまう事あらはのこりの兄弟同心になりて件やしきは上まで申さすといふんしてしるへし

一 なやのためにほうこうありて心さしあらんものをや死去しのち

いつしかとかないぬつけてさんゝとあたる事ゆめゝあるましき事也

一 なやのために佛事するよしぬてそのようとかねからん人をせめてものをとりて佛事する事あるへからすくゝにならぬ事也

一 子息同まこらの中にやしきなんとをはくやうにもうちいれてしまとう事あらはのおのゝよりありあひて一とはひきたすけいよりおのちにはさる事有ましときしやうをかくせてなくへし なほその心ありてくるう事あらはそのやしきはなやの申たる事なれはとておのゝわけてしるへし

右このうへはさのみ申へきやうなし この状をは上下万人ひか事とは候ましき也一事といふとんゆめゝたかふへからす あなかしゝ寛元二年己五月十一日 僧(定心花押)

#### 一四

一口裏「一」於願父打(もちり)在系田畠等者于一向瀧重經舉  
實治三年正月十日 在判

「讓與 屋敷并證文等事

#### 四郎重經所

一所 相模國吉田上庄内寺尾村

堺 東限中野崎上堺小紀太通同崎又田屋  
南限古堺路 西限經之部

北限弘成  
前堤通

一所 伊勢國箕田大功田此内餘乙係無辨於作田也

堺 東限白樂金山右河流 南限同河流  
西限白樂山中安大石瀨 北限江尾瀨

一所 美作國河會郷十町村河北

一 公事定田肆町參段

寛元四年三月廿九日

僧 在判

#### 一五

領知之狀所仰如件

右衛門尉藤原朝臣(花押)

一二丙

御庄政所

施行薩摩方御領薩摩郡内山村名頭職事

右去八月日源宗久京進解狀下給備件村者是中書。宗久妻とヨリ。審事於左右令押領メテ前々引之云々者御外題云件村事如申狀者尤有其謂早任相傳道理無違亂宗久可令領知之狀所仰如件云々仍以施行  
建保五年九月廿六日

別當 藤原朝臣(花押)

別當 伴 朝臣

沙 彌(花押)

別當 藤原朝臣(花押)

別當 藤原朝臣

別當 伴 朝臣

別當 藤原朝臣

執行 伴 朝臣

(此處花押四アリ)

別當 淡島宿禰(花押)

別當 藤原朝臣

別當 伴 朝臣

奉行執行刑部丞藤原朝臣(花押)

一二丁

薩摩郡内山田村本領主大藏氏所進打紙獻之如狀者右近將監友久須籍無遁方歟早相尋子細所行若實者可令差進關東給候仍執違如件

十月廿七日

右京權大夫(在判)

一二戊

(忠久花押)

薩摩郡内山田村の名頭職事大藏氏女帶證文書等可令安堵由依訴申任文書之道理可令領知之由所成賜外題也 早無其煩彼村ニ大藏氏を可令爲居之狀如件

建保六年十一月廿六日

中務承〇〇在

薩摩方地頭代官

一二三

一 三郎 四郎 五郎 二郎 三郎 讓狀他筆也 (定心花押)

一 定置 公事并付諸事子息等可存知子細狀

一 公事田數事

河會郷木田數參拾壹町貳段 配分也

一 三郎分拾漆町(肆段) 河會 又大類分玖町

但公事定田拾町加打毛地利三町

一 四郎分貳丁參段 河會 大功田拾町四段

但公事定田四丁參段

一 五郎分肆町 河會

但公事定田壹町陸段

一 二郎三郎分漆町五段 河會 北打毛地利參丁

但公事定田參町五段

已上田數者五十六町六段

但自故入道殿所宛給公事田數拾玖町四段也依之色々公事等以此田數年來所勤來也然者檢宛彼田數定之畢

一 京都大番事子息等四人か公事の田數分限にしたかひてつとむへし  
一 鎌倉御神事の時とれりをいたしたつる事一向に三郎かいとなみに



得末十三町

本名主 肥後國住人沼田太郎實秀

一 中 將

右件圖田注文去文治年中之比依豐後冠者謀叛彼亂逆之間被引失畢仍大略注進如件

建久八年六月 日

權掾 藤原朝臣在判

〔朱〕「在藤原朝臣力」

權掾 伴 在判

〔朱〕「當是在藤原朝臣也」

大目 大藏 在判

〔朱〕「當是在藤原朝臣也」

權 大前 在判

目代 右馬允藤原在判

# 一〇

〔薩摩國郡司平忠直謹言

讓與 平禮石寺座主職事

七男龜童丸

在四至

限東田畔 限南河 限西山西際 限北溫谷

右件寺者雖爲古寺故忠永朝臣之時令修造爲子孫繁昌佛事之料田被寄進畢其後忠直(差四至)奉免而今子息(所領)可令配分之日七男龜童丸分相副(調)度文書等所讓渡也適彼寺者無庄國兩方御公事之上自今以後者更郡司不可有(肆)沙汰之事若令此狀之違背者全忠直之子孫不可爲之由捧此證文守護所可令言上之狀如件以讓

建仁三年五月廿七日

平 (花押)

龜子平 (花押)

# 一一

〔宮里鄉地頭散位紀正家

奉寄進志(奈)男社修理料田字井 〕 參段并長昌壹家事

右件社本給田者有時吉名田之內雖然依爲件料田荒野之地已令破壞畢且鄉內坐鎮守何鄉內名頭等不崇奉哉依之爲息災祈禱奉寄進(彼)田畠畢者件田畠等令耕作彼社破壞顛倒令修造可被祈願一家息災延命之由仍寄進之狀如件

建仁四年二月十日

散位 紀(花押)

# 一二甲

源宗久解 申進 申文事

請被特蒙恩裁且依重代相傳證文等理且任代々知行實御裁許島津

御庄領薩摩方薩摩郡內山田村名頭職子細悉狀

副進 調度證文等

右謹檢案內彼村者是宗久妻女之先祖相傳所領地也而高祖父信房奉行之時爲薩州住人忠景企謀叛一國惣領之時暫程押領許歟而以彼非例禰兼宗庄方辨濟使職彼所押領之程越中前司庄務之時爲曾祖父信明令上件子細言上之日任文書之道理如本蒙裁許領掌顯然也隨又宗久妻女之父故種信相繼領掌畢而種信死去之後同無妨領知之程庄國課役難堪之故代官眞清男逃脫之尅爲辨濟使友久寄事於左右令押領此五六ヶ年之間中絕許也 望請恩裁任重代相傳讓狀理停止友久之自由押領蒙御裁判如本令領掌爲庄國之公役勤仕勒子細言上以解

建保五年八月 日

源 宗久上

# 一二乙

〔件村事如申狀者尤有其謂早任相傳道理無違亂宗久可令

武光三十三町五段(同)

三郎九十町(前)

萬得十五町(島津御庄寄郡)

草造萬得十五町(島津御庄寄郡)

大河(萬得)三町五段(島津御庄寄郡)

東郷別府五十三町二段内

寺領八町五段(備前寺)

社領二町正八幡濱

公領四十二町七段(渡官御領)

時吉十五町

得末四町

吉枝七町(島津御庄寄郡)

若吉六町(同御庄寄郡)

時吉十町七段(同御庄寄郡)

薩摩郡三百五十一町三段内

〔朱〕「鳳分寺也」

寺領二十六町八段(安藝寺)

〔朱〕「五六院也」

寺領五町八段(彌勒寺)

〔朱〕「中島寄也」

社領一町七段(府領五分社内)

公領三百七町内

成枝八十六町

光富四十九町内(廿町萬得)

是枝九町

時吉六十九町(島津御庄寄郡)

若松五十町(同御庄寄郡)

永利十八町(同御庄寄郡)

吉水十二町(同御庄寄郡)

火同丸十四町(同御庄寄郡)

都浦十町(島津御庄寄郡)

宮里郷七十町

社領七町五段(〔朱〕「前二天燈宮トアリ」)

〔朱〕「八幡新田宮」

社領一町(彌勒寺)

公領六十一町五段(島津御庄寄郡)

入來院九十二町二段内

〔朱〕「瀧分寺」

寺領二段(安藝寺)

〔朱〕「五六院」

寺領二町(彌勒寺)

社領十五町(彌勒寺)

公領七十五町内(渡官御領)

辨濟使分五十五町

郡(司)分二十町

郡管院百十二町内(島津御庄寄郡)

富光五十四町

倉丸三十町

時吉十五町

名主 在 應種明

地頭 同 前

名主 在 應種明

地頭 同 前

名主 當國拒捍使崎田五郎

地頭 同 前

島津御庄辨濟使

萬得

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

名主 在 應種明

地頭 同 前

名主 在 應種明

地頭 同 前

名主 當國拒捍使崎田五郎

地頭 同 前

島津御庄辨濟使

萬得

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

下司 在 應道友

吉枝(同) 名主 在廳師高

武光(同) 名主 同師高

三郎丸(同) 名主 在廳種明

萬得 名主 在廳師高

草道萬得 名主 紀太夫正家

東郷別府寺領獨勤寺 下司 僧安慶

社領正八幡領 下司 在廳道友

公領段官御領 地頭 千葉介

時吉 鄉司 名主在廳道友

得末 名主 肥後國住人沼田太郎實秀

吉枝島津御庄寄郡 名主 在廳師高

若吉同御庄寄郡 名主 庄太夫兼保

時吉同御庄寄郡 鄉司 在廳道友

英禰院島津御庄寄郡 院司 成光

延武 院司 小太夫兼保

土師浦 名主 (地頭) 千葉介

龜島島津御庄寄郡 本地頭 在廳道友

上村 本地頭 藥師丸

下村 本地頭 藥師丸

## 八丙

「内裏大番事任被仰下旨可令參勤人々」

川邊平二郎 別府五郎 鹿兒島郡司

穎娃平太 伊作平四郎 薩摩太郡司

知覽郡司 益山太郡司 高城郡司

在國司 牟木太郡司 江田四郡司

英禰郡司 山門郡司 給黎郡司

指宿五郎 南郷萬楊房 小野太郎

市來郡司 滿家郡司 宮里八郎

萩崎三郎 伊集院郡司 和泉太郎

右各守注文之旨明春三月中令參洛可令見知役所給也且鎌倉殿仰旨如此早可被存其旨之狀如件

建久八年十二月廿四日 右衛門兵衛尉在判

薩摩國地頭御家人御中

## 九

薩摩國

注進 國中惣圖田帳

合肆仟拾町漆段内

高城郡二百五十五町内

寺領五十(三)町内

「朱」(圖分等也)

(寺領三十五町)安樂寺 下司 僧安靜

溫田浦十八町(沒官御領) 地頭 千葉介

社領三十町(八幡新田宮) 下司 僧經宗

「朱」(五太院)

寺領三十町(獨勤寺) 下司 僧安慶

公領百四十二町内(沒官御領) 地頭 千葉介

若吉(吉)三十六町(島津御庄寄郡) 本郡司 藥師丸

時吉十八町(同) 名主 在廳道友

得末(末)二町(同) 名主 肥後國住人沼田太郎實秀

吉枝十九町(同) 名主 在廳師高

伊集院大田萬得

本主 在廳道友

寺脇萬得

名主 同前

時吉萬得

名主 同前

末永萬得

院司 八郎清景

續飯田萬得

名主 權太郎兼直

土橋萬得

名主 紀四郎時綱

河俣萬得

名主 僧 忠 寛

十萬萬得

名主 紀平二元信

市來院島津御庄寄郡

院司 僧 安 靜

薩摩郡寺領安樂寺

下司 僧 安 慶

寺領彌勒寺

下司 郡(司) 忠 友

社領府領五分社内

郡司 忠 友

公領、成枝

郡司 荒河太郎種房

光富

名主 在廳家弘

是枝

名主 在廳道友

時吉島津御庄寄郡

名主 在廳種明

若松

名主 在廳種明

永利同御庄寄郡

名主 在廳種明

吉水同

名主 當國拒捍使崎田五郎

火同丸同

島津御庄方辨濟使

宮里郷社領安樂寺

下司 在廳道友

社領彌勒寺

下司 僧 經 宗

公領島津御庄寄郡

郷司 紀六太夫正家

入來院寺領安樂寺

下司 僧 安 靜

寺領彌勒寺

下司 僧 安 慶

社領彌勒寺

下司 在廳種明

公領(法曹御領)

(地頭 千葉介)

辨濟使分

本地頭 在廳種明

郡名分

本郡司 在廳道友

滿家院島津御庄寄郡

院司 千葉介

祁答院島津御庄寄郡

地頭 千葉介

富光

本郡司 熊同丸

倉丸

本主 瀧間太郎道房

時吉

本名主 在廳道友

得末

本名主 肥後國住人沼田太郎實秀

牛屎院永松

院司 元 光

幸萬

島津御庄辨濟使

本崎

名主 前内舍人康友

山門院老松庄安樂寺

名主 九郎太夫國吉

光武

(下司 院司 秀 忠)

公領島津御庄寄郡

光則

院(司) 秀 忠

辨濟使分

名主 島津御庄領家

高橋

本名主 是兼入道死去後

高城郡寺領安樂寺

下司 僧 安 靜

溫田浦島津御庄寄郡

下司 在廳師高

社領彌勒寺

地頭 千葉介

寺領彌勒寺

下司 僧 經 宗

公領

下司 僧 安 慶

沒官御領

地頭 千葉介

若吉(島津御領寄郡)

本郡司 藥師丸

時吉(同)

名主 在廳道友

得末(同)

名主 肥後國住人沼田太郎實秀

〔賴朝花押〕

下 島津庄

可早停止藤内民部遠景使入部以庄目代思久爲押領使致沙汰事  
右號惣追捕使遠景之下知放入使者冤凌庄家之由有其聞事實者甚以無  
道也自今以後停止遠景使之入部以彼思久爲押領使可令致其沙汰之狀  
如件以下

文治三年九月九日

七

〔新田宮權執印家の文書より撰出ス之ヲ

建久四年諸郡注文

那答院 自名  
次郎丸名

薩摩郡 是後名  
永賴名

高城郡 三郎丸名  
正末名

伊集院 清應名

東郷 時吉名  
吉枝名

山門院 光永名  
元武名

八甲

山門左衛門秀忠

別府五郎忠明

伊作和田八郎親純

瓢娃平太

串木野太郎忠道

和泉井口太郎兼保

知覽四郎忠信

矢上左衛門尉盛純

南郷萬楊房覺齋

江田四郎

河邊平次郎道平

阿多平次郎宣澄

鯨島四郎宗家

伊集院四郎入道迎清

牛屎薩摩四郎元衡

上野平次郎忠頼

長谷場鹿兒島五郎家純

宮里八郎

高城武光太郎

益山太郎兼澄

市來拾郎家房

成枝薩摩太郎忠友

東郷在國司太郎道明

指宿五郎忠元

小野太郎家綱

給黎次郎左衛門

早〔幸九〕木太郎

那答院時吉又太郎道秀

英禰五郎左衛門

國分左衛門友成

入來又五郎頼宗

八乙

日置北郷

日置庄 北郷門  
彌勒寺

阿多久吉、高橋

阿多郡寺領彌勒寺

社領 彌勒寺

寺領 安樂寺

公領、久吉

加世田別府社領彌勒寺

公領、山田村

千與富

河邊郡府社領

公領

知覽院府社領

公領

瓢娃郡府社領

公領

指宿郡府社領

公領

給黎院

鹿兒島郡寺領之樂寺

社領 正八幡宮領

府社領

公領

本郡司

下司

地頭

下司

下司

下司

下司

本名主

下司

名主

鄉司

地頭

下司

郡司

下司

院司

下司

本郡司

下司

下司

郡司

下司

地頭

下司

小藤太貞澄

小野太郎家綱

佐女島四郎

僧 安慶

僧 經宗

僧 安靜

在廳 種明

鹽田太郎光澄

肥前國住人石居入道

彌平五信忠

佐女島四郎

平太道綱

道綱

忠益

忠益

瓢娃次郎忠康

在廳 種明

忠元

平三忠秀

小太夫兼保

僧 安靜

掃部頭

前舍人康友

前舍人康友



「可依先例又有子細者可言上之狀  
如件  
彈正忠三善〔花押〕」

薩摩國住人大藏種明解申請 留守所裁事

請被殊任且解狀之旨且依先祖相傳之理御裁許御庄御領薩摩郡內  
山田村者故信明先祖相傳所領也然種章妻依信明嫡女所田畠皆以  
所讓得且證文明白之間御外題被成賜之狀

右證檢案內件所領者故信明先祖相傳所領也而代々領掌間無他妨隨無  
異論人 且仁六太夫兼宗彼郡爲辨濟使職有限地頭職暫之程令押領之  
許歟 同高城郡內車內村辨濟使御下文明鏡也 然宇富山四郎太夫則  
忠乃近代無御下文令押領之餘言語道斷也者 任相傳之理件職欲被御  
外題成賜者持次宜任事之常候間仍勒在狀言上如件以解

文治三年七月 日

大藏種章上

〔聖久薩摩國田々ノ圖註ニ左ノ部アリ〕

正文在入來院氏

伴信房

伴信明

一人來院辨濟使別當  
一薩摩郡山田地頭  
一久安三年二月九日上願

一島津御庄別當散  
一壽永二年八月八日上願

嫡女

大藏種信

女子

一六藏種明妻  
一壽永信明所蒙  
一文治三七月種明上願

一壽宗久妻  
一宗久讓得山田村所賣  
一建保五年八月上願

六甲

〔賴朝花押〕

下 島津御庄官

可早任領家大夫三位家下文狀以左兵衛少尉惟家忠久爲下司職令  
致庄務事

右件庄下司職任領家下文以忠久爲彼職可令致庄務之狀如件庄官宜承  
知勿違失以下

元曆二年八月十七日

六乙

下 島津御庄官等

可早任鎌倉御下文狀以左兵衛尉惟家忠久爲下司職致其沙汰事

右件人任鎌倉御下知之旨宜爲下司職可令致庄務沙汰之狀所仰如件故

文治元年十一月十八日

六丙

〔賴朝花押〕

下 島津御庄

可令早停止旁濫行從地頭惟家忠久下知安堵庄民致御年貢已下沙  
汰事

右諸國諸庄地頭成敗之條者鎌倉進止也仍而件職先日以彼忠久令補任  
畢而今殿下依令相替給無領家之處至于忠久地頭職者全不可有相違體  
令安堵土民無懈意可令致御年貢之沙汰也兼又爲武士并國人等恣致自  
由之濫行或打妨御年貢物或背忠久之下知每年令對捍之由有其聞所行  
之旨尤以不當也自今以後停止彼等之濫行令安堵住人不可違背忠久沙  
汰之狀如件以下

文治二年四月三日

六丁

# 入來文書

久安三年二月九日

伴信房上

## 三

「新田宮先執印桑田信包謹言

押書事

右件押書根元者 宮御領市比野浦公驗等以去年五月中旬之比爲沙汰隨身令參洛之處指無御沙汰之間件浦御公驗等留守御房ニ進上畢然彼公驗依不隨身下向難通諸司等勘發者於公驗者令參洛本家中返如本可令進 宮之狀如件  
〇〇〇〇〇〇

長寛二年六月一日 先執印當時五大院主桑田(花押)」

## 四

「於件山田村者任相傳之理可令領掌信明之狀如件

前越中守 平(花押)」

「嶋津御庄別當散位伴信明解 申請留守裁事

請被殊(任)且解狀之旨且依先祖相傳之理御裁許御庄御領薩摩國薩摩郡內山田村者信明先祖相傳之所領也然不慮外信明父信房時同國住人忠景企無本越被押領取以後不領知不當愁狀

右謹檢案内件所領者信明先祖相傳所領也然代々領掌間無他妨隨無異論人然薩摩國住人故忠景企無本權門御領之御庄(國衙官)物(人)押取

尅忠景令弟忠永件所領押取間如此依無本被〇使〇了其後宗仁六郎大夫兼宗彼郡爲辨濟使職有限地頭職〇指無難意不蒙本家裁不知地頭恣押領條言語不及事也者恩裁被停止兼宗非道沙汰依先祖相傳之理爲被御裁判子細言上以解

壽永二年八月八日

別當散位伴信明上

## 五

「下 五大院政所正信所

可早任下知旨令政所沙汰宛下耕作寺領田畠等事在

高城東郷 同仲郷 入來院

薩摩郡并宮里郷 阿多郡代内

右件田畠等春時不令知沙汰人各恣令耕作不限秋所勘有限沙汰等令通避候事甚以依怙事也若於自今已後者於院主者有任替限於政所者永代不朽人也早任下知旨可令政所正信沙汰宛下耕作件寺領田畠等也就中於入來郡者有公驗限雖爲坪々以往之間全以不令知沙汰人過來候條所不輕罪科也早任下知旨可令致沙汰之狀令下知畢敢不可遺失故下  
保延元年十月二十五日

院主石清水權寺主大法師」

## 二

「任先例可爲地頭職狀如件

右衛門尉中原(花押)」

「入來院辨濟使別當伴信房解 申請御庄政所裁事

請被殊任度々御下文旨賜重御外題薩摩郡內山田村地頭子細狀

右謹檢案内於信房者雖貧弊不堪之身勵微力隨堪令進上任料於京都山田村并車內可地頭之由雖罷預御下文至于車內者依爲當時御目代沙汰不及力於山田村者無相違賜御外題爲備永代證文言上如件以解

一五三乙	目	(年月欠)	九
一五三丙	同	寬永十三、正、	九
一五三丁	一所衆以下并外城衆中石高乘馬目錄		
一五四甲	嶋津分國分限帳	寬永十六、十二、	一〇三
一五四乙	知行石高目錄	寶曆六、十、	一〇五
一五五甲	毛利敬親嶋津忠義鍋嶋直大山内豐信版籍奉還上表	(年月欠)	一一〇
一五五乙	版籍奉還許可勅書 <small>嶋津久光</small>	明治二、正、	一一二
一五五丙	鹿兒嶋藩知行仰付勅書 <small>同人</small>	明治二、六、	一一三
一五五丁	高拾萬石下賜 <small>嶋津忠義</small>	同	一一三
一五五戊	藩知政所家祿宛行狀 <small>入來院重通</small>	明治三、八、	一一三
附錄一	入來院氏系譜		一一三
附錄二	寺尾氏略系圖		一一七
附錄三	岡元氏略系圖		一二〇
附錄四	東郷氏略系圖(假定)		一二〇
附錄五	祁答院氏略系圖		一二一
附錄六	鶴田氏略系圖		一二一
附錄七	高城氏略系圖		一二一
附錄八	嶋津氏略系圖		一二一
附錄九	書目		一二三

一二一戊	今川了俊宛行狀同人	至德三、十、廿九	三	一三八	入來院重豐讓狀	永傳元、八、廿一	突
一二一己	同宛行狀入來院重豐	明德元、十一、十四	三	一三九	田島園屋數目録	(年月欠)	宅
一二一庚	同宛行狀同人	明德二、四、十三	三	一四〇	田地并所當注文	延德四、三、一	六
一一一辛	同宛行狀同人	明德二、十、廿八	三	一四一	嶋津勝久宛行狀入來院重朝	天文五、七、廿三	究
一二二	知行安堵施行狀同元僧起	康永元、十二、十七	三	一四二	同宛行狀同人	天文六、三、十四	究
一二三	今川了俊感狀 <small>青色美濃守</small>	明德五、四、廿五	三	一四三	嶋津貴久宛行狀入來院重朝	永祿二、十二、廿三	究
一二四	寺尾道賢讓狀	應永二、八、三	三	一四四	給地反別附帳	丙ノ、正、十一	究
一二五甲	嶋津伊久宛行狀 <small>東郷重信</small>	應永三、二、十八	三	一四五	上井覺兼日帳抄	天正二、八	七
一二五乙	同宛行狀 <small>當谷入道定頼</small>	同日	三	一四六甲	高原城被攻時之衆盛	天正四、八、一	七
一二六	同宛行狀入來院重頼	應永七、十二、十三	三	一四六乙	軍役賦	天正四、八、一	七
一二七甲	嶋津元久宛行狀同人	應永十、十一、廿九	三	一四七	肥後水俣陣立日記	(年月欠)	六
一二七乙	嶋津守久宛行狀同人	應永十、十二、七	三	一四八	人質番組	(年月欠)	六
一二七丙	嶋津元久内書同人	(年欠) 十二、十三	三	一四九甲	嶋津分國檢地御掟條目	天正十九、十、二	六
一二七丁	嶋津元久起請文同人	應永十、十二、十三	三	一四九乙	同石田三成覺書	文祿三、七、十六	六
一二八	とまりの所當取帳	應永十三、六、十二	三	一四九丙	豐臣秀吉朱印狀 <small>嶋津義弘</small>	同日	六
一二九	入來院重頼讓狀并置文	應永十三、十一、十五	三	一四九丁	同朱印知行方目録狀同人	文祿四、六、廿九	六
一二一〇	嶋津久世宛行狀入來院重長	應永十八、九、十五	三	一五〇甲	朝鮮役嶋津軍役	同日	六
一二一一	伊集院頼久宛行狀同人	應永廿四、九、二十	三	一五〇乙	同	天正十九、	六
一二一二	嶋津久豐起請文同人	應永三十、八、三十	三	一五一甲	薩摩國大隅國日向國諸縣郡石高	文祿五、十二、五	六
一二一三	入來院重長讓狀二通	應永三十、八、十六	三	一五一乙	徳川秀忠朱印 <small>嶋津家久</small>	(年月欠)	六
一二一四	同一字書出 <small>寺尾重位</small>	嘉吉元、二、廿七	三	一五二丙	嶋津家久知行目録	元和三、九、五	六
一二一五	同安堵狀同人	永享三、十一、十五	三	一五二丁	嶋津分國惣高并衆中乗馬究帳	寛永十一、十一、廿六	六
一二一六甲	嶋津立久宛行狀入來院重豐	永享九、二、廿八	三	一五二乙	人衆賦帳	寛永十六、十二、二	六
一二一六乙	同契狀同人	寛正三、三、廿四	三	一五二丙	附嶋津分國高究	慶長十八、十二、一	六
一二一六丙	同起請文同人	同日	三	一五二乙	肝付運光坊知行目録	慶長十九、三、廿二	六
一二一七甲	入來院重聰起請文	寛正七、四、十六	六	一五三甲	薩隅日三州一所衆并鹿兒嶋衆中高極之帳	慶長十九、七、廿三	六
一二一七乙	嶋津武久契狀入來院重聰	文明十三、六、廿三	六			元和六、二、廿七	六
		同日	六				

九七丙	同	同日	五	一一	入來院重門安堵狀	貞治二、五、八	五
九七丁	同	同日	五	一二甲	軍勢催促綸旨 <small>入來院重門</small>	正平十九、二、一	五
九七戊	同	同日	五	一二乙	澁川義行感狀 <small>入來院重賴</small>	貞治四、閏九、十七	六
九七己	同人置文	同日	五	一二丙	綸旨感狀	正平廿二、二、十	五
九八	足利真冬軍勢催促狀 <small>同元重興</small>	貞和六、十一、二十	五	一三	入來院重門置文	正平廿二、正、二十	五
九九甲	岡元重興著到狀	貞和七、四、	五	一四甲	重成讓狀	貞治七、八、六	五
九九乙	豐田長壽丸代著到狀	同日	五	一四乙	同	(年月欠)	五
九九丙	足利直冬軍勢催促狀 <small>同元重興</small>	貞和七、五、廿五	五	一五甲	入來院重門讓狀	建德二、十、十五	五
一〇〇	惟宗時友陳狀	觀應二、七、廿四	五	一五乙	同	同日	五
一〇一	軍勢催促綸旨二 <small>通倫元重興</small>	正平六、八、三	五	一五丙	同	同日	五
一〇二	岡元重興軍忠狀	正平六、十二、廿二	五	一五丁	同	同日	五
一〇三	入來院重勝避狀	觀應三、四、十九	五	一六甲	今川了俊軍勢催促狀 <small>澁谷虎光丸</small>	建德二、十二、二	五
一〇四甲	鳥丸田地坪付	文和三、十、十四	五	一六乙	同 <small>入來院重賴</small>	應安五、十一、廿五	五
一〇四乙	鳥丸村檢注取帳	延文二、十、四	五	一六丙	同 <small>同入</small>	應安六、二、廿三	五
一〇四丙	鳥丸村御年貢取帳日記	應永十三、六、一	五	一七	感狀令旨 <small>同入</small>	文中元、十二、廿一	五
一〇五	入來院重勝讓狀	文和四、四、八	五	一八甲	今川了俊軍勢催促狀 <small>同入</small>	永和元、九、十三	五
一〇六	征西將軍宮令旨 <small>同元重興</small>	正平十三、三、六	五	一八乙	同感狀 <small>同入</small>	永和元、十一、十	五
一〇七甲	島津貞久師久避狀 <small>永科長秀</small>	正平十三、八、十二	五	一八丙	同施行狀 <small>同入</small>	永德二、五、三十	五
一〇七乙	島津師久避狀 <small>入來院重門</small>	二、十九	五	一八丁	同內書 <small>同入</small>	(年欠) 正、廿八	五
一〇八	さいほう證狀	延文四、八、十九	五	一八戊	同感狀 <small>同入</small>	至德二、二、七	五
一〇九甲	寺尾重名入道妙勝讓狀	延文五、八、九	五	一九	入來院重賴安堵狀 <small>寺尾重賢</small>	永德三、十二、廿四	五
一〇九乙	同	同日	五	二〇甲	寺尾重名入道妙勝讓狀	永德四、正、八	五
一〇九丙	同	同日	五	二〇乙	同	同日	五
一〇九丁	同	同日	五	二一甲	今川了俊施行狀 <small>澁谷一族</small>	至德三、正、六	五
一〇九戊	同	同日	五	二一乙	同執達狀 <small>澁谷藤原守</small>	至德三、四、三	五
一〇九己	同	同年	五	二二丙	同宛行狀 <small>同入</small>	至德三、五、十三	五
一一〇	足利義詮感狀 <small>同元重興</small>	康安二、九、六	六	二二丁	今川守政執達狀 <small>澁谷左馬助</small>	至德三、五、廿二	五



七二丙	寺尾別當二郎丸所領幕府下知狀	同日	八三丁	嶋津貞久證判同上	曆應四、二、廿二	〇
七二丁	寺尾重名所領幕府下知狀	同日	八三戊	足利尊氏感狀 <small>關本重興</small>	建武三、九、三	〇
七二戊	寺尾內重所領幕府下知狀	同日	八四	足利尊氏感狀 <small>軍勢催促狀</small>	建武四、四、廿七	〇
七二己	寺尾重見所領幕府下知狀	同日	八五	畠山義顯執達狀 <small>寺尾重名</small>	建武五、閏七、二	〇
七二庚	寺尾鶴王丸所領幕府下知狀	同日	八六甲	權執印良退代子息俊正軍忠狀	曆應二、七、	〇
七二辛	寺尾女子所領幕府下知狀	同日	八六乙	比志嶋範平代權原惟種軍忠狀	同日	〇
七二甲	塔原國方年貢支配	(年月欠)	八六丙	守護代充行狀 <small>權執印良正</small>	曆應二、六、廿三	〇
七二乙	段別錢結解狀斷簡	(年月欠)	八六丁	同同入	曆應二、八、六	〇
七三	入來院重基入道定圓讓狀	元弘元、九、十一	八七	入來院重基入道定圓讓狀	康永二、二、四	〇
七四	澁谷典重言上狀	元弘三、八、	八八	足利直義軍勢催促狀 <small>寺尾重實</small>	康永二、四、十二	〇
七五	當知行安堵繪旨六通	元弘三、十一、九	八九甲	高城重棟入道宗真讓狀	康永三、二、三	〇
七六	入來院祇答院堺村去渡狀	元弘三、十一、十	八九乙	同	同日	〇
七七甲	雜訴決斷所牒 當知行安堵	建武元、六、三	九〇	岡元重興軍忠狀	康永四、九、三	〇
七七乙	同	建武元、十、十八	九一	寺尾重廣讓狀	貞和二、六、三	〇
七八	在家得分注文	建武元、九、八	九二甲	二階堂行仲伊作入道々惠注進狀 <small>(年月欠)</small>	貞和二、十一、廿一	〇
七九	岡元重氏遺領和興狀	建武元、十二、十九	九二乙	足利直義軍勢催促狀	貞和二、十一、廿六	〇
八〇甲	內裏大番可勤仕薩摩國地頭御家人交名	建武二、二、三十	九三甲	入來院重基入道定圓讓狀	同日	〇
八〇乙	同	建武二、二、晦	九三乙	同	觀應二、七、三十	〇
八〇丙	薩摩國役所大番勤仕承認狀	建武二、七、六	九四	入來院氏讓狀	貞和三、三、六	〇
八一	雜訴決斷所牒美作國衙	建武二、五、七	九五甲	岡元重興軍忠狀	(年月欠)	〇
八二	足利直義軍勢催促狀 <small>入來院重基</small>	建武二、十一、二	九五乙	寺尾重名軍忠狀	(年月欠)	〇
八三甲	足利尊氏地頭職補任御教書 <small>高城重棟</small>	建武三、四、二	九六甲	一色範氏執達軍勢催促狀 <small>岡元重興</small>	貞和四、二、九	〇
八三乙	高師直施行狀 <small>高城重棟</small>	建武四、七、十三	九六乙	一色直氏執達軍勢催促狀 <small>同入</small>	貞和四、八、十七	〇
八三丙	足利尊氏感狀 <small>入來院重勝</small>	建武三、八、十七	九七甲	入來院重勝讓狀	貞和五、閏六、廿三	〇
			九七乙	同	同日	〇

二七	定佛遺言書狀	建治三、六、廿四	七一	入來院書生得分和與狀	乾元二、八、十	元
二八	定佛讓狀	建治三、九、十三	五二	入來院清數南方和與公事配分狀		
二九	定佛讓狀	同日	五三	塔原國方用途返抄	德治三、正、	元
三〇	定佛讓狀	同日	五四	塔原領家文書代用途免除狀	延慶四、二、二十	元
三一	定佛遺言書狀	建治三、十、廿一	五五	武光師兼入道法忍讓狀	延慶四、三、四	元
三二	定佛同上	同日	五六	塔原領家方夏物御年貢納狀	應長二、六、十七	元
三三	定佛同上	建治三、十二、一	五七	守護代貞綱運行問狀	元應元、十一、十四	元
三四	將軍家政所安堵寺尾重通下文	弘安元、六、三	五八	寺尾爲重入道善阿重陳狀斷簡	元應元、十二、廿五	元
三五	執權安堵寺尾竹鶴女所領下知狀	同日	五九甲	入來院清數南方水田檢注帳	元亨二、三、十三	元
三六	寺尾定佛後家妙蓮子息重通重訴狀斷簡	元	五九乙	同北方水田檢注帳	同日	元
三七	同上重訴狀斷簡	元	六〇	阿元靜重讓狀	元亨二、八、十八	元
三八	幕府召狀	弘安元、八、十四	六一	寺尾惟重書狀	(年欠) 六、一	元
三九	寺尾與一爲重重陳狀斷簡	元	六二	寺尾別當次郎丸代惟朝訴狀	元亨三、六、	元
四〇	寺尾妙蓮重通竹鶴女重訴狀	(年月欠)	六三	寺尾重名陳狀斷簡	(年月欠)	元
四一	幕府裁許下知狀	弘安二、十二、廿二	六四	寺尾重廣重訴狀	正中二、六、	元
四二	入來院有重入道正善讓狀	弘安三、五、九	六五	寺尾重名重陳狀	正中二、七、	元
四三	幕府安堵下村重村所領下知狀	正應元、六、廿七	六六	北條英時執行召狀	嘉曆二、閏九、廿八	元
四四	尼壽阿置文案	正應元、十	六七	皇宗書狀	(年欠) 十二、六	元
四五甲	蒙古合戰勳功賞孔子配分下知狀	元	六八甲	執印友雄賣渡狀	嘉曆二、七、三十	元
四五乙	同	正應元、十、三	六八乙	同	嘉曆二、十、八	元
四六	幕府和與認許狀	同日	六九	交名注進	嘉曆三、	元
四七	伴師貞辨濟使職讓與狀	正應四、八、廿八	七〇甲	寺尾重廣注進寺尾惟重所領	嘉曆三、十二、廿一	元
四八	下村重世讓狀并安堵下知外題	正應五、三、十四	七〇乙	寺尾重名勘返寺尾惟廣遺領	嘉曆四、五、	元
四九	塔原請地目錄	正安元、八、二十	七一甲	寺尾惟重後家尼所領幕府下知狀	元德元、十、二十	元
五〇	嶋津忠宗打渡並安堵狀	正安元、十、二十	七一乙	寺尾重廣所領幕府下知狀	同日	元

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六乙	同	文治元、十一、十八	二
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二五	伴信俊等起請文	寶治元、八、五	九
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二七	入來院定心讓狀	建長二、十、二十	二〇
二八	入來院村々地目錄又領家國司米配分	建長二、十二、	二
二九	入來院定心讓塔原於四郎重經狀	建長三、八、廿四	二四
二〇	同讓四郎重經狀	建長五、十一、廿九	二四
二一	將軍家政所下寺尾重經文	建長七、六、五	二四
二二	國司廳宣入來院半分國司方所當米請所事	正嘉二、九	二四
二三	幕府安堵岡元釋童丸所領下知狀	文永四、六、十六	二四
二四甲	入來院明重入道善心讓狀	文永二、八、三	二五
二四乙	幕府安堵入來院有重所領下知狀	文永四、六、十六	二五
二五	天滿宮國分寺所訴狀	元亨元、七、	二五
二六	寺尾定佛與一七郎義絶申狀	(年欠) 四、五	二七

一、原文ニ見ユル誤音、方言、誤字、誤レル語法、文法ハ故サラニ訂正セズ。但シ止ムヲ得ザル場合ニ左ノ符號ヲ用ヒテヤ、改竄ヲ試ミタリ。

(○)符ハ原文及ビ原寫ノ誤謬ヲ正シ、或ハソノ字句ノ誤レル位置ヲ改メ、或ハ脫字ヲ補ヒ、又ハ花押ノ所在ヲ示ス。

、點ハ甚シク疑ハシキ字ニ施ス。原文ヲ改メテ猶疑フベキモノハ同點ヲ(○)符ノ内ニ施ス。故ニ、點ト(○)符トハ凡テ原文ニ無キ所ナリ。

一、邦文ノ部ハ主トシテ前年ノ手寫ヨリ複寫シタルモノナレバ、幾多ノ誤謬アルベシ。讀者冀ハクハ之ヲ訂正セラレヨ。

大正十四年三月

序言

本書ノ目的ハ薩摩國入來關係ノ文書ヲ用ヒテ日本一般ノ武家法制ノ性質及ビ變遷ヲ世ノ學者ノタメニ例證セントスルニアリ。

此目的ノタメニ特ニ入來文書ヲ撰ビタルハ其ノ年代ノ久遠ニ亘リテ其ノ種類ノ著シク豊富ナルト、マタ其ノ背景ノ廣大ナルト共ニ其ノ地域ノ限定セラレタル等、研究者ノタメニ有益且ツ便利ノ條件ヲ具フレバナリ。是レ英文緒言ニ縷述シタル所ナリ。

本書ノ目的ヨリ推シテ、此編ハ入來院氏乃至嶋津氏ノ家史、又ハ入來乃至舊薩藩ノ地方史ノ資料タランコトヲ主眼トセザルヲ察スベシ。日本全國ニ關スル斯ノ研究ノタメニ暫ク代表的ノ局部ノ材料ヲ提供シタルノミ。


次ニ如上ノ目的ヨリ推シテ、本書ノ主體ハ英文ノ譯註ニアルヲ知ルベシ。サレバ邦文ノ文書及ビ系圖ハ只證據トシテ比考ニ供スルノミ。マタ各文書ノ眞偽、出處、價值、及ビ解釋、並ニ原文ノ暗示スル法制史的意義、及ビ日本ト泰西トノ法制ノ比考ハ、英文ノ部ニ掲ゲテ、邦文ノ部ニ之ヲ反覆セズ。

専ラ邦文ノ部ノ印刷ニツキテ注意スベキ事項ハ左ノ如シ。

一、「」符ヲ凡テ原文ノ首尾ニ加フ。コノ符以外ニ見ユル文字ハ、或ハ原文ノ意ヲ取り、或ハ原文ニ在ラザル所ナリ。就中「」符ノ内ハ凡テ補註ニシテ、原文ノ一部ニアラズ。成ルベク補註ヲ節約セリ。

一、句點、訓點、及ビ假名ノ濁音點ヲ施サバ、ルコト原文ト同ジ。

一、〇〇ハ原文ノ中ノ讀ミ得ズ楷書ニ改メ得ザル字ノ所在ヲ示ス。

一、ハ腐蝕其他ノ損失ノ個處ヲ示ス。

一、點ハ原文ヨリ省キタル個處ナリ。點ノ數ハ省キタル字ノ數ニ拘ハラズ。







238790

Author

Asakawa, Kenichi (ed. & tr.)

HJa

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